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ABSTRACT

The fields of social and cognitive psychology and political science have offered several experimental designs for assessing the presence, type, and complexity of scripts (memory structures used to encode knowledge of an action) or event schemata. Script measurement is a potentially valuable tool for the study of information and news processing because the mass media typically present action-based sequences similar in nature to scripts. Most of the studies aimed at demonstrating the presence of a schema rely on hypothetical passages and indirect measurement strategies based on recall tests, clustering of related concepts, and inference based on prior knowledge. The study of information processing has focused on consensual or shared schemata--similar images for action-based or event stimuli shared by people in general. Media researchers are especially concerned with the assumption that people select specific schemata when processing various types of information supplied by the media--politics, sports, and weather, for example. The external validity of schema measurement has not been sufficiently assessed, though internal validity is rarely a problem in properly conducted experimental research characterized as a posttest only control group design. For the study of news and information processing, external validity should be sought using real news and information for stimulus material rather than hypothetical passages. References are included. (SRT)

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ABSTRACT

Schema measurement is a new frontier for communication and social cognition researchers. Recent research provides evidence that the schema concept may have significant utility in terms of explaining the processing of news and information in the mass media. But a variety of scholars have argued that adequate measurement approaches must be linked to the schema construct if it is to move toward acceptance as a formal theory. This report addresses this point.

Researchers in the domain of cognitive social psychology and political science have offered measurement approaches aimed at assessing the degree to which people employ consensual schemata. These approaches are rooted in conventional measurement techniques such as recall examinations, cluster analysis and inferential testing. This paper will offer a critique of these methods and provide a set of hypothetical examples illustrating the manner in which communication and mass media researchers may benefit from script measures.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO SCHEMA MEASUREMENT:

Applying 'Script' Measures to Mass Media Information Processing

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PURPOSE

The purpose of this report is to review and explore the various approaches to schema measurement. The specific form of schema measurement to be considered is that of event schemata or 'scripts.' Both terms are synonymous and refer simply to action-based schemata. Schank and Abelson (1977) use the term script to refer to the memory structure a person uses in encoding his general knowledge of a certain situation-action routine. Approaches to 'script' measurement will serve as the focus since news and information provided in the mass media is typically presented in action based sequences similar in nature to scripts as conceptualized by Schank and Abelson.

Social psychologists and political scientists have offered several experimental designs aimed at assessing the presence, type and complexity of scripts. Experimental approaches permit manipulation of messages. Only a single study of interest to media researchers has utilized survey data in the course of schemata measurement (Lau, 1984). Graber (1984) used the schema construct to explain the findings of her panel study on political information processing, but she made no attempt to quantify the schemata used by the members of the panel.

The experimental design typically employed might best be described as conforming to the posttest-only control group design. Campbell and Stanley (1966) explain that true experimental designs employ methods of randomization to assure that all groups are equal prior to introduction of the stimulus. Most of the work in schema measurement has conformed to this

requirement. But recent experiments have emphasized individual difference among groups studied leading to assignment to a treatment group based upon a variable such as expertise. These emerging measurement approaches rely on quasi-experimental approaches. Therefore, script measurement is possible in both experimental and quasi-experimental settings.

Virtually all of the experimental research approaches involve instructions to subjects designed to invoke a specific schema. Stimulus materials (normally in the form of a topical text concerning the schema hypothesized schema) are then introduced to the subjects. The subjects are then tested to evaluate presumed script guidance of message processing. Measures commonly used include: 1. recall tests; 2. clustering of related concepts and 3. inference based on prior knowledge.

This paper is concerned with schemata measurement as it applies to communication and mass media researchers. The focus will therefore center on script measurement--a specific type of schema measurement. Following a general overview of script measurement approaches, the focus of this report will shift to an assessment of political schema measurement. Processing of political information has been singled out since it accounts for the greatest volume of news and information provided by the media. In addition, some work in political script measurement has already been conducted providing a foundation upon which to build. Hypothetical examples will be provided during the course of this report to facilitate an understanding of the experimental designs and methods to be introduced.

SCHEMA THEORY: THE USE OF INDIRECT SCHEMATA MEASURES

ailed theoretical analyses of the schema concept have provided by authors in social psychology (Fiske & Taylor, 1981; Norman & Bobrow, 1975), political science (1973; Lau, 1984) and communications (Reeves, Chaffee & 1982). Several plausible models detailing the schema process have been suggested by these authors. But theoretical models must be supplemented with workable designs and measurement approaches to be of utility.

Researchers have alternately used terms such as prototypes (Mischel, 1977) and social scripts (Schank & Abelson, 1977) to describe active information processing and retrieval. Lippmann first wrote of stereotypes--a precursor to the notion--in 1922 in his classic work Public Opinion. Schemas suggest that in the course of information processing, individuals with expertise in a given topical domain typically use several schemata rather than a single schema. Conversely, individuals with limited experience in a domain typically use fewer (or a single schema) in evaluating information.

Abstractness of the schema concept prompted early researchers to simply 'assume' the presence of schemata in information processing. This assumption stemmed from the availability of techniques capable of getting inside peoples' minds to evaluate the presence or sophistication of a particular schema. But during the past decade, several indirect approaches

to schema measurement have been employed that to some extent circumvent this problem. These techniques have helped to lay the foundation upon which the schema notion rests.

While less than perfect, these indirect measures provide a pathway whereby the schema notion may move toward acceptance as a formal theoretical construct. Most of the studies demonstrating the presence of a schema rely on measurement approaches that test recall, evaluate inferential capabilities, and assess the tendency of an individual to cluster related concepts.

