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The Effects of Religious Orientation on Selective Exposure to Information Which Supports or Contradicts One's Beliefs

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1991
THE EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS ORIENTATION ON SELECTIVE EXPOSURE TO INFORMATION WHICH SUPPORTS OR CONTRADICTS ONE'S BELIEFS

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Department of Psychology
Western Kentucky University
Bowling Green, Kentucky

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
James Carmen Warren, Jr.
June 1991
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Dean of Graduate College
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Finally, I would like to express my love and thanks to my wife Mae, who tolerated my constant lamenting and persevered through reading countless drafts during the past year.
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One hundred and two fundamentalist Christians were administered scales measuring three religious orientations (intrinsic and extrinsic religion and religion-as-quest) and selective exposure. The aim of this study was to examine the relationships between the three orientations and selective exposure to religious information. Selective exposure was measured in three ways: Belief confirmation - seeking belief-supporting information; Selective avoidance - avoiding belief-contradicting information; and Differential exposure - seeking belief-confirming information while avoiding contradicting information. Results of this study indicate that both quest and intrinsic religion predict the desire to read belief-confirming information. For selective avoidance, only quest predicted willingness to read counter-attitudinal information, thus supporting Batson's contention that religion-as-quest uniquely predicts open-minded truth-seeking and willingness to doubt. Differential exposure was primarily predicted by extrinsic religion.
The Effects of Religious Orientation on Selective Exposure to Information which Supports or Contradicts One's Beliefs

Introduction

In Daniel Batson's (1976) typology, orientations toward religion may be characterized as religion-as-ends, religion-as-means, and religion-as-quest. Religion-as-ends, or "intrinsic religion," (Allport, 1966) occurs when religion is the master-motive of one's life and the individual's religious life reflects deep personal commitment. Religion-as-means, or "extrinsic religion," occurs when an individual's religion is used to serve utilitarian personal or social goals, when the individual's religious life is subordinated to non-religious goals. Religion-as-quest occurs when one's religion is an expression of open-minded truth-seeking and the individual's religious life incorporates openness to change, a positive appreciation of the importance of doubt, and a willingness to face religious and existential questions without reducing their complexity.

The aim of the current study was to examine the relations between these three orientations and selective exposure to religious information. Selective exposure may be subdivided into three potentially independent processes:
(1) "Belief confirmation" (BC) occurs when individuals seek information which reinforces or supports their beliefs; 
(2) "Selective avoidance" (SA) occurs when individuals resist exposure to information which contradicts current beliefs; and (3) "Differential exposure" (DE) refers to the simultaneous tendency to seek belief-confirming information while avoiding information which contradicts one's beliefs.

Theoretically, religion-as-ends (hereafter, intrinsic religion) and religion-as-quest should each predict aspects of selective exposure. Logically, intrinsic religion should predict belief confirmation, since intrinsic individuals theoretically want to know more about their own religion. Indeed, one of the Allport and Ross (1967) items measuring intrinsic religion is "I read literature about my faith (or church)." Since intrinsic religion is not related to open-mindedness, however, it should not predict selective avoidance. Intrinsic religion may predict differential exposure as a function of predicting belief confirmation but not selective avoidance; however, this relationship will be attenuated relative to intrinsic religion's relationship with belief confirmation.

Religion-as-quest, if it is truly open-minded truth-seeking, should predict a desire or willingness to view both information which supports one's beliefs (BC) and which contradicts one's beliefs (SA). However, if this truth-seeking is open and fair-minded, quest should not predict differential exposure. Finally, there is no
logical basis for expecting that extrinsic religion will relate to any measure of selective exposure. To date, none of these hypotheses have been tested.
Literature Review

Selective Exposure

While there is a long tradition of research in selective exposure, the vast majority of this research has been conducted within the framework of the cognitive dissonance paradigm. Selective exposure was a major aspect of Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance. Many studies in selective exposure (cf. Cohen, Terry, & Jones, 1959; Linder, Cooper, & Jones, 1967; Cotton & Hieser, 1980) have incorporated a high vs. low choice condition to experimentally manipulate dissonance-arousal. According to dissonance theory, when people are compelled to engage in behavior contrary to their beliefs there is little dissonance-arousal because the choice is not their own, and no selective exposure in support of that behavior should occur. When people choose to behave contrary to their beliefs, however, they should feel a need to seek information that is consonant or supportive of that behavioral choice (selective exposure). According to Frey and Wicklund (1978), "It has been consistently found that subjects who engage in a potentially dissonance-arousing activity are much more likely to show dissonance-reduction efforts [like selective exposure] when they have freely (or
relatively freely) chosen the activity" (p. 134). In the early days, mixed results led some researchers to claim that the selective exposure effect does not exist at all (Freedman & Sears, 1965). However, Cotton & Hieser (1980) and Frey & Wicklund (1978) showed that many of the conflicting results of the early studies could be traced to inadequacies in experimental design. One problem with early studies was that dissonant information was often more useful or attractive than consonant information. If so, selecting counterattitudinal information may not indicate an absence of dissonance-induced anxiety, but only that the dissonant material has greater utility for the individual.

Festinger did propose an exception to his selective exposure theory. He hypothesized that individuals who were very confident in their beliefs would seek dissonant information in order to refute it. In the subsequent research, confidence has been manipulated by either the feedback subjects receive about the correctness of their performance on tasks (cf. Freedman, 1965) or by varying the expertise of the source (cf. Manis, 1961). Lowin (1969) did both. Results have generally shown that the use of an expert source reduces participants' willingness to view dissonant information and increases their preference for consonant information.

Batson (1975) found that when subjects were required to read strong, belief-disconfirming information, there was a tendency for participants to intensify their original
beliefs. For the present study, Batson's study is important in two ways. First, important religious beliefs were challenged. As Batson said:

In most studies the issues involved are not personally significant convictions believed with one's whole heart. Frequently used issues tend to be relatively peripheral. Issues which are of central importance to subjects tend to be avoided, presumably because in an experiment it is both practically difficult and ethically untenable to change firmly held convictions. (p. 177)

Secondly, a free choice condition was not used. Consistent with Batson's assumption that religion plays a central role in many people's lives (as evidenced by their long standing or life long commitments), deeply religious people may be motivated to expose themselves to consonant information and avoid dissonant information. In Batson's study, inducing dissonance and adding a choice condition would have been unnecessary. People who have committed themselves to particular religious beliefs have already made a choice of far greater importance than the temporary and relatively unimportant choices found in most selective exposure studies. It is this deep commitment that should enhance their preference for consonant information and their desire to avoid disconfirming information.

Origin of the Religious Orientations

Batson's three dimensional model originated in Allport's (1950) definition of mature religion in The Individual and His Religion. Allport argued that mature religion is not ultimately egocentric; therefore, it must be intrinsic rather than extrinsic. Allport and Ross
(1967) developed scales to measure intrinsic and extrinsic religion. Intrinsic was assumed to be mature and extrinsic was assumed to be immature. The concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic religion, as introduced by Allport (Allport & Ross, 1967), are well known and will not be described or discussed further here. However, in his original analysis, Allport (1950) also argued that mature religion must also be open to new data, to doubt, and to the scientific world; that is, it must be an open quest rather than dogmatic and closed-minded. According to Batson (Batson & Ventis, 1982), the Intrinsic and Extrinsic Scales omitted this aspect.

