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MINORITY GROUP BLAME-ORIENTATION

AND REACTIONS TO SOCIAL PROTEST

by

DAVID W. GREENE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the re-  
quirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,  
The City University of New York.

1979

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology (social/personality) in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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### Origin of the Problem

For several decades, students of the minority group experience have explored the consequences of belonging to a group that occupies a subordinate status within the majority society. Within this area, the concept of marginality (Antonovsky, 1956; Green, 1947; Stonequist, 1937) has been used to refer to the observation that minority group members are often caught between a duality of affiliation and identification. As Americans they cannot escape the influence of the values and standards of the majority society. Like all other socialized individuals they are drawn toward an identification with the mainstream. However, their very membership in a minority also exerts pressure upon them to seek autonomy and a sense of worth through an identification with their own group. Matters are often complicated, and marginality intensified, when the values of the majority include a denigration of the worth of the minority group and an exclusion of its members from full participation within the wider society.

Many writers have pointed to self-hatred, ambivalence, aggression, denigration of one's own group and an exaggerated chauvinism as resulting from the conflicts engendered by marginal status (see Miller & Mothner, 1972; Pettigrew, 1964; Simpson & Yinger, 1972). Such effects have been explored in connection with minority groups such as Blacks, Jews, Native Americans and, most recently, women.

Several years ago, I conducted a content analysis of writings and speeches spawned by one hundred years of Black protest. This review resulted in the identification of two areas of psy-

chological conflict which can easily be seen as facets of marginality. The original intent of this work was to establish a comparative view of the "psychological worlds" of leaders of different types of protest groups.<sup>1</sup> This was to be accomplished by first identifying basic questions that would confront all such leaders and then comparing the answers that were offered by those in each separate protest group category. This goal was never achieved. Instead of a neat taxonomy of answers offered by leaders of each type of group, I was confronted by evidence of inconsistency, vacillation and change. Many, although not all, of the leaders seemed to be caught in the grips of an internal conflict that they could not easily resolve. These vacillations were also reflected in the course of Black protest itself. Many ideas, strategies, and types of groups seemed to appear, disappear and then reappear throughout the one hundred years included in the review. This phenomenon might be labelled historical recurrence.

The large degree of instability that was uncovered centered around two basic questions. The first was that of nationalism versus integrationism. The link between this particular conflict and the concept of marginality is passionately exemplified in the following words of W.E.B. DuBois:

One ever feels his two-ness - an American, a Negro; Two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; Two warring ideas in one dark body....The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife - this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better

---

<sup>1</sup>The four types of groups utilized in this work were: (a) traditional integrationist, (b) Black capitalist, (c) nationalist, and (d) leftist revolutionary.

and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America ....He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism. (1903, pp. 45-46)

The degree of ambivalence surrounding the idea of nationalism was commented upon by other protest leaders (e.g. Cleaver, 1968; Johnson, 1934) as well as by historians and political analysts (Allen, 1969; Broderick & Meier, 1965; Hamilton, 1973; Meier, 1963; Myrdal, 1944). Some of the latter offered what could be termed a "situational hypothesis" to account for the manner in which nationalism and integrationism continually alternated with one another as dominant forces in protest thought and activity. These writers suggested that nationalism surfaced as a theme when efforts at integration met with strong white resistance. When resistance subsided, integrationism would again be endorsed by some of the very same individuals who had been working toward a nationalist reality.

The second area of vacillation and instability brought to light by the review centered around what I came to call the question of blame-orientation. Simply stated, this concept refers to attempts by minority individuals to account or affix blame for the fact that their group occupies a subordinate and disadvantaged position within the larger society. Blame-orientations were found to lie in either of two opposing directions. Some explanations placed blame on the actions of the majority - seeing prejudice and discrimination as being responsible for minority subordination and disadvantage. Opposing explanations placed blame on the minority group itself - citing negative characteristics of members of the group (e.g. intellectual inferiority) as the di-

rect cause of and justification for subordinate status.