Cognition researchers propose that high levels of related information is related to well developed schemata and that new information is assimilated easily into a developed schema. Clustering of concepts measures the manner in which people group related concepts together. Inferential abilities are assumed to represent schema presence and sophistication since people with well developed schemata for a particular domain typically find it easier to draw on past experience to fill in missing information. Researchers typically use several measures concurrently to assess the validity of the scores obtained. A close watch is kept on the experimental design to assure reliable results.

The communication field has a rich research tradition in evaluating the effects of media messages on audiences in our society. Research has focused on topics such as the impact of television on children and potential for media inspired behavior. Much of this work is based on theoretical and methodological approaches advanced in social psychology.

Measurement offers the promise of putting this past into context. It promises explanations as to why messages have an effect on certain people leading to responses and behavior. Schema theory offers the to explain different impact of messages on different of the audience. Quantitative measurement offers the of assessing the degree to which people consensually scripts in information processing. While less precise during column inches in a newspaper or counting stories evening news, schema measurement promises useful on the extent to which the messages serve a purpose. All psychologists suggest that several concurrent measures such as recall, inference and clustering offer that people indeed call upon similar or different in the course of information processing. Schema at concerns measuring the presence of generic knowledge --not specific knowledge in a given topical domain. They have typically invoked a schema--democracy for and then assessed the manner in which people evaluated on based upon the invoked construct. Experimental approaches have been the mainstay of schema at techniques. But recent researchers have also begun the survey approaches with some success. A measurement ed on survey data will be evaluated presently. The al approaches will be evaluated subsequently.

THE SURVEY APPROACH

Lau (1984) utilized open-ended survey questions from the Center for Political Election Studies (CPS) at the University of Michigan as a gauge of schemata. Each of the survey questions introduced one of the four categories (issues, groups, party candidate personality factors). The precise wording of the question was as follows:

Now, I'd like to ask you what do you think are the good and bad points about the parties. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic Party? (If yes:) What is that? Anything else?

Up to three responses were recorded. The questions used the label for the schema--in this case Democratic. Respondents answered the questions based on upon the sum of all of their knowledge concerning political parties. This type of inquiry is known as cue-free recall. Taylor and Fiske (1976) suggest that this method is one of the least precise measures of schema content.

Lau (1984) acknowledged the limitations and deficiencies of this technique suggesting that the responses inevitably include a good deal of random noise, which will decrease the power of the analyses to find significant effects. "Common sense provides most people with something to say about a 'party' or a particular 'politician' when provided with a label--if for no other reason than to avoid creating the impression that they are uninformed. Recent work by Lau (1984) supports this proposition.

Schema theory rests on the assumption that general knowledge

res guide processing of specific information. In order to
is proposition, specific information must be provided to
dependent and then followed up with measures believed to
information processing capabilities. Accurate and
ate responses to survey questions may indeed demonstrate
ence of a well developed schema. However, researchers
nce again resort to simply assuming that it is the schema
ot specific knowledge) that has been tapped. The next
of this report will endeavor to demonstrate that
ntel procedures, with their manipulative capabilities
re promise for the study of event schemata.

EXPERIMENTAL APPROACH

bulk of literature on schema measurement comes from
psychology, a science steeped and deeply rooted in the
mental tradition. Most schema research designs query
als on a specific set of information or a 'knowledge set'
as been provided by the experimenter. This enables the
er to evaluate recall based upon the specifics of the
ion provided. This approach guards against purely
ral or impromptu answers.

jects are typically presented with an unfamiliar
e set and then asked to answer questions or draw
es. Schema theory suggests that individuals possessing a
fined schema in that domain will have more success at
of related information, infer more and tend to cluster
concepts more than individuals with an ill defined
It is this introduction of the knowledge set that makes

the experimental approach superior to the survey
Individuals are required to recall, cluster and infer
a specific knowledge set. Survey techniques draw upon
general knowledge. Thus, individuals with well defined
in a given topical domain will process new information
that domain better than individuals with an ill defined
Unlike the survey technique, it is possible to evaluate
greater precision the amount of a specific set of messa
was processed.

Experimental approaches represent the most recent
in the area of schema measurement. A variety of schol
recently offered improvements on some of the earlier
precise measurement methods (Cantor & Mischel, 1979;
Feldman, 1981; Markus & Smith, 1981; Ostrom, Pryor
1981). The literature employing experimental approaches
outstrips any other approach to schema me
The logical starting point in this inquiry into m
approaches requires the specification of variables use
research. Most studies in the past have manipulated a
perspective of the individual or the label for a
schema. These manipulations have served as the i
variables.

The amount of recall, inferential abilities and
of concepts have traditionally served as the dependent
The oldest literature on measurement of consensual s
barely a decade old. A review of this emerging body of
literature may be in order.