The Religion-as-Quest orientation was first proposed by Batson (1971) as a third way of being religious in addition to Allport's earlier concepts of intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations. Batson added religion-as-quest to capture three open-mindedness aspects of mature religion: "confronting existential questions without reducing their complexity, self-criticism and perception of religious doubts as positive, and openness to change" (Batson & Ventis, 1982, p. 154). The commonly-used Batson and Ventis Quest Scale consists of six items which emphasize acceptance of doubt and the necessity of personal development and change. Factor analysis of the scale scores for the Intrinsic, Extrinsic, and Quest Scales have consistently yielded three independent factors (cf. Batson & Ventis, 1982; Batson & Raynor-Prince, 1983; Batson et
The Problem of Quest

While the intrinsic and extrinsic dimensions have been accepted as valid religious orientations, quest has been frequently challenged both for its poor measurement and in terms of its psychological meaning. One enduring problem is the low internal consistency of the six-item Quest Scale (cf. Griffin et al., 1987; Spilka et al., 1985). Kojetin, McIntosh, Bridges, & Spilka (1987) reported alpha internal consistency coefficients ranging from .21 to .57.

Despite the previously mentioned research supporting quest's uniqueness, there are also criticisms of quest as an independent construct. Watson, Morris, and Hood (1989) proposed that quest is not a unique construct but that the Quest Scale is a combination of items from the intrinsic and extrinsic orientations. Their factor analysis of the 6-item Quest Scale found a 2-item Identity factor, a 2-item Doubt factor, and 2 items which loaded on neither of the factors ("God" and "Change" items, quest items #5 and #2 in Appendix A). The Intrinsic and Extrinsic Scale scores were each correlated with the Identity and Doubt Factors and the two remaining items for nine large samples. The Identity factor correlated positively with intrinsic religion; the Doubt factor correlated positively with extrinsic religion and negatively with intrinsic religion; and the God and Chance items correlated with neither intrinsic nor extrinsic religion. By combining the counterbalancing
Quest items into one scale, the correlations between the total Quest Scale scores and Intrinsic and Extrinsic Scale scores are reduced to near zero. Therefore, evidence of quest as an independent construct may only be an artifact of measurement.

Finally, Donahue (1985) and Kojetin et al. (1987) identified possible conceptual difficulties with the quest orientation. Kojetin et al. suggested that the Quest Scale may be measuring religious conflict instead of constructive religious search. Donahue suggested that it may be an "agnosticism scale" identifying "iconoclasts who sophomorically and reflexively respond 'why' to every answer given." (p. 413). He also disputed the conceptual soundness of three of Batson's contentions: that quest is consistent with prior religious traditions; that quest is consistent with Allport's early concept of mature religion; and that quest is consistent with "an underlying current in the nature of religion" (p. 412).

Solving the Problem of Quest

Three efforts have been made to improve the reliability of the Quest Scale. Kojetin et al. (1987) added four items (conflict items) to five of the original six Quest Scale items (dropping the "God" item). A four factor solution (four measures were used) including the new 9-item scale yielded reliabilities for quest for different samples ranging from .63 to .77. It was suggested that the increases in reliability resulted from including the
conflict items. In relation to their hypothesis that the Quest Scale reflects religious conflict, they suggest that religious conflict may not be negative. In fact, it may facilitate the development of what Allport called mature religion.

McFarland (1989), in part, also answered the internal consistency problem by increasing the scale to 10-items (alpha = .70) with items that emphasize the openness to doubt. Finally, Batson and Schoenrade (1990) have recently proposed a 12-item Quest Scale. For two samples, the new 12-item Quest Scale had adequate alpha internal consistencies (.75 and .81) and was highly correlated (.85 and .87) with the 6-item Quest Scale.

As stated earlier, Watson, et al.'s (1989) findings seriously challenge whether quest is a unique construct. Although many of their correlations were significant, they were small and accounted for little variance. The median correlations of Doubt and Identity with intrinsic religion were -.19 and .29, respectively. The median correlations of Doubt, God, and Change with extrinsic religion were .23, .13, and .19, respectively. Only one of the 36 correlations between the Quest subscales (four components, nine samples) and intrinsic religion was above .33. Of the 36 correlations between the Quest subscales and extrinsic religion, the largest was .34. These correlations were simply too small to argue that quest is an artifact of intrinsic and extrinsic items.
The issue of whether quest is a unique construct could be answered in two ways: (1) by factor analysis of all intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest items (instead of the scale scores), and (2) by examining if religion-as-quest predicts behavioral outcomes that the other orientations do not. If quest is a unique construct, its items should load on a separate factor rather than on the intrinsic and extrinsic factors, and quest should uniquely predict behaviors which hypothetically are quest-related. When McFarland (1990) added his four items to the six item Quest Scale, a factor analysis of all intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest items revealed that seven of the quest items loaded on an independent quest factor and three loaded on no factor. Quest therefore appears to be a construct or constructs independent of intrinsic and extrinsic religion.

Several studies have shown that quest has unique prosocial and intellectual correlates. These studies have shown quest to be related to non-discriminatory attitudes and behaviors (Batson et al., 1986; Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978; McFarland, 1989; McFarland, 1990) even when intrinsic and extrinsic religion and fundamentalism are controlled by partial correlation. Quest also uniquely predicts victim-oriented helping behavior (Batson & Grey, 1981; Batson et al., 1989), moral reasoning (Sapp & Jones, 1986), and greater cognitive complexity in dealing with existential concerns (Batson & Raynor-Prince, 1983). Further evidence for quest's construct validity would be provided if it
alone predicts a desire to view both materials which support one's beliefs and materials which contradict one's beliefs.
HYPOTHESES

In keeping with Batson's assumption that quest uniquely predicts open-mindedness, willingness to doubt, and willingness to face information which contradicts one's own beliefs, it is expected that quest, among the religious orientations, will uniquely predict selective avoidance (SA); persons high in quest should show a greater willingness to view counter-attitudinal material; persons low in quest should try to avoid viewing these materials. Intrinsic religion, extrinsic religion, and the participant's sex are not expected to further predict selective avoidance.

Both quest and intrinsic religion should predict belief confirmation (BC). Individuals high in quest should want to view these materials because of their openness to information which both supports and contradicts their beliefs. In contrast, those high in intrinsic religion should engage in belief confirmation because they are primarily concerned with viewing information that reinforces their beliefs. As earlier indicated, intrinsic religion may predict differential exposure (DE) as a function of predicting belief confirmation but not selective avoidance. However, this relationship will be
attenuated relative to intrinsic religion's relationship with belief confirmation. Further, since the religious orientations are viewed as motivational constructs, which apply to all Christians, these predicted relationships should be confirmed for both fundamentalist and non-fundamentalist Christians.
METHOD

Subjects

Participants for this study were adults at least 21 years of age from cities, small towns, and rural areas throughout Kentucky and north central Tennessee. Only self-designated Christians were selected for participation. The aim was to create two groups of participants, one consisting of 100 fundamentalists and the other of 100 non-fundamentalists. Data were collected from 93 males and 135 females.