The relationship between blame-orientation and marginality can readily be seen by examining these two explanations of minority disadvantage. Blaming one's own group represents, in essence, an identification with the majority point of view. One comes to accept as his or her own the stereotypes that are applied to members of the minority group. Placing blame on the majority, on the other hand, involves a rejection of mainstream views. Within such an orientation one comes to identify with a worthy and valuable minority group that has difficulty expressing its talents in a hostile mainstream world.

As was the case with the question of nationalism versus integrationism, many protest leaders seemed to vacillate between these two ways of resolving the blame-orientation issue. The orientation of such leaders was a surprisingly ambivalent one. In fact, one could find examples of blaming the minority in the writings of such opponents of the majority system as W.E.B. DuBois (Meier, 1963, p. 196), Malcolm X (Broderick & Meier, 1965, p. 383), James Farmer (Broderick & Meier, 1965, pp. 370-371), Nathan Wright (1967, pp. 65-66) and Eldridge Cleaver (Hamilton, 1973, p. 236).

In this area, however, the same writers who had commented upon the duality of nationalism and integrationism failed to discuss the question of blame-orientation and the amount of inner tension that it appeared to generate. A single exception was Gunnar Myrdal who not only noted the ambivalent feelings surrounding this duality, but also implied that situational factors

were responsible for the occurrence of shifts from one position to the other. He wrote:

But the lives of Negroes are filled with disappointments....

Even Negroes who are articulately race conscious [i.e.

blame the system] have their moments of tiredness when they slip back into the inferiority doctrine....The inferiority

doctrine remains, therefore, as an ever present undercurrent in Negro consciousness which must be constantly suppressed.

(1944, pp. 758-759)

An example of such an apparent "slip" in orientation was noted by the historian August Meier. He wrote that some Blacks, in response to increasing white resistance at the turn of the century, shifted from fighting the system to an adoption of tactics that included "a tendency to soft-pedal grievances, while blaming Negroes themselves for their low status in society" (1963, p. 35).

The concept of blame-orientation thus appeared to be important for understanding the attitudes and behavior of minority individuals who were involved in attempting to bring about social change. Those who did not blame the system (or accept the status quo) could be expected to concentrate their efforts upon overcoming the deficiencies of members of their group. Those who did blame the system, on the other hand, could be expected to work toward the eradication of the prejudice and discrimination practiced by the majority. But what about those marginal individuals whose system-blame coexisted with a belief in what Myrdal called the "inferiority doctrine"? How would such an ambivalent orientation be represented in attitudes or translated into action?



The present dissertation attempts to examine these expectations and answer these questions within an experimental study of the nature and operation of blame-orientation in members of a minority population. This research is guided by a preliminary model that was suggested by the historical review of Black protest writings. The model, which is based upon an example of protest directed at the majority system, postulates the following process:

1. A group with a majority-blaming ideology and action program exists within the minority community.

2. Individuals who blame the minority either refrain from joining or actively oppose this group.

3. Individuals who blame the majority as well as some ambivalent individuals join (endorse, lead, identify with) the group.

4. The group attempts to bring about change by acting upon some aspect of the majority system; often in a confrontational manner.

5. The action fails (is unsuccessful, rejected, crushed) and the individuals noted in step 3 experience feelings of failure, disappointment and even crisis.

- 6a. The ambivalent individual enters into a state of inner conflict (arousal) based upon the fact that the orientation that brought him or her to step 5 is ambivalently held.

- 6b. The unambivalent individual does not enter into a state of conflict since his or her blame-orientation is uni-focused and fully consistent with the actions that led to the negative experiences of step 5.

7a. The ambivalent individual shifts the focus of his or her dual orientation - now rejecting majority-blame and instead blaming the minority group itself for its subordinate status.

7b. The unambivalent individual maintains his or her majority-blaming orientation and is likely to engage in further protest activity.

The key factors in the model are blame-orientation and failure. For unambivalent individuals, attitudes and behavior are likely to be determined internally by their blame-orientations. The initial endorsement of a protest activity should largely depend upon whether or not it is directed at those who are seen as being responsible for subordination (i.e. the minority group or the majority system). The failure of such an activity should not result in any attitudinal or behavioral shifts. Such individuals are likely to continue to blame either the group or the system and to interpret any external events in accordance with their particular blame-orientation.