LITERATURE REVIEW OF EXPERIMENTAL APPROACHES

and Kinder (1981, pg. 173) report that research in schema terms has demonstrated a preference for and refining general principles of information. Much of this work has focused on consensual or schemata. Experiments on consensual schemata have tested the thesis that people share schemata--that people in general use similar images for action based or event stimulus. Abelson and Schenk (1977) propose that part of our knowledge is organized around hundreds of stereotypical scripts with routine activities. Examples would include a dentist or ordering a meal in a restaurant. This thesis is supported by a series of recent studies (Anderson et al., 1978; Bower, Black and Turner, 1979; Fiske, Taylor, and Laufer, 1979). But more recent work also suggests that differences provide for substantially different levels of processing of information based on script development (Fiske, Bower, and Carter, 1983; Graber, 1984; and Merkus, 1977). Bower, Black and Turner (1979) suggested that consensual schemata are rooted in a form of 'cultural uniformity' which tends to lead people to share perceptual stereotypes concerning the way in which certain routine typical events unfold. They hypothesized that subjects presented with a hypothetical scenario would be more likely to remember information or misremember facts from a story based on the script expected to transpire. The researchers operationalized this thesis by asking student subjects (N=161) to generate a

script (dependent measure) based on their expectations of a series of common events such as "ordering a meal in a restaurant" (independent variable) should unfold. They then assessed the consensual agreement on characters, props, action content, and the other elements of the stories generated.

But they went further than simply reporting that people use scripts to conceptualize social information in a similar fashion. In a similar fashion, researchers tested recall on implied information by presenting a second set of respondents (N=18) to read a series of stories. Each story was different but many were related to general themes. For example, stories entitled "The Dentist" and "The Chiropractor" were all included. The subjects then wrote down all of the information they could recall about certain stories. The results were subjected to an analysis of variance which stated actions were compared to unstated script actions and finally to other actions.

In another experiment, Bower, Black and Turner (1979) asked 19 subjects (N=12) to study two sets of actions--one set of actions for a script in a logical order and a second set of actions for the same script with action items incorrectly arranged (independent variable). They then asked the respondents to arrange a set of cards depicting the actions in the original order (dependent measure). The results were analyzed using ANOVA to determine whether subjects could misremember information to make it conform to the script.

Anderson andichert (1978) looked at the processing of directed social events in another set of experiments.

measure was level of processing based on information rooted in the directives of the researcher. The independent variable was goal directed processing operationalized by asking respondents to assume a given perspective. Students read a story about the behavior of two boys while skipping rope. The action in the text was set in the home of one of the boys. The passage contained information of interest to a home buyer and a burglar. A total of 72 facts (or questions) were provided.

Half of the students were assigned to the group asked to read the text from the perspective of a burglar (burglar schema) and the other half read it from the perspective of a home buyer (home buyer schema). Then they wrote down all they could recall from the story. After a distractor task, the students were asked to recall facts from the story but half of each group was to do so from the other perspective. The researchers analyzed the recalled facts from the differing perspectives to determine whether or not processing was different depending on the perspective of the individual attempting to retrieve the information. An ANOVA performed on the data suggested that being asked to take a new perspective led subjects to invoke a different schema that provided cues for processing of different categories of information.

For example, Taylor, Etcoff & Laufer (1979) explicitly instructed subjects (N=50) to take the point-of-view of individuals mentioned in the text they provided. The researchers instructed the students to read an accident from the point of view of the motorcyclist

or the cabbie involved in the mishap or from the perspective of the spectator. The set of experiments were designed to test the effects of goal directed processing based on visual point-of-view influences. The students answered a series of questions based on a text they had read about an accident. The questions probed specific details such as the sequence of the events leading up to the accident. The students also assessed responsibility for the accident to one of the parties involved. The recall and attribution data were each analyzed separately.

The independent variable in this experiment was the perspective of the person reading the text. The dependent measures were drawn from the answers to the open-ended questions. An ANOVA involving recall suggested that recall is enhanced by goal orientation on visual perspective and goal orientation. Of prime interest in this study is that people selectively processed visual information. Not all of the information was semantically equal. Each student was instructed to read the text from a particular point-of-view. Specific groups of people processed information in a particular manner based on a point-of-view schema invoked by the researchers.

These experiments have tended to demonstrate that people apparently conceptualize simple action-based routines in a particular fashion. But what of more complex scripts? Can we find evidence in fact that individual differences in people may cause individual variation based upon socio-cultural differences in people?

It is this very point that Markus addressed in her pioneering work on individual differences in self

1977; Markus & Smith, 1981). Markus hypothesized that schema will determine the type of self-judgments that are made and that these judgments will vary in latency depending on the nature and content of self-schemata. She also predicted that individuals with self-schemata (operationalized as highly organized or independent) should find it easier to describe behavior that is related to their schemas and should be more certain about prediction of their behavior along with more information than individuals with an ill-defined self-schema. Markus (1977) demonstrated that people process information differently depending upon the degree to which a particular domain is salient. She used the term 'aschematic' to refer to individuals with significant interest or knowledge in a particular stimulus domain. 'Aschematic' conversely refers to individuals with little or no knowledge or interest in a particular domain. The specific design and measurement techniques utilized in this research are of little importance to researchers since design and measurement techniques used in the evaluation of self-schema are strikingly different from those employed in script analysis. But this work is distinguished because of the design and measurement techniques--that of individual differences--are clearly an important concern to news and information providers. Markus provided a foundation upon which others have built. Koeske (1983) proposed that knowledge possessed by individuals in a given topical domain is denser (they possess more facts and concepts are better integrated) than knowledge

possessed by novices in that domain. Their work reflects the underpinning of schema theory--that 'experts' may be expected to draw on more schemata when processing information than 'novices.' It should be noted that use of the 'aschematic' and the expert (schematic) dichotomy is not intended to imply that all people can be neatly categorized as one or the other. Categorization of people simply represents a continuum, thereby establishing the variance between experimental research.