Criteria for Selection

A single-item scale was used to identify Christians (i.e., "I consider myself to be a Christian."). Only respondents who answered agree (+2) or definitely agree (+3) were kept in the sample for the analyses. A three-item Fundamentalism Scale (McFarland, 1989) was used to identify fundamentalist and non-fundamentalist participants. This three-item scale emphasizes the perfection and authority of the Bible. The items were on a seven point scale ranging from -3 strongly disagree to +3 strongly agree. Scores on the Fundamentalism Scale can range from -9 to +9. A score of +4 or greater was used to assign participants to the fundamentalist condition. A
score of -4 or less was used to assign participants to the non-fundamentalist condition. These cutoff points appeared sufficient to assure that we selected those who preponderantly accepted or rejected fundamentalist tenets for the two groups.

**Fundamentalist Sample**

One hundred and two people comprised the final fundamentalist sample. This group had a median age of 40 ranging from one younger than 21 to eight who were over 60. In this final sample there were 35 males and 67 females representing several denominations (37% Baptist, 20% Church of Christ, 14% Catholic, 14% Methodist, and 15% other). The means, standard deviations, and internal consistancies of this sample on each of the religious orientation measures are reported in Table 2.

**Non-Fundamentalist Sample**

Using the selection criteria, it was not possible to attain a sufficient sample of non-fundamentalist (only 33 cases were identified). Since this group was so small, it was infeasible to adequately analyze their responses. As a "rule of thumb" 10 participants or more are needed for each predictor in a regression analysis (J. Bruni, personal communication, May 8, 1991), and more are needed when repeated analyses are planned on the same sample.

**Materials**

A questionnaire was used to administer all scales and to collect responses and demographic information.
Religious orientations were measured by Allport and Ross's (1967) Extrinsic and Intrinsic Scales and the items from all four versions of the Quest Scale (Batson & Ventis, 1982; Kojetin et al., 1987; McFarland, 1989; and Batson & Schoenrade, 1990). The single-item scale, Fundamentalism Scale, and religious orientation scales are presented in Appendix A. The items used to measure selective exposure, described in detail in a later section, consisted of six article titles, authors, and summaries which favor fundamentalist religion and six which oppose fundamentalism. The respondents were asked to rate how much they wished to read each article. Each article was ascribed to an expert source, since this is known to enhance selective exposure to materials which are consistent with one's beliefs and selective avoidance of materials which contradict one's beliefs (Lowen, 1969).

Data Collection

Junior and senior psychology students administered the questionnaires for extra course credit. In most cases, the students administered the questionnaires to acquaintances near their homes on weekends. The respondents thus lived in cities, small towns, and rural areas throughout Kentucky and north central Tennessee.

Several precautions were taken to insure the validity of the data collected by the students: (a) The students were given precise instructions on selecting respondents and administering the questionnaire. These instructions
were explained in a 1/2 hour session. In particular, the students were told to be sure that the respondents volunteered freely and were not pressured into participation, to select only practicing Christians for participation, and to assure the participants that their responses were confidential and anonymous. (b) The students were required to provide the names and numbers of their respondents on a separate paper and were told that one person from each list would be randomly selected and phoned to insure that the questionnaires were administered as instructed. (c) The students were not told the exact purposes or hypotheses of the study until the data were gathered. Any use of inappropriate respondents or data-faking would certainly have weakened rather than strengthened the likelihood of confirming the hypotheses.

Procedure

In the introduction to the questionnaire, participants received information requesting their assistance in a field survey for a new religious magazine entitled Christian Reflections. They were informed that the purpose of this survey was to help the researchers choose articles that would interest Christians.

Following this cover story, participants were instructed to answer a group of questions concerning their religious attitudes. At this point the single-item scale was administered to verify that the participants were Christians. Next, the 3-item Fundamentalism Scale
(McFarland, 1989), and the Intrinsic, Extrinsic, and Quest Scales were administered.

At this point, respondents were told that they would be given the titles, authors, and brief summaries of 24 magazine articles. They were told that they would be asked to rate from +3 to -3 how much they would like to read each article. They were also informed that, after reviewing all 24 article summaries, they would be asked to read and critique in detail a few of the articles they had selected.

Following the administration of all scales, participants were provided with a title, author, and brief summary from each of a series of 24 magazine articles. These 24 article summaries were paired to cover 12 topic or issue areas, with each pair representing conflicting viewpoints of one topic or issue. Six conflicting pairs were religious articles. In each pair, one article supported a fundamentalist position and the other opposed it (e.g., "New evidence for the Old Testament account of creation;" and "The genetic proof of human evolution from animals."). The remaining six conflicting pairs were non-religious articles (e.g., "Why censorship should frighten you;" and "When censorship becomes self-preservation."). The 24 articles were presented sequentially in the questionnaire, and subjects rated them on a scale from -3 definitely don't want to read to +3 definitely want to read.

All religious article summaries were presented in
counterbalanced order. Half the pairs introduced the fundamentalist article summary first, followed by a non-fundamentalist article summary. The remaining half of the article summaries introduced non-fundamentalist article summaries first. The two articles in each pair were separated by a "filler" article summary on a non-religious topic. Therefore, the order of presentation was equivalent for both fundamentalist and non-fundamentalist groups. The article summaries used in this study are presented in Appendix B.

Participants were then debriefed concerning the purpose of the experiment and told that the titles and article summaries were creations of the experimenters (see Appendix C).

Dependent Measures of Selective Exposure

The major dependent measures for this study were the three components of selective exposure described in the introduction. Belief confirmation (BC), measured as the desire of participants to read materials with which they agree, was merely the sum of the ratings of the six pro-attitudinal article summaries. Selective avoidance (SA) was measured as the sum of the six ratings of the counter-attitudinal article summaries. Finally, differential exposure was measured as the sum of the differences between the pro-attitudinal article summaries and the counter-attitudinal article summaries \([DE = \Sigma(BC - SA)]\). The rating system allowed for differential exposure scores to
range from +6 to -6 on each article summary pair. For each participant, their six differential exposure scores on the religious article summaries were summed to yield a total score. This score could range from +36 to -36. A score of +36 would be found if an individual always strongly chose to read the articles they agree with and strongly rejected articles with which they disagree. A score of zero would indicate that the individual had not selected one article over another, and thus, had not engaged in differential exposure. A score of -36 would be found if an individual always selected not to read the articles they agree with and always strongly selected articles with which they disagree. Few negative scores were anticipated, which would indicate that people deliberately preferred to read things with which they disagree. The present study sought to determine how the religious orientations of intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest predict each of the three dependent measures.