For ambivalent individuals, however, the external situation is of crucial importance. Considering their dual blame-orientations such individuals could potentially endorse any activity, regardless of direction. However, once such an individual has endorsed an activity aimed at a particular target, continued endorsement should come to depend heavily upon the outcome of that activity. The failure of an action taken (or merely endorsed) in accordance with one component of an ambivalent blame-orientation is motivating. The stability of the orientation is undermined by the experience of failure and the "undercurrents" (to use

Myrdal's term) are aroused.

At the point of such arousal, a shift in orientation becomes likely. This likelihood is then further amplified when the failure is explained in group-blaming terms by significant others such as opposing members of one's own minority group, the majority society at large (e.g. the media), and the actual agents of the rejection.

The functions of such a shift to blaming the minority are twofold. First, it aids the individual in attaining cognitive clarity by making the prominent focus of his or her orientation consistent with both the fact of the failure and the explanations offered by those significant (and often powerful) others. Secondly, the shift also serves a defensive function by removing the individual's focus from the arena of protest activity and thus protecting him or her from further experiences of failure or crisis.

This model is intended to represent a process that was seen operating in the attitudes and actions of some Black protest leaders. It is also intended to suggest a psychological basis for the historical recurrence of ideas, tactics, and types of protest groups. However, the model is not restricted to protest groups, leaders or history. It is intended to be fully applicable to any and all members of disadvantaged minority groups. One does not have to be a protest leader to become cognizant of the fact that various actions involving the minority group take place in the social environment. For example, an individual might be exposed, within the confines of his or her home, to a news report of ac-

tions that center upon the minority group. Regardless of one's actual involvement in the depicted activity, simple knowledge of its occurrence should interact with one's blame-orientation to bring about the type of consequences predicted by the model.

All members of disadvantaged minorities who are aware of the subordinate status of their group are likely to both have blame-orientations and to base their relevant attitudes and behaviors upon those cognitive structures. In a sense, blame-orientations can be said to operate as a kind of cognitive lens through which one views and interprets the surrounding social environment.

#### Women as a Minority (Marginal) Group

The present research focuses upon women as a minority group; examining the nature and operation of blame-orientation in a sample of female college students. The choice of this particular target population reflects the intended applicability of the blame-orientation model to any and all minority individuals.

The idea that women, while comprising 51% of the population, are indeed a minority group is relatively new. Before the late 1960s, the term "minority group" was generally reserved for racial and cultural groups. Few modern authors had examined the fittingness of this label for women. In fact, prior to this time, only a few widely known works specifically addressing this question had been written (e.g. DeBeauvoir, 1952; Hacker, 1951; Myrdal, 1944).

However, with the burgeoning of the Women's Movement in the late 1960s and the subsequent emergence of the psychology of women as a true sub-discipline, many works examining this proposi-

tion and its consequences began to appear (e.g. Dixon, 1969; Firestone, 1970; Freeman, 1970; Hacker, 1975; Koontz, 1970; Miller & Mothner, 1972; Phetersen, 1971; Roszak, 1969; Rubin, 1969). While noting the existence of certain differences such as the absence of a true minority subculture, the absence of residential segregation, a less than universal self-consciousness of oppression and a wide dispersion throughout social classes, all of these works asserted the position that women are indeed a minority group with many parallels to other more traditional minorities such as Blacks and Jews.

For our purposes, an important linkage to the minority group concept is provided by the assertion that women are indeed marginal - that, like Blacks, they are caught between an identification with the (male) mainstream and existence in a group that is often denigrated by the majority. Several writers have, in fact, suggested that self-hatred, aggression, nationalism, anxiety, hatred of women and several areas of ambivalence are consequences of this marginal status (e.g. Bardwick & Douvan, 1971; Bem & Bem, 1970; Goldberg, 1958; Gornick, 1971; Hacker, 1951, 1975; McKee & Sherriffs, 1957; Phetersen et al., 1971; Rosenkrantz et al., 1968; Rossi, 1972).