Fiske, Kinder and Larter (1983) suggest that political understanding depends vitally on past experience and that individuals will vary enormously in both the availability of schemata and how available schemata are used. The "political involvement" should differ from the uninformed in their processing of information about politics: in the nature of schemata available to them, in the ease by which such schemata are invoked, and in the facility with which such schemata are employed in information processing." As such, assimilation of information is facilitated if an individual is politically astute.

Fiske, Kinder and Larter (1983) designed a series of experiments intended to evaluate specific differences in political information processing. They assembled a group of political 'experts' and a group of political 'novices' and operationalized this concept by evaluating individual levels of political involvement using standard measures provided by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. The researchers predicted that political experts and novices

information consistent with their shared prior knowledge that they hypothesized that the experts would also use information inconsistent within the knowledge set provided. This was tested by asking students (N=82) to participate in a media experiment. The researchers prepared a text about Mauritius, a little known country in the Indian Ocean. The text was laden with information tending toward democratic and communistic forms of government. The opening sentence of the text manipulated the information set by suggesting the country was communistic, democratic or neither (independent variable).

The students were then asked to recall as many facts as they could. They also made inferences about the country by answering questions not included in the text. Amount of recall was measured by counting the facts recalled and by applying the recall data to an ANOVA on knowledge (communistic/democratic/neither) by expertise (high/low) by information type (text/democratic). Inferences were analyzed using an ANOVA on knowledge set (communistic/democratic/neither) by expertise (high/low). The researchers also utilized a measure of hierarchical clustering (Adjusted Ratio of Clustering) which measures the manner in which like concepts cluster together.

The relative relevance of all of the individual difference studies is summarized (Fiske & Kinder, 1981, pg. 177).

"Through practice, experts acquire more and more complexly organized knowledge, which includes strategies for dealing with particular domains. This knowledge structures-in our theoretical terminology, schemata-encompass both declarative knowledge (descriptions of attributes) and procedural knowledge (rules or strategies for the use of that knowledge)."

These experiments suggest that people tend to construct action based routines in a similar fashion based in large part on cultural norms dictated by the society. Yet differences in roles (among other reasons) accounts for individual differences in people. Thus schema measurement offers the opportunity to assess the degree to which people share action based structures. Script analysis provides a specific blueprint for assessing how information is assimilated easily for audience segments and aggregates. However, each topical domain must be assessed individually. This suggests that instead of simply measuring people on general information preferences such as feature versus political news, it is essential to dissect each type of news. Such an approach will inevitably involve considerable refinements of the measurement approaches that have heretofore been explored.

Political information will serve as an appropriate starting point in this endeavor since some work in this area has already commenced. The following section will provide a rationale for the selection of political information.

SCHEMA USAGE IN POLITICAL INFORMATION PROCESSING

Scholars since Lippmann (1922) have proposed that people use schemata in the course of news and information processing. A major concern to media researchers is the assumption that people use specific schemata when processing various types of information (politics, economics, sports, weather, etc.) supplied by the media. Schema measurement hinges substantially

ication and measurement of consensual schema usage among
e members.

Political information offers promise with regard to schema
ment for the following reasons.

Political schemata have been studied and
analyzed in the political science literature:
As such, suitable measurement models may be
applied in attempting to segment audiences
based on consensual schemata.

Proliferation of political information:
Political information seems an appropriate
starting point in analyzing the manner in
which information and consensual schemata
interact since political news and information
is presented with greater regularity than any
other type of information.

Political information is all around us. Gans (1979, pg. 16)

that approximately 35% of all of the news stories on

(network) news programs are political in nature. If other

ally tangential types of news stories are included, the

rises to above 40%. A more recent content analysis

(1985) suggests that 30% of the stories on American

(k) newscasts are primarily political and 53% deal

ially with politics. The sheer volume of political

s to which people are confronted on a daily basis makes it

al choice for the study of applying schema theory to news

ormation processing.

Political information provides an excellent opportunity for

y of schema measurement for a variety of other reasons as

most Americans remain rather indifferent to, and generally

nformed about, much of what transpires in the political

espite the sheer volume of political information to which

the average person is exposed (Converse, 1975; Sears, 1969)

average person is extremely selective when approaching the

of political information available (Graber, 1984). The pot

for obtaining political information is relatively high but

average person's typical investment in developing pol

expertise is relatively low (Converse, 1975; Downs,

Lippmann, 1922).

But while many people may process relatively

political information, political experts (Fiske, Kinder & L

1983) apparently process and retain political information

relative ease. The political expert is believed to emp

greater number of schemata in the course of inform

processing than does the novice. Politics allows the

assemblage of groups with widely divergent processing abil

Graber (1984) is perhaps the first and quite possibl

only researcher to thus far conceptualize the a

significance of schema research for mass media scholars.

absence of a trough full of literature in the communic

concerning schema application, an illustration of its pot

utility based upon a recent event will be sketched.

President Aquino in the Philippines recently captured

and national attention by striking a chord rooted in human

and democracy. National and world attention quickly focused on t

island because it presumably activated a related and well

schema--that of people taking charge of their lives.

Effectively striking a well defined communal schema ine

paves the way for transmission of information capable of s

a collective chord among audience members thereby lead

enhanced audience loyalty and increased size.

EXAMPLES OF SCRIPT MEASUREMENT APPROACHES

Research literature from the past decade clearly suggests that people share stereotypical scripts. Cultural norms, for example, dictate the set protocol to be employed in the course of dining out at a restaurant. These norms lead to shared conceptualizations of typical action-based events or consensual script. But this research does not imply that scripts are identical or uniform between people. The restaurant script of a wealthy person may include tipping of the maitre d'--an attribute not typically included in the dining out script of the less well-

How might media researchers utilize such research? A series of hypothetical examples will be provided intended to illustrate an explanation of the potential applied significance of script measurement in media research.