According to the initial logic, since each participant was to have been assigned to either a fundamentalist or a non-fundamentalist group, an article summary was either pro or counter-attitudinal depending on the participant's group. What constituted a pro-attitudinal argument for fundamentalists should have been counter-attitudinal for the non-fundamentalists and vice versa. By this logic, it was assumed that the same questionnaire could be used for fundamentalist and non-fundamentalist groups.
Pilot Study

To test the feasibility of the dependent measures, a pilot study was conducted. A questionnaire was constructed and administered to 62 college freshman from four Psychology 100 classes at Western Kentucky University. Only respondents who considered themselves Christians were asked to participate. These respondents were given extra-credit in their classes for their participation.

The questionnaire contained two sections. Section I consisted of the 3-item fundamentalism scale. The alpha internal consistency of the fundamentalism scale was .77.

Section II of the questionnaire consisted of the 12 religious article summaries (paired to make 6 items) and 12 non-religious article summaries (see Appendix B). As detailed in the method section, six of the article summaries were pro-attitudinal and six counter-attitudinal. Depending upon whether a participant was identified as a fundamentalist or non-fundamentalist determines which articles were pro-attitudinal or counter-attitudinal. For the 39 fundamentalist participants (+4 or greater), the pro-attitudinal items were combined to make a belief confirmation scale and the counter-attitudinal items were combined to form a selective avoidance scale. The alpha internal consistencies were .68 and .65 respectively. While these reliabilities are acceptable, they were lower than desired. The magnitude of these reliabilities may have been reduced because of the homogeneous nature of this
student sample. As the full study later confirmed, these reliabilities were substantially higher when using a more diverse adult sample of Christian fundamentalists.

The differential exposure scale worked well for the fundamentalist participants. The alpha internal consistency of the six-item measure, calculated as defined in the dependent measure section, was .72. Items 1 (pair 55 & 57) and 4 (pair 67 & 69) were essentially dead weight. Neither correlated greater than .36 with any other item and their corrected item-total correlations were only .24 and .27, respectively. These two items were revised in order to make the non-fundamentalist article summary in each pair more outspokenly anti-fundamentalist (see Appendix D for the revised items). Even if these revisions were not fruitful, the existing four items had an adequate reliability (alpha = .75).

Because the pilot study identified only 9 non-fundamentalists (-4 or less), it was not possible to provide reliable estimates of the reliabilities of these scales for non-fundamentalists.
Analyses

Since there were to have been both a fundamentalist group and a non-fundamentalist group, two separate sets of step-wise multiple regression analyses were planned. In these analyses the variables used to predict belief confirmation, selective avoidance, and the differential exposure for each group were: religion-as-quest, intrinsic religion, extrinsic religion, and sex. Significance levels of $p < .05$ were used to determine whether a variable was entered into the regression equation. Parallel analyses were run using each version of the Quest Scale in order to determine the comparative predictive validity of the four versions. Wherever the religious orientations were significantly correlated with selective exposure, one-way ANOVAs were run to determine the degree to which individuals at different levels on the religious orientations engaged in selective exposure.
RESULTS

Factor Analysis and Reliabilities of the Dependent Measures

For the final sample of fundamentalists there were 102 cases. When the selective exposure items were factor analyzed, the items loaded on two separate factors (see Table 1). With the exception of item 57 (from Appendix B), these two factors perfectly represented the belief confirmation and the selective avoidance items and therefore confirm the feasibility of using separate measures of belief confirmation and selective avoidance.

The alpha reliabilities for the belief confirmation and selective avoidance scales, each comprised of their appropriate six items, were .87 and .83 respectively. The reliability of the differential exposure scale, the sum of the differences of the paired items, was .74.

Correlational Analyses between the Independent and Dependent Measures

The correlations between the religious orientations for this sample are presented in Table 2. This table reveals that intrinsic and extrinsic religion were highly negatively correlated for this sample and that intrinsic and extrinsic religion were essentially unrelated to quest. Finally, all the measures of quest were highly
intercorrelated. This is hardly surprising since they have a substantial number of overlapping items.

Table 3 presents the simple correlations between the religious orientations and the three dependent measures. What is evident from this table is that both intrinsic and extrinsic religion predicted belief confirmation (BC) and differential exposure (DE) and that the various quest measures all predicted selective avoidance (SA). The positive correlations indicates that those high in quest had a greater desire or willingness to read counter-attitudinal articles. The McFarland (1989) and Batson and Schoenrade (1990) Quest Scales also positively predicted belief confirmation (BC).

Regression Analyses on the Dependent Measures

Separate step-wise regression analyses were run to determine how the three religious orientations predicted belief confirmation, selective exposure, and differential exposure. These separate regression analyses were also run with all four versions of the Quest Scale.

For belief confirmation, as shown in Table 4, intrinsic religion entered as the first step and by itself created a multiple R of .30. The McFarland Quest Scale and the new 12-item Batson scale predicted additional variance, each raising the multiple R from .30 to .38. However, neither the original Quest Scale nor the Kojetin Quest Scale predicted significant additional variance in belief confirmation. Neither extrinsic religion nor sex further
predicted belief confirmation.

For selective avoidance, as shown in Table 5, the quest scales entered as the first predictor ranging from .26 for the original Quest Scale to .32 for the McFarland version. Neither intrinsic nor extrinsic religion or sex contributed further variance in predicting selective avoidance.

Differential exposure, however, was predicted primarily by extrinsic religion (see Table 6). Extrinsic religion entered as the first predictor with a multiple R of -.45. No other variable contributed significantly to predicting differential exposure.

The comparative validities of the four quest scales were studied by examining the partial correlations of each version controlling for a parallel version. In summary, these comparisons showed that in predicting belief confirmation, the Batson and Schoenrade (1991) and McFarland (1989) scales are essentially equal, but both are superior to the other two scales. Controlling for both intrinsic religion and the Batson and Ventis (1982) Quest scales, both the McFarland and Batson and Schoenrade scales were still significantly related to belief confirmation, \( r = .25 \) and \( r = .22, p < .05 \). Both were also significant when intrinsic religion and the Kojetin et al. (1987) were controlled, \( r = .25 \) and \( r = .26, p < .02 \). However, when either the Batson and Schoenrade or the McFarland scale was used as the controlling variable, none of the other three
versions still predicted belief confirmation.

In predicting selective avoidance, the McFarland scale was significantly superior to the Batson and Ventis scale; controlling for the latter, the partial correlation between the McFarland version and selective avoidance was $r = .21$, $p < .05$. Neither the Batson and Schoenrade or Kojetin et al. scales were significantly better than the Batson and Ventis scale, $r = .16$ and $r = .16$, $p < .15$. Neither the McFarland, the Batson and Schoenrade, nor the Kojetin et al. scales were significantly superior to one another using this testing procedure.

One-Way ANOVAs on the Significant Correlations between the Independent and Dependent Measures

To understand the psychological meanings of these correlations, a series of one-way ANOVAs were run for each of the significant relationships between a religious orientation and selective exposure (see Table 3). Since the McFarland (1989) Quest Scale generally worked best among the Quest Scales in predicting selective exposure, that scale was used in these one-way ANOVAs. Only by looking at the means of these one-way ANOVAs is it possible to comprehend the meaning of individuals' behavior on the three selective exposure variables as a function of the religious orientations. On each of the three religious orientations (intrinsic religion, extrinsic religion, and McFarland's Quest Scale) the sample was subdivided into four groups: Those who were more than one standard
deviation below the mean (group 1); from the mean to one standard deviation below the mean (group 2); from the mean to one standard deviation above the mean (group 3); and above one standard deviation from the mean (group 4).