As suggested earlier, blame-orientation is also a feature of marginality. Identification with the values of the (male) mainstream necessarily involves an acceptance of group inferiority as an explanation of and justification for female subordination. Identification with the group of origin, on the other hand, leads to an explanation that blames the majority for its unfound-

ed beliefs and discriminatory treatment of the subordinate group. In addition to the adoption of one of these two possibilities, a dual or ambivalent orientation is, for some, an additional consequence of marginal status.

As was the case in regard to Blacks, the specific notion of blame-orientation is not directly addressed in the literature on women.<sup>2</sup> However, the two elements of blaming the group and blaming the system for subordinate status are widely discussed as being part of the female experience (e.g. Dixon, 1969; Hacker, 1951; Marlow & Davis, 1976; Miller & Mothner, 1972; Myrdal, 1944; Phetersen et al., 1971; Redstockings, 1969). Blaming the group has, in particular, been given much attention in the form of noting that many women accept the stereotypes that are directed at them by the dominant culture. Several writers have, in fact, suggested that this acceptance of group blame forms a formidable barrier to bringing about social change (Dixon, 1969; Gornick, 1971; Hacker, 1975; Koontz, 1970; Sanger & Alker, 1972).

Additional support for the view that women are a minority group can be found in the simple fact that there has been a long history of organized social protest against female subordination. Within this history are elements suggestively reminiscent of my earlier discussion of blame-orientation ambivalence and the course of Black protest in America.

One such familiar element involves the suggestion that some system-blaming activists, despite their involvement in protest,

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<sup>2</sup>A single exception is an article by Sanger & Alker (1972) which is discussed on page 16.

have actually been ambivalent; that in the midst of their protest activity they have harbored deep-seated beliefs in the inferiority of their kind. An illustration of this view can be found in Firestone's statement that the shortcomings of "feminist politicians....derived directly from their lingering feelings of inferiority as women" (1970, p. 36).

A second aspect of the history of the Women's Movement similar to one encountered in our discussion of Black protest is that of historical recurrence. It has been noted that the present Women's Movement represents ideas, tactics and types of groups that existed in the past, faded from view and have now burst again upon the contemporary scene. Again turning to Firestone, we find the suggestion that,

In three years, we have seen the whole political spectrum of the old Women's Movement recreated. The broad division between the radical feminists and the two types of reformists, the conservative feminists and the politicians, has reappeared in modern guise. (1970, p. 32)

And finally we find incidents in which protest has ceased as a result of majority arguments and situational factors which appear to have neutralized the system-blame based impetus for change. Thus Myrdal (1944) cites the effectiveness of arguments for unity during the Civil War and the subsequent insistence that it was now the "Negro's hour" as forces that derailed the engines of feminist protest. In a similar vein Roszak cites the appeal for patriotism in World War I which, for him, signified the end of the Movement as "Overnight, feminists of all countries became,

with few exceptions, patriots and war boosters, blindly endorsing this cataclysmically brutal assertion of masculine dominance" (1969, p. 98). And once again Firestone, speaking of the post-Depression 1930s, asserts that "With the myth of emancipation going full blast, women dared not complain. If they had gotten what they wanted, and were still dissatisfied, then there must be something wrong with them. Secretly, they suggested that maybe they really were inferior after all" (1970, p. 26).

Thus a case can and has been made for viewing women as a minority group which is subject to all of the psychological consequences of marginal status. The present research seeks to further investigate this view by empirically testing whether or not blame-orientations and ambivalence, as consequences of the female experience, color the way in which members of this minority group interpret and respond to the world around them.

#### Blame-orientation and Individual-system Blame

Within the social psychological literature there exists a very small body of work relating to the general topic of blame-orientation. The central research in this area involves the "individual-system blame" factor identified by Gurin, Gurin, Lao and Beattie (1969). In an intriguing study, Gurin et al. explored the application of Rotter's (1966) notion of "locus of control" to minority populations. Using the Rotter I-E Scale plus 13 specially constructed racially relevant items, data were gathered from a large sample of Black college students. A factor analysis of the 13 items yielded a factor which was labelled "individual-system blame". This factor was very similar in concept to the notion of



blame-orientation which had arisen from my content analysis of Black protest writings. Gurin et al. spoke of individual-system blame as being a measure of "the student's explanation for social or economic failure among Negroes" (p. 45). The internal pole, or "individual-blame", placed the burden of failure on Negroes themselves citing a lack of skill, ability, effort and appropriate behavior as explanatory factors. The external pole, or "system-blame", faulted the social system and cited racial discrimination and lack of opportunities as being responsible for the subordinate position of Blacks.