Suppose the anchorman on the evening news reports that an accident has taken place. Mere mention of the accident may prompt people to visualize the scene of an automobile accident. Generic accident pictures based on prior experience and stored in the mind will be summoned to create a mental accident script. More of the script may be filled in if a person is told that an antique Corvette and a school bus were involved. And more still if the person knows that the accident took place at the corner of Elm Street and Vine. But will the person attend to information about the accident provided on the evening news? The answer is yes if the information is schema-relevant. But if people share consensual schemata, what makes an

event schema-relevant for one person and schema-irrelevant for another. The following example from political science attempts to top clarify the picture (Converse, 1975, pg. 97).

EXAMPLE 1

"If an informed observer hears a surprising policy statement in the news by the secretary of defense, he may prick up his ears and pay close attention. He related this information to what he knows of recent policy, what he knows of the secretary's relationship to the president, what he knows of past positions the secretary may have taken, and the like, since he is intensely interested to detect even small reorientations of national policy. In short, he automatically imports enormous amounts of prior information that lends the new statement high interest.

The poorly informed person hearing the same statement, finds it as dull as the rest of the political news. He only dimly understands the role of the secretary of defense and has no vivid image grounded in past information as to the inclinations of the current incumbent. His awareness of current policy is sufficiently gross that he has no expectation of detecting nuances of change. So the whole statement is confronted with next-to-no past information at all, hence is just more political blather: in five minutes he probably will not remember that he heard such a statement, much less be able to reconstruct what was said.

This example clearly illustrates the range of political schemata possessed by two different people. To measure consensual schemata, it will be essential to measure individual schemata in a relatively large sample and then find commonalities. Lau developed his typology of schemata typically employed in political information processing from the election studies carried out by the Center for Political Studies at the University of Michigan. This typology will serve as a starting point for political schema measurement since it offers the opportunity to evaluate several of the fundamental political concepts.

exhaustive--indeed--more or fewer categories could be
However, it seems to offer broad knowledge bands while
ing certain specific characteristics to each component of
ogy. The typology includes issues, political parties,
(politician) personality factors and attributes
d with specific social groups. While information
and most people use each of these schemata at certain
t seems possible that people may use greater or lesser
f these schemata based upon individual differences such
iae. Consider this example.

EXAMPLE 2

Suppose that 70% of the people who are exposed
political information through the television
media rely primarily on their 'politician'
a in interpreting the information. And suppose
action suppliers typically invoke the 'issues'
'party' schema in the course of presenting the
ation.

Neither the audience nor the information
er derives maximum utility from the message
this scenario. Quite simply, the messages are
ted in a manner which is difficult for the
ity of the people to process. And the
action supplier runs the risk of losing
nce members unable to process the information.

ne measurement is essential to evaluate which schemata.

what extent these schemata, are used by members or

of the audience. Thus specification of shared schemata

people is essential if media information suppliers

wish to provide information in a highly processable

to a definable (presumably large) audience segment or

a of segments.

ll testing of information processing is related to

on recall. Social psychologists suggest that accurate

and abundant recall reflects efficient information pro
And the literature suggests that recall testing is an es
element of all script measurement. But heretofore, the sp
concerning recall measurement have been skirted. This w
remedied in the example to follow.

Hypothetical Example Of Recall Testing

Consider this scenario. A group (N=100) of individ
eaked to view a television newscast with equivalent amou
the four types of political information identified by Lau
independent variable will be goal directed information pro
and the dependent measure will be absolute recall. Fiske,
and Larter (1983) have done work similar to the example be

EXAMPLE 3

Suppose a sample (N=100) is divided into five
equal groups (N=20 per group). They are asked to
view political stories embedded in a newscast. A
total of 20 political facts is provided. (Five
facts for each of the four schemata are offered).

Group 1 is told they will be asked to recall
party information. Group 2 is told they will be
asked to recall candidate (politician) personality
factors. Group 3 is told to recall issues
information. Group 4 is told they will be quizzed
on group information. Group 5 (control) is told
that they will be asked to recall the information
in the newscast. Each subject views the newscast.

Each subject is then asked to recall the
information they were directed to process. After
this task is complete, they will be asked to recall
each of the other categories of information.
Each response might then coded using the four-part
typology for political information (issues, groups
parties or politicians). The results will be
subjected to an ANOVA in which goal directed
processing may serve as the independent variable
and recall of information specific to the
categories will serve as the dependent measure.

Hypothetical ANOVA table has been provided below. The data show that each group successfully performed the task of recalling the specific information requested better than the other two types of information. However, the table also shows that people tend to process group oriented information (mean recall = 2.8) with relative ease and issue related information (mean recall = 1.6) comparatively poorly.

HYPOTHETICAL MEAN RECALL OF POLITICAL INFORMATION IN NEWSCAST Knowledge Set

Group (N/100)	Info. Type	Party	Cand.	Issues	Group	Mean Recall
N/20)	Party	2.8	1.6	1.2	2.8	2.1
N/20)	Cand.	2.1	2.8	1.3	2.7	2.2
N/20)	Issue	2.0	1.7	2.0	2.5	2.1
N/20)	Group	2.0	1.8	1.4	3.2	2.1
N/20)	Control	1.8	1.9	2.1	2.6	2.1
		2.1	2.0	1.6	2.8	

Information yielded from this table may guide media managers on efficiently supplying information to the audience. It may also for example, alert media managers to the fact that people in a given market process information on issues poorly. Therefore, special attention may be given to the manner in which issues are portrayed through the clarification and simplicity in presentation are essential for effective message transmission. The results of the measurement approach above may provide applicable guidance for programming based on consensual schemata for the general populace. However, this approach can be easily adapted for specialized audiences. Suppose for example that a manager decides to tailor the message for political elites.