With regard to belief confirmation (see Table 7), the effect of intrinsic religion on viewing pro-attitudinal information is highly significant, $F(3, 101) = 3.96$, $p < .01$. The means of belief confirmation range from .44 for participant low in intrinsic religion to 9.29 for those high in intrinsic religion. When these means are spread over the six pro-attitudinal, items it is evident that those low in intrinsic religion are relatively Neutral in their desire to read belief-confirming articles. On the other hand, those high in intrinsic religion averaged between Mildly Want to Read and Want to Read in desire to read pro-attitudinal articles. Using Scheffe's Test only group 4 (those highest in intrinsic religion) was significantly different than group 1 (those low in intrinsic religion), $p < .05$. The effect of extrinsic religion was also significant on belief confirmation (see Table 8), $F(3, 101) = 3.53$, $p < .05$. These belief confirmation means ranged from 6.53 for those low in extrinsic religion to 2.16 for those high in extrinsic religion. On average those who are low in extrinsic religion Mildly Want to Read belief-confirming articles, while those who are high in extrinsic religion were relatively Neutral in their desire to read belief-
confirming articles. Using Scheffe's Test, no two groups were significantly different with regard to belief confirmation, \( p > .05 \).

As seen in Table 9, the effect of quest on selective avoidance was highly significant, \( F(3, 101) = 4.78, p < .01 \). The means of selective avoidance range from -12.06 for participants low in quest to -3.38 for those high in quest. It is important to note that these means are spread over six items. These means indicate that those who are low in quest answered, on average, Do Not Want to Read and Definitely Do Not Want to Read on the counter-attitudinal articles. In contrast, when the small, negative mean for those high in quest is spread over six items their desire to read counter-attitudinal articles is essentially Neutral. Again using Scheffe's Test, group 3 (those high in quest) was significantly different than group 1 (those low in quest) and group 4 (those highest in quest) was significantly different than group 1 in selective avoidance, \( p < .05 \).

The effect of extrinsic religion on differential exposure (choosing to read pro-attitudinal articles while simultaneously rejecting counter-attitudinal articles) was highly significant, \( F(3, 101) = 7.75, p < .0001 \) (see Table 10). The means of differential exposure ranged from 12.73 for participants low in extrinsic religion to 2.53 for those high in extrinsic religion. A mean of 2.29 indicates that participants high in extrinsic religion preferred pro-
attitudinal articles over counter-attitudinal articles by an average of only .38 units on this 7-point scale for each pair. In contrast, those low in extrinsic religion preferred pro-attitudinal articles over counter-attitudinal articles by an average of 2.12 units for each pair. Using Scheffe's Test group 1 (those highest in extrinsic religion) was significantly different than group 4 (those lowest in extrinsic religion) and group 2 (those high in extrinsic religion) was significantly different than group 4 in differential exposure, p < .05. On differential exposure, intrinsic religion did not enter into the regression equation once extrinsic religion was entered although it was significantly related when analyzed by a one-way ANOVA (see Table 11). When divided at the median-splits, those high in intrinsic religion engaged in greater differential exposure than those low in intrinsic religion, p < .05.

An appropriate question is to what degree do the significant relationships of intrinsic and extrinsic religion with differential exposure reflect their common variance, since intrinsic and extrinsic religion are highly correlated, r = -.53, and both predict differential exposure. To examine this issue the regression analyses on differential exposure were repeated forcing intrinsic religion into the equation first. When this was done the correlation between extrinsic religion and differential exposure of .45 was reduced only to a partial correlation
of .35; extrinsic religion still significantly predicted differential exposure. It follows that intrinsic religion is significantly related to differential exposure because of its correlation with extrinsic religion rather than vice versa.
Table 1

Factor Analysis of the Items Measuring Selective Exposure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Factor I</th>
<th>Factor II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td>.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>.50</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>.31</td>
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<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
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<td>73</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>.37</td>
<td>.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, Alphas, and Correlations between the Religious Orientations Measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXT</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>QUEST</th>
<th>QUESTM</th>
<th>QUESTK</th>
<th>QUESTB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.53**</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.25**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUEST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.91**</td>
<td>0.81**</td>
<td>0.84**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75**</td>
<td>0.85**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.75**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUESTB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Means: -12.86  15.53  -1.73  0.80  -3.34  -7.18
SD:    10.93  8.30  5.43  8.39  8.01  10.88
Alpha: 0.80  0.83  0.53  0.67  0.68  0.78

*p < .01, one-tailed.

**p < .001, one-tailed.

EXT = extrinsic (range = -33 to +33)
INT = intrinsic (range = -27 to +27)
QUEST = Batson and Ventis' (1982) 6-item Quest Scale
        (range = -18 to +18)
QUESTM = McFarland's (1989) 10-item Quest Scale
        (range = -30 to +30)
QUESTK = Kojetin's (1987) 9-item Quest Scale
        (range = -27 to +27)
QUESTB = Batson and Schoenrade's (1990) 12-item Quest Scale
        (range = -36 to +36)
Table 3

Correlation Matrix for Selective Exposure and the Religious Orientations for Fundamentalists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>EXT</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>QUEST</th>
<th>QUESTM</th>
<th>QUESTK</th>
<th>QUESTB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>-.28*</td>
<td>.30**</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.21+</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.20+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>.26*</td>
<td>.32**</td>
<td>.30*</td>
<td>.30*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE</td>
<td>-.44**</td>
<td>.28*</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.26</td>
<td>-.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+p < .05, one-tailed.

*p < .01, one-tailed.

**p < .001, one-tailed.

BC = belief confirmation
SA = selective avoidance
DE = differential exposure
EXT = extrinsic
INT = intrinsic
QUEST = Batson and Ventis' (1982) 6-item Quest Scale
QUESTM = McFarland's (1989) 10-item Quest Scale
QUESTK = Kojetin's (1987) 9-item Quest Scale
QUESTB = Batson and Schoenrade's (1990) 12-item Quest Scale
Table 4
Regression Analyses on Belief Confirmation as a Function of the Religious Orientations
Measures of Quest Used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>Partial R</th>
<th>Final Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batson and Ventis' (1982) 6-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McFarland's (1989) 10-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojetin's (1987) 9-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batson and Schoenrade's (1990) 12-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intrinsic</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.38</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5
Regression Analyses on Selective Avoidance as a Function of the Religious Orientations

Measures of Quest Used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>Partial R</th>
<th>Final Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Batson and Ventis' (1982) 6-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td>.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McFarland's (1989) 10-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kojetin's (1987) 9-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.10</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batson and Schoenrade's (1990) 12-item scale:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quest</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6

Regression Analyses on Differential Exposure as a Function of the Religious Orientations