He may simply follow the path forged by Fiske, Kinder and Ostrom (1983) in measuring the processing abilities of specific audience segments. Using political involvement, for example, as a criterion variable, news managers may study processing of specific audiences.

Hypothetical Example Of Adjusted Ratio of Clustering (ARC)

The second measure known as the adjusted ratio of clustering (ARC) method (Bousfield & Bousfield, 1966; Ostrom, Simpson, 1981; Roenker, Thompson & Brown, 1971) indexes the deviation of clustering from levels based on chance. Clustering in free recall identifies the presence of schemata by demonstrating that items within similar categories tend to cluster. Conceptual clustering of concepts provides evidence that people do group thoughts and ideas--a major assumption underlying the schema theory.

Schema theory suggests that people cluster similar information as a strategy to organize social information. Suppose for example that a group of subjects are read a list of words containing the names of animals randomly interspersed among the names of flowers. Researchers have found that the order in which items are listed in free recall reflects their associated organized memory. Specifically, subjects with well-developed animal and flower schemata will cluster the animals in order of the recall sequence and flowers in another (Ostrom, Simpson, 1981).

A number of indices for clustering of free recall have

The relative advantages and disadvantages of many of clustering methods have been outlined by Shuell (1969). method--the Adjusted Ratio Clustering (ARC) technique--related highly (.90) with other measures (Ostrom, Pryor & 1981). For this reason, it alone will be considered. e derived from ARC measures represents the ratio of category repetitions above chance to the total possible repetitions above chance (Ostrom, Pryor and Simpson. the following equation represents the theoretical ARC y formula.

$$ARC = \frac{R-E(R)}{\text{Max } R-E(R)}$$

the total number of observed repetitions. (A repetition is defined as occurring anytime two items from the same conceptual category are reported contiguously.) the chance number of category repetitions. the maximum number of category repetitions

employ this technique, adjacent pairs of items must be Since the raw number of adjacent pairs is confounded l recall of each type, the clustering scores have to be for the number of pairs expected by chance (Fiske, 1983) which in turn is a function of the number n a given topical domain.

use a researcher was interested in demonstrating that es' concepts cluster together. The following applied y be employed in conceptual cluster analysis.

$$ARC = \frac{R_i - [M_i \frac{2}{(N-1)} \frac{1}{k}]}{(n-k) - [n \frac{2}{(n-1)}]}$$

where R_i = observed number of pairs (issues)
 m_i = total recall (issues)
 N = total recall (issues, politicians, party and
 k = number of categories = 4
 m = maximum possible number of category repetition

The same formula will be used repeatedly for each four concepts. The numbers generated will be summed across group and averaged. They will then be submitted to another test in the following manner.

EXAMPLE 4

Suppose that two people with different levels of political expertise are asked to watch a television newscast which contains several political stories. And they are directed to pay attention to information that concerns social 'groups.' The total number of facts provided for each category of information (parties, groups, issues and candidates) is five for a total of 20 facts. The first person (Pa) recalls all of the groups information contiguously and the clusters related concepts in a bunches. The second person (Pb) recalls very little of the information and none of the concepts are clustered contiguously. Such that:

Pa = AAAAABBBCBCCCCDBDD
 Pb = ABCJABCD

where Pa = the political "expert"
 Pb = the political "novice"
 And A = facts recalled concerning political "groups"
 B = facts concerning political "parties"
 C = facts concerning "politicians"
 D = facts concerning "issues"

Using the formula provided, it is possible to generate a coefficient for clustering where perfect clustering in this case would be .242 (as with Pa), and poor recall with no clustering would represent be -.35 (as with Pb). Clustering of 1.0 is possible only when a single category stimulus is invoked. When multiple categories are invoked, the perfect score drops.

emonstration of this techniques may help.

AAAAADBBCBCCCCDBDD

ject Pa clustered all of the A's (group concepts) for a total of four pairs. This person recalled five (group concepts). Total recall for A's (groups), B's (parties), C's (politicians) and D's (issues) was 20. The number of categories is four (issues, parties, politicians and groups). The maximum number of category repetitions for A's is four.

Therefore:

$$ARC = \frac{4 - [5 \frac{2}{4} (20-1) \frac{2}{4}]}{(20-4) - [4 \frac{2}{4} (20-1)]} = \frac{3.67}{15.15} = .242$$

HYPOTHETICAL CLUSTERING OF POLITICAL CONCEPTS
Knowledge Set

Knowledge Level	Info. Type	Party	Cand.	Issues	Group	Mean Cluster
Expert (Pa)	Party	.21	.14	.17	.18	.18
	Cand.	.18	.22	.21	.19	.20
	Issue	.08	.14	.23	.20	.16
	Group	.12	.17	.19	.24	.18
Novice (Nb)	Party	-.26	-.23	-.30	-.35	-.29
	Cand.	-.30	-.28	-.19	-.35	-.28
	Issue	-.26	-.24	-.05	-.35	-.23
	Group	-.34	-.07	-.05	-.35	-.20

Visual inspection of clustering table offers evidence that the results complement and corroborate the recall table demonstrated above. Specifically, the individual with the well developed political schemata (expert = Pa) clustered facts related to the recall of political information better than novices. Such a result would be of little surprise. However, by combining and comparing the cluster scores of all of the individuals it is

possible to predict which components of the information were most easily processed by the greatest number of individuals. Furthermore, as with the recall example, information can be programmed for specific segments by grouping political concepts and novices separately.

It should be noted that the largest possible coefficient for any category in this example is .24. By adding individual cluster scores together, it is possible to obtain an overall picture of total clustering. And of course, a perfect clustering in all categories would yield a 1.0. In some cases where clustering and recall are extremely poor, the coefficient can go below -1.0. This instance is illustrated above. In this example, summing the group scores above will yield -1.0, which suggests that positive and negative scores do not have the same meaning. However, Ostrom, Pryor and Simpson (1971) suggest that negative scores larger than -1.0 are the exception rather than the rule.

It should also be noted that the ARC formula is designed to test recall as it tests clustering. Recall is a prerequisite for any form of clustering. Concepts cannot be clustered if they cannot be recalled. Thus the recall and clustering tables tend to reflect the same sorts of trends--although discrepancies are not uncommon. But taken together, they are assumed to reflect the presence of an action schema or script.

Final Example Of Inferential testing

third approach involves evaluation of inferential
ea. Typical inferential tests involve asking members
subject pool to infer from information not provided in the
set. The following example should facilitate an
ing of this approach.

EXAMPLE 5

Fiske, Kinder and Larter (1983) examined
edge-based strategies in political cognition
function of expertise.

Student subjects were divided into experts and
novices based upon measures of political
expertise developed by the University of
Michigan's Center for Political Studies for use in
national surveys.

Subjects read a description of a previously
unknown third world country (Mauritius) after being
informed that it was communist, democratic or
undecided. Concepts typically associated with
communism and communistic forms of government
were interspersed throughout the article. An
example of a democratic concept was "An open
press keeps Mauritian citizens informed about
all events and what is going on in
the country." An example of a communist concept is
"Mauritians generally do not speak out in
opposition to the government." Subjects were not
informed that Mauritius is actually a British Island in
the Indian Ocean.

The subjects in this experiment were then
asked to make inferences about Mauritius. They were
asked questions like "How easy or difficult do you
think it would be for a citizen to emigrate from
Mauritius?" Note that none of the inference
questions were directly addressed in the text. All
questions were provided on anchored 9-point scales.
The sum of these mentions was submitted to an
Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) on expertise
(low) by description (communist/democrat).
The results suggest that novice or low-involvement
subjects made inferences that were more consistent
with the set (or label) provided, while experts
made inferences more influenced by inconsistencies
in the description.

Study conducted by Fiske, Kinder & Larter (1983)

suggests that the political novices simply began the form
schemata based on the facts provided and the label given
text. The political elites conversely used different
information and inconsistencies in formulating responses.
Results suggest that differences in processing, based on
available schemata, exist in the course of processing
information.

RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

Reliability concerns are paramount with regard to
measurement since this research area has only recently
been explored and is therefore comparatively unexplored. It has been
noted that schemata cannot be directly measured and that researchers
must often rely on indirect measures such as recall exams,
clustering in free recall (ARC), and inferential testing.
It has also been pointed out in the literature review that
these measures have recently been used concurrently to cross-check
each other.

Multiple indicators are typically used to assess
the reliability of the schema measures obtained. Several
measures are taken concurrently reflecting similar patterns of processing
and are believed to validate each other. Social science research
is generally trusted only when several measures demonstrate
consistency, especially when the focus of the research is in a relatively
new or unexplored measurement domain (Simon & Burnstein, 1978).
Schema researchers have used several techniques to get

on of these organized knowledge structures. But the measure that permeates virtually all of the literature on measurement is that of recall testing.

Testing has been employed in most of the studies during the past decade (Anderson & Fichert, 1978; Bower, Black & Turner, 1979; Evans & Fulero, 1978; Fiske, Kinder & Larter, 1983; Taylor, Etcoff & Lauffar, 1979; O'Sullivan & Durso, 1984; R & Cantor, 1978). But recall testing alone cannot be considered a reliable measure of schema presence or activation. Hence inferential testing and clustering techniques have thus been employed to buttress the argument that schema reflects the knowledge contained within a schema.

Early work in script measurement (Bower, Black & Turner, 1979) relied almost exclusively on recall testing. More recent work tended to include all three techniques (Fiske, Kinder & Larter, 1983). It should be noted that these two studies cited appeared in journals within a four year span and that new measurement approaches will likely continue to emerge for the future. But it is impossible at this point to assess the degree of certainty whether any of these approaches is superior to any other. These measurement approaches are being tested at neither meta-analyses nor Monte Carlo studies have as yet been conducted to assess the relative worth of these approaches.

In the absence of formal studies of schema validity upon which to draw, the measurement approaches will be critiqued in a descriptive fashion utilizing the formal definitions for "content

validity, criterion related validity and construct validity (Zeller & Carminas, 1980).

Content or face validity is a system of using logic, common sense and previous work in the interest of specifying which variables represent an abstract concept. Schema theory rests on the assumption that a script serves as the central prototype model for any given sequence of events encountered by an individual. Individuals with well developed schemata in a domain will logically recall new information in that domain better than others with poorly developed schemata. Recall of information serves as the dependent measure. Schema theory suggests that new information can be more easily assimilated when a related schema is available. This proposition seems plausible and is probably true from a common sense standpoint.