Measures Used:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Multiple R</th>
<th>Final Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allport and Ross' (1967) Religious Orientation Scale:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Extrinsic</td>
<td>.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F Probability = \( p < .01 \)
Table 8
Extrinsic Religion and Belief Confirmation - Groups, Means, and Standard Deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.53</td>
<td>9.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>7.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>7.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>7.09</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F Probability = p < .05
**Table 9**

**QuestM and Selective Avoidance - Groups, Means, and Standard Deviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-12.06</td>
<td>7.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-6.38</td>
<td>6.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>7.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-3.38</td>
<td>5.74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*F* Probability = *p* < .01
Table 10

Extrinsic Religion and Differential Exposure - Groups, Means, and Standard Deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12.73</td>
<td>8.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>11.21</td>
<td>8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.92</td>
<td>8.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2.53</td>
<td>4.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F Probability = $p < .0001$
Table 11

Intrinsic Religion and Differential Exposure - Groups,
Means, and Standard Deviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>5.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7.68</td>
<td>6.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10.85</td>
<td>10.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.20</td>
<td>8.99</td>
</tr>
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</table>

F Probability = p < .05
Discussion

Consistent with the pilot study, the sample for the present study was so overwhelmingly fundamentalist that it was not possible to reliably analyze the responses from the non-fundamentalist participants. Once the disparity in size between the two groups became evident, the students administering the questionnaire were instructed to primarily seek participants who considered themselves non-fundamentalists. In addition, this experimenter collected data directly from a local Presbyterian Church because of the ostensibly non-fundamentalist character of this denomination. These two efforts at targeting non-fundamentalist participants, however, were not effective. There are three possible explanation for the inability to obtain data on non-fundamentalist participants. First, the disproportionately high number of fundamentalist participants may simply be a function of the area in which the present study was conducted. Kentucky and northern Tennessee are in the "Bible belt," which is synonymous with fundamentalist religion. As a result, the individuals available for this study were mainly fundamentalists. Secondly, while it was easy to obtain a sample of participants who agree or strongly agree with the
statements of the Fundamentalism Scale (McFarland, 1989), in the non-fundamentalist churches the answers tended to be neutral rather than disagree or strongly disagree with the fundamentalist statements. Therefore, in using the same extremity cut-off criteria for identifying non-fundamentalists as fundamentalists, even when sampling mainline or liberal churches, there was difficulty in obtaining an adequate sample of people who were as strongly non-fundamentalist as fundamentalists were fundamentalist. For this reason the pro-attitudinal article summaries and counter-attitudinal article summaries of the dependent measure would not have been as strongly pro-attitudinal or counter-attitudinal for them as they were for the fundamentalist participants. And third, it is doubtful that the items of the Fundamentalism Scale reflect central religious issues for non-fundamentalists. Therefore, while the fundamentalist items are counter-attitudinal for non-fundamentalists the items are not paramount to them. It is likely that many non-fundamentalists were not retained in the present study because the items on the Fundamentalism Scale were not sufficiently relevant to their core religious beliefs to elicit responses extreme enough to attain the selection criteria.

When considering the three aspects of selective exposure, it has been shown that religion-as-quest is the only predictor of selective avoidance (see Table 5). For belief confirmation, it appeared that McFarland's (1989)
10-item Quest Scale and Batson and Schoenrade's (1990) 12-item Quest Scale worked better in meeting the quest criteria than the two remaining quest scales. The partial correlations in predicting belief confirmation for the McFarland (1989) and new Batson (1990) scales were .24 and .25 whereas they were only .15 and .10 for the original scale (1982) and Kojetin (1987) scale, respectively. By looking at the means in Table 9, it is evident that persons high in quest were neutral or willing to read counter-attitudinal information whereas those low in quest were opposed to reading counter-attitudinal information. This confirms the hypothesis that quest uniquely predicts selective avoidance and that persons high in quest should show a greater willingness to view counter-attitudinal material. More importantly, this finding goes a long way in supporting Batson's contention that quest alone among the three religious orientations predicts open-mindedness, willingness to doubt, and willingness to face information which contradicts one's own beliefs.

As stated earlier, belief confirmation was predicted most strongly by intrinsic religion (see Table 4) where individuals high in intrinsic religion showed a significant interest in reading pro-attitudinal information (see Table 7). This supports part of the second hypothesis, that intrinsic religion and quest should predict belief confirmation. However, it is evident that individuals high in intrinsic religion are singularly concerned with
information that supports their beliefs and that they are not open to new information. In addition to predicting openness to counter-attitudinal information, quest also predicted openness to pro-attitudinal information (see Tables 4).

An unexpected finding was that extrinsic religion predicted belief confirmation. There was a significant trend for individuals low in extrinsic religion to be more interested in reading pro-attitudinal information than those high in extrinsic religion (see Table 8). However, once intrinsic religion entered into the regression equation, extrinsic religion no longer contributed to predicting belief confirmation. Therefore, it appears that the significant relationship between extrinsic religion and belief confirmation was an artifact of the high correlation ($r = -.53$) between extrinsic and intrinsic religion.

Contrary to the final hypothesis, extrinsic rather than intrinsic religion primarily predicted differential exposure (see Table 6). There was a strong trend for those low in extrinsic religion to prefer pro-attitudinal information considerably more than counter-attitudinal information and those high in extrinsic religion to prefer pro-attitudinal information only slightly more than counter-attitudinal information. When considering the psychological meaning of extrinsic religion, there does not appear to be an answer as to why extrinsic religion was such a strong predictor of differential exposure. However,
extrinsic religion was significantly negatively related to belief confirmation and non-significantly positively related to selective avoidance. When selective avoidance is subtracted from belief confirmation, essentially summing the two relationships, it intensified the significance of differential exposure.

In the present study, it has not been shown that Batson's three dimensional model is relevant for non-fundamentalist Christians. Because of the failure in obtaining a non-fundamentalist sample, it was not possible to show that quest predicts open-mindedness among non-fundamentalists as well as fundamentalists or that intrinsic religion predicts a desire to read belief-supportive material for non-fundamentalists as well as fundamentalists. Somehow, for the next study, a way needs to be found to gather both a fundamentalist and non-fundamentalist sample to test those propositions. Ultimately, the value of the three dimensional model is that it claims to represent religious motivations or orientations and not theological positions. That being the case, the three orientations should predict selective exposure for non-fundamentalists as well as fundamentalists. While the present study sought to establish this, it was not possible to gather the sample to do so. A further study should try to find other means by which such a sample could be gathered and the relevance of the three dimensional model for all Christians can thus be
established.

Both religion-as-quest and intrinsic religion predicted belief confirmation. The explanation posited in the present study was that these two groups engaged in belief confirmation for different reasons: that those high in quest engaged in belief confirmation because of their open mindedness while those high in intrinsic religion engaged in belief confirmation as a means of reconfirming what they already believe. Therefore, two issues should be considered: (1) Do people high in intrinsic religion and people high in quest engage in belief confirmation for different reasons? and (2) At present, there is no direct test to measure these motives. Perhaps the simplest way, in a future study, is to frame questions to ask directly why it is they desired to read a particular article.

Another question is whether these findings can be cross-validated using another method. While it is beyond the scope of the present study to consider alternative research designs, it seems plausible that a variety of potential mediums exist for presenting materials that would facilitate selective exposure.
References


McFarland, S. G. (1990). *Is quest a distinct and important religious orientation?: Quest and discrimination revisited*. Unpublished manuscript, Western Ky University, Department of Psychology, Bowling Green, KY.


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

Religious Scales

Extrinsic Scales (Allport & Ross, 1967)

1. Although I believe in my religion, I feel there are many more important things in my life.

2. It doesn't matter so much what I believe so long as I lead a moral life.

3. The primary purpose of prayer is to gain relief and protection.

4. The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships.

5. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike.

6. I pray chiefly because I have been taught to pray.

7. Although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs.

8. A primary reason for my interest in religion is that my church is a congenial social activity.

9. Occasionally I find it necessary to compromise my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic well-being.

10. One reason for my being a church member is that such
membership helps to establish a person in the community.

11. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life.

Intrinsic Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967)

1. It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation.

2. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church.

3. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.

4. The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during services.

5. Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being.

6. I read literature about my faith (or church).

7. If I were to join a church group I would prefer to join a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship.

8. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.

9. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.

Quest Scale (Batson & Ventis, 1982)

1. It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.
2. I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years.

3. I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to my world.

4. My religious development has emerged out of my growing sense of personal identity.

5. God wasn't very important to me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.

6. Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers.

Non-overlapping Quest Items

(McFarland, 1989)

1. Religious doubt allows us to learn.

2. It is better for a person's religious beliefs to be firm and free of doubt. (-)

3. A person could never develop mature religious beliefs without doubt and questioning.

4. My religious beliefs may change in the future as I mature and learn.

(Batson & Schoenrade, 1990)

1. I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.

2. My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions.

3. For me, doubting is an important part of what it means
to be religious.

4. I find religious doubts upsetting. (-)

5. As I grow and change, I expect my religion also to grow and change.

6. I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs.

7. There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.

(Kojetin et al., 1987)

1. Education has led me to question some teachings of my church.

2. I am actively trying to decide by reading or other means what the truth is about religion.

3. I feel that I shouldn't question my religion, but I sometimes do, anyway.

4. I sometimes wonder just what life is all about and why we are here.

The Christian-Identification Item

1. I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of the living God.

Fundamentalism Scale (McFarland, 1989)

1. I am sure the Bible contains no errors or contradictions.

2. It is very important for true Christians to believe that the Bible is the infallible Word of God.

3. The Bible is the final and complete guide to morality; it contains God's answers to all important questions about right and wrong.
APPENDIX B

The Dependent Measure of Selective Exposure

SECTION II

HERE ARE SOME SHORT DESCRIPTIONS OF ARTICLES. PLEASE CAREFULLY READ EACH DESCRIPTION AND INDICATE HOW MUCH YOU WOULD LIKE TO READ OR WOULD NOT LIKE TO READ EACH ARTICLE BY CIRCLING THE APPROPRIATE NUMBER FROM THE SCALE BELOW.

FOLLOWING YOUR INDICATION OF HOW INTERESTED YOU ARE IN THE ARTICLE, WE WILL ASK YOU TO READ SEVERAL OF THE ARTICLES IN WHICH YOU EXPRESSED THE GREATEST INTEREST.

Definitely Do Not Want to Read (-3)
Do Not Want to Read (-2)
Mildly Do Not Want to Read (-1)
Neutral (0)
Mildly Want to Read (+1)
Want to Read (+2)
Definitely Want to Read (+3)

54. THE GREEN-HOUSE EFFECT: A TECHNOLOGICAL RED HERRING.

Glendon Sumpter, Ph.D.
Professor of Ecological Sciences
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Although environmentalists indicate that our atmosphere has deteriorated in the past decade, Dr. Sumpter states that the meteorological equipment used in the past was highly inaccurate and overestimated the ozone quantity in our atmosphere. He argues that the ozone layer is stable and relatively unaffected by man.

55. THE GENETIC PROOF OF HUMAN EVOLUTION FROM ANIMALS

Dr. Kenneth Russell
Professor of Genetics
Harvard University

Dr. Russell argues that the science of genetics now offers very strong support for the natural evolution of the species, and that evidence is outlined here.
56. **SAVING THE NORTHWESTERN REDWOOD: THERE IS MORE AT STAKE THAN THE WOOD OWL.**

Robert Grueden  
Assistant Chairperson  
Environmental Protection Agency

A leading ecologist indicates that cutting the northwestern redwoods would have a negative impact on much of North America. These ancient trees, because of their size, produce significantly more oxygen than their smaller counterparts.

57. **NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT ACCOUNT OF CREATION**

Dr. Thomas Johnson  
Professor of Archaeology  
California Archaeological Institute

Dr. Johnson describes recent archaeological discoveries which challenge the evolutionist account of creation, including recent fossil evidence for the sudden appearance of new species, contrary to evolutionary theory.

58. **DRUG-TESTING: ANOTHER SYMPTOM OF OUR ERODING CIVIL RIGHTS.**

Martha S. Clark  
Professor of Law  
University of Georgia

Mandatory drug tests for students is an invasion of one's body and another symptom of our deteriorating civil rights. Ms. Clark details a series of events occurring in the last thirty years that seems to indicate that we are moving toward "forced" drug-testing upon government demand.
59. THE HARMONY OF THE STORIES OF JESUS

Professor Deborah Budko
Andover Theological Seminary

With carefully reasoned arguments, Professor Budko answers those who discredit the accuracy of the New Testament accounts of Jesus' life, teachings, death, and resurrection.

60. DO WE HAVE A RIGHT TO DEMAND STUDENTS BE DRUG-FREE WHEN OUR TAX DOLLARS ARE SUPPORTING FEDERAL FINANCIAL AID?

Donald Griswald
Assistant Executive Chief (ret.) Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA)

Preliminary studies show that mandatory drug-testing of students applying for educational grants is supported by most tax-paying Americans.

61. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOUR GOSPELS

Dr. Helen Shue
Department of Philosophy and Religion
New York University

The accuracy of the Old Testament prophecies of Jesus remains perhaps the strongest evidence of his unique divinity, says Dr. Shue. She here details Old Testament prophecies which clearly were intended to forecast the coming of Christ, and which did so with amazing precision.

62. COULD EUTHANASIA BECOME A NIGHTMARE FOR AMERICA

Jules Carin, M.D.
National Medical Ethics Counsel

Any nation which sanctions euthanasia will inevitably have a governmental regulation of life-span.
63. THE ILLUSION OF PROPHECY

Dr. Harrison Gray
Professor of Biblical Studies
Yale Graduate School

There are no true prophecies of Jesus in the Old Testament nor real prophecies of future events in the New Testament, Dr. Gray argues. Rather, the New Testament writers misinterpreted Old Testament sayings to make them "fit" Jesus, and those things prophesied by New Testament writers did not happen as they expected.

64. HOW CAN A CIVILIZED AMERICA CONTINUE TO IGNORE THE EUTHANASIA ISSUE WHILE MILLIONS SUFFER.

Everett Petersen, Ph.D.
Professor of Theology
University of NY, Sunybrook

While euthanasia is a dignified and humane way for the terminally ill to end prolonged suffering, it is also the final opportunity for self determination in the midst of helplessness and despair.