A person will also logically infer more from a given amount of information if he possesses a well developed schema. A knowledgeable individual simply has a greater knowledge base upon which to draw and will find it easier to find parallel situations in which the information which serve as a model for current incoming information. Individuals well versed in a given topical domain will be able to cluster related concepts when asked to do so based upon their enhanced appreciation of the boundaries for a given concept. A professional baseball player will be able to cluster all major league teams. The less interested observer may include only the football teams in the list and fail to include several other teams.

Criterion related validity is established when the

a scale and a variable can be reasonably gauged. It is free to which an operational definition categorizes in the same way as a well-accepted (or criterion) does. Criterion validity is normally gauged through of a correlation coefficient to determine the degree of on between the new measurement and the criterion (Phillips, 1985). Criterion validity may come into play a measurement especially in development of the at instrument and during the coding of open-ended

ot measures typically ask people to recall facts based knowledge set provided by the researcher. Coders must the responses to assess the degree to which people or grouped certain conceptual items. If the sorting are too similar, for example, coders may fail to sort uses in a similar fashion. High intercoder reliability es appropriate analysis of the data. Criterion refers to highly specific elements of the research rather than the broad concepts assessed in the area of face validity. If an experiment is set up in a manner people comprehend and perform a given task properly and ia analyzed such that agreement is strong between en criterion validity is high.

ardized tests such as the Graduate Record Exams (GRE) predict the ability of an individual to perform in school reasonably well. Tests of schema presence may serve a similar predictive function by providing

guidance for information providers on shared p abilities. But standardized tests such a GRE examination had the luxury of time which has proven their valid reasonable certainty. Coding of these tests is done unambiguous fashion in which a correct (or incorrect) res selected from several possible answers.

Unlike the GRE tests, schema measurement tests limited research tradition upon which to draw. T especially vulnerable with regard to criterion v Concerning schema measurement, the stimulus or knowledg ideally be provided to all respondents under similar con Each experimental subject must understand the directions by the experimenter. But it is not essential that the messages be comprehended equally by each subject. It is these differences in comprehension and retrieval th ultimately serve as evidence of schema presence (or presence). Hence criterion validity hinges vital intercoder agreement, development of an unambiguous collection instrument and clear articulation of the t performed.

Schema measurement is a new frontier for communic social cognition researchers. One may certainly make that schemata do not exist--that the variables measured reflect memory or chance clustering. But this arg precisely the reason that measurement approaches ai explored. And it is this criticism that leads logically domain of construct validity.

Construct validity is present if the researcher can demonstrate that a scale measuring an abstract concept is related to other scales. Construct validity typically begins with a hypothesis on how a set of ideas or concepts may be related. Scales must then be developed to measure the concepts. Results that are consistent with predictions tend to suggest that construct validity is present.

It is precisely this point which has been addressed by researchers during the past three years. Scholars of cognition such as Fiske, Kinder and Larter (1983) have provided several experiments on the same responses to demonstrate that the results are consistent. One may argue that clustering of concepts is hopelessly confused with recall of facts since facts must be recalled before they can be clustered. But the cluster scores obtained on the ARC measures will be considerably lower if the subject recalls a great deal but fails to cluster related concepts. The scales used to measure scripts including recall, clustering and clustering have tended to yield the anticipated results based on formal hypotheses. Agreement between scales, or trends tending in the same direction suggest that the schema measures possess construct validity when proper measurement procedures are employed.

In performing experiments, researchers must be ever mindful of the threats associated with internal and external validity. Construct validity is the basic minimum without which any results are uninterpretable (Campbell & Stanley, 1966). The concept of internal validity is the question of

whether or not measurement is able to determine if an experimental manipulation made a difference in a particular instance. The research described in this report demonstrates clearly that people share consensual schemata and that individual differences account for variation in schemata availability.

Internal validity is rarely a problem in properly conducted experimental research characterized as a posttest-only control group design. Campbell and Stanley note that all of the threats associated with internal validity (history, maturation, instrumentation, regression, selection and mortality) are controlled in this design. It is in the domain of external validity that this design is called into question.

External validity pertains to the generalizability of the results of an experiment or to "what populations, treatment variables and measurement variables can this be generalized (Campbell & Stanley, 1966)." Virtually all work on schema measurement has been conducted in the laboratory using stimulus materials specifically designed to elicit schemata. More experiments demonstrating real world applications of schemata will help this construct move toward formal acceptance.

The specific threat to external validity centers on the types of experiments which have been carried out. People are typically been tested on consensually shared scripts of everyday nature such as ordering a meal in a restaurant. Or the recall of facts pertaining to broad generic concepts based

concept such as democracy or communism. But do people employ scripts in the processing of day-to-day news on? Do people employ different types of schemata in the processing of specific types of information provided by media?

avoid ending on a string of questions, it must be noted that the external validity of these measures is in

Researchers have done little to assess the degree to which people employ scripts in the course of processing news and information. Viewing a newscast with information concerning the response to Libyan rocket fire over the Gulf of Sidra may cause an individual to summon schemata different from that which may be employed in the course of processing a passage about Mauritius.

the time is right to begin assessing the degree to which these measures may be considered externally valid. And the method followed in this regard involves using 'real' news and information for stimulus materials rather than hypothetical

The measurement approaches discussed will serve as a starting point for more elaborate approaches. The schema concept is still in some ripening--and measurement approaches will aid in

But as Fiske and Linville (1980, pg. 553) note, "the long-headed overall view of the schema concept--or of any other--is to let a thousand conceptual flowers bloom."

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