65. THE PROPHETIC VISION

Dr. Walton Beacham
Department of Old Testament
Westminster Theological Seminary

According to Dr. Beacham, Jesus' apostles Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John did not write the gospels which bear their names in the Bible. Rather, these gospels developed gradually across the 100 years following the death of Jesus, and many of their accounts are highly inaccurate.
Definitely Do Not Want to Read  (-3)
Do Not Want to Read  (-2)
Mildly Do Not Want to Read  (-1)
Neutral  (0)
Mildly Want to Read  (+1)
Want to Read  (+2)
Definitely Want to Read  (+3)

66. WHY CENSORSHIP SHOULD FRIGHTEN YOU

Michael Sanders
Public Affairs Spokesperson
National Endowment for the Arts (NEA)

The recent proposal for legislation banning controversial art, censoring music, and imposing harsh penalties for flag-burning are a frightening indicator that America has become a society which punishes those who do not conform. While America has been on the cutting-edge of artistic and scientific development, we are now embarking on an era of repression and stagnation which we can ill afford in an increasingly competitive world market.

67. THE COMPILING OF THE BIBLE

Dr. Michael Green
Professor of Religion
Dallas Theological Seminary

The hand of God is clearly evident in the compiling of the Bible, Dr. Green proposes. The Bible as we know it was essentially compiled in its present form by the death of the last of the apostles. While there are alternate versions of the Bible compiled by Christian heretics, their existence does not undermine the authority and infallibility of the true Christian Bible.

68. WHEN CENSORSHIP BECOMES SELF-PRESERVATION

Laura Moore-Glass
Committee Chairperson
Citizens Against Obscenity

Mrs. Moore-Glass states that many popular music groups today are becoming rich from the filth they saturate our communities with while hiding behind the first amendment. She makes two points: 1) The writers of the first amendment did not foresee it being used as a loop-hole to justify obscenity; and 2) If necessary we must amend the constitution as an act of self-preservation.
69. THE MANY BIBLES OF CHRISTIANITY

Professor Emeritus William Barrett
Department of History
University of Maine

Many different Bibles have evolved in Christian history, says Professor Barrett. Only the protestant western Bible has our current 66 books, and that Bible was not compiled until the 16th century. Other branches of Christianity have evolved different Bibles. This wide variety of Bibles disproves the fundamentalist claim of an infallible Bible.

70. EVENTS THAT DOOMED OUR PREVIOUS WAR ON DRUGS

Dr. Lester Seib
Professor of Criminal Justice
Duke University

Dr. Seib states that the procedural limitations placed upon law enforcement officials in the name of civil rights protection, in the 1960's, have greatly undermined the publics' safety. More recently, the ineffectiveness of probation, furloughs, and federally funded treatment programs proves we need to return to serious punishment for serious crimes.

71. BIBLICAL MORALITY AND THE MODERN WORLD

Dr. Christopher Hall
Department of Philosophy
Princeton University

Professor Hall contends that in our complex, modern world many of the moral percepts of the New Testament are too out-dated to be useful. Strict adherence to Biblical morality would lead to unnecessary personal unhappiness and social repression.
72. THE WAR ON DRUGS: WHY EDUCATION IS THE ONLY ANSWER

Dr. Mark M. Niro
Professor of Sociology
Boston College

Dr. Niro points out that even the death penalty has not proven to be a deterrent to crime. He says that this being the case, it is unrealistic to expect the death penalty, and especially any lesser form of punishment, to be effective. He further states that only through educating people of the dangers of drugs can the problem be remedied. In conclusion, Dr. Niro states that the problem is in our demand for drugs.

73. THE CHANGELESS MORAL PRECEPTS OF CHRIST

Dr. Miles Johnstone
Department of Bible
Wheaton College

So much of the suffering, distress and disharmony in our modern world, Dr. Johnstone proposes, is because we have abandoned the basic moral absolutes taught by Christ and his apostles. A stronger emphasis upon these moral teachings in our society is the only way we can recover our goodness and strength as a society.

74. STYLE OVER SUBSTANCE

Aaron Dahlstrom
Editor, new music section
Rolling Stone Magazine

Current surveys show that people value an exciting music act over bands' whose primary concern is technical accuracy. Although this was the standard in the past, today's fans prefer intricately choreographed dance routines rather than long guitar solos. Ultimately, it is the obligation of the industry to provide a paying clientele what they desire.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR NOAH'S FLOOD

Professor Patricia Hallman
Department of Archaeology
University of Miami

Recent archaeological digs throughout the middle east support the accuracy of the biblical story of the great flood. While that flood may or may not have covered the entire planet, it appears to have covered the entire world as it was known and inhabited at that time.

DECEPTION IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

Steven Braithwaite
Legal Consultant
Consumers Advocacy, Inc.

In the 1980's we moved toward valuing style over substance. This has created an atmosphere where the sexual-attractiveness of music entertainers take precedence over musical skill. The music industry, being ever mindful of the public's wishes, has given the people exactly what they want, lip-synching puppets that sing neither live nor on their albums. The problem is that consumers buy records and tapes that falsely credit non-musicians in a manner that can be considered nothing less than blatant misrepresentation.

GENESIS AS MYTHOLOGY

Professor Susan Reed
Center for the Study of Middle Eastern History
Princeton University

The first twelve chapters of the book of Genesis are myths used by ancient men and women in a pre-scientific age to try to understand their world. The stories of the garden of Eden, of Noah and the flood, of Methuselah, and of the Tower of Babble should be understood as mythology, not as history. None of these events actually occurred.
The Debriefing Statement

Fellow Students:

You have just participated in a psychology study aimed at understanding factors which make us to want to read some articles and to avoid others. Psychologists have known for years that many people engage in "selective exposure." That is, many of us choose to read articles or view programs which support our own beliefs and try to avoid articles and programs which contradict our beliefs. However, some people do just the opposite; these people prefer to read and view materials which contradict their own beliefs rather than materials which support their beliefs.

The study you have just completed examined how our own religious beliefs influence what we choose to read. Undoubtedly, you noticed that some of the article summaries strongly supported a fundamentalist view of the Bible and opposed the theory of evolution; others took just the opposite view. In short, we are interested in how religious beliefs and attitudes, measured in the first part of the survey, influenced the selection of articles which you and others preferred in the second part of the survey.

We regret that it was necessary to temporarily deceive you in order to carry out this study. However, we hope you found the study interesting, and we think you will realize that this study could not have been conducted without this deception.

If you would like to receive a more complete report on this study after we have finished our analyses, please write your name and address on a separate paper and leave it with the examiner. Since your personal responses are anonymous, we will have no way of knowing or reporting to you about your individual results. However, we will be able to tell you more about how religious beliefs and attitudes influenced "selective exposure" for the participants in general.

We sincerely appreciate your participation.

Dr. Sam McFarland and Mr. Jim Warren
Department of Psychology
Western Kentucky University
Revisions of the Measure of Selective Exposure

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