The research of Gurin et al. also included an examination of the relationship between students' individual-system blame scores and their responses to various questions about civil rights activities and aspirations for the future. Here, the system-blamer (external orientation) appeared as the aspiring, activist, civil rights militant who directed his or her activity against a biased and crippling system. The individual blamer, on the other hand, tended to be neither active, nor militant, nor innovative (in terms of non-traditional career choices).

While their origins are very different, the concepts of individual-system blame and blame-orientation are very similar in regard to their polar dimensions (i.e. blaming the group or blaming the system for subordination). The two concepts most seriously diverge however when it comes to the notion of ambivalence. Blame-orientation assumes the existence of a third, ambivalent, orientation and seeks to define the attitudinal and behavioral consequences of the holding of such a position. Indi-

vidual-system blame, on the other hand, does not address the possibility of an ambivalent position. Because the individual-system blame factor is seen as being a dimension of locus of control, the focus is on the poles of the factor and subjects are categorized as either having one polar orientation or the other. As will be discussed later, the use of a forced-choice measurement technique does not allow an ambivalent response to be registered; the subject is consistently forced to choose one alternative or the other such that an ambivalent response to any given item cannot be expressed.

A second individual-system blame study, although using the Gurin et al. forced-choice scale, does present some suggestive evidence of the operation of blame-orientation ambivalence which conforms to the model presented earlier. Forward and Williams (1970) had administered several test batteries in the inner city high schools of Detroit six months prior to the explosive 1967 riot. Included in these batteries was the Gurin et al. scale. Immediately following the riot, a subsample of 93 students were again interviewed and tested. This offered a unique opportunity to examine pre and post-riot blame scores in light of the students' stated evaluations of the event. If it was possible to conceive of the riot as an action directed against the system, and if the stated evaluations ("good", "bad", "uncertain") could be looked upon as indicators of the perceived success or failure of that action, then a direct link to the blame-orientation ambivalence model could be made.

While admittedly based upon very small Ns and the several

assumptions noted above, an examination of the data does support the suggested model. In the "good" group the pre-riot measure yielded 57% individual-blamers. After the riot and the affixing of the positive (success) label to the event, 100% of the subjects in this category responded to the scale as system-blamers. Thus 43% (three subjects) shifted in the face of perceived success. In the "bad" group, on the other hand, 71% (15 subjects) initially responded as system-blamers. After the riot and the evaluation of it as bad (a failure), 21% of these subjects (five) shifted and responded to the post measure as individual-blamers. Percentages in the "uncertain" category showed little or no shift. In addition, the pre and post-riot means differed significantly within both the "good" and "bad" groups. The difference within the "uncertain" group did not achieve significance.

These results can be interpreted as being indicative of the presence of ambivalent subjects within the sample. It would be consistent with the proposed model to conclude that the eight subjects who evidenced a shift in orientation were ambivalent to begin with and that the perceived outcome of the riot precipitated the shift in their scores. However, because of the inability of the Gurin et al. scale to identify such subjects, their true orientations could only be known after their experience of success or failure had provoked a need for cognitive clarity and defense.

The third individual-system blame study (Sanger & Alker, 1972), represents an attempt to replicate Gurin et al. using a sample of women as the target minority group. This study used a

forced-choice measure and thus did not address the possibility of an ambivalent orientation. It did however succeed in replicating all of the previous study's relevant findings. The individual-system blame concept was shown to apply to women in much the same way as it applied to Blacks. In addition, Sanger & Alker report that a considerable number of items were not answered and that some subjects changed the wording appearing in the test booklet. These actions are indicative of some of the problems engendered by use of the forced-choice measure.

#### Scale Development

Empirical examination of the operation of blame-orientation among members of a minority population required an instrument capable of measuring each orientation - including the ambivalent. The only existing measure in this general area was the Gurin scale which provided a suggestive base for the construction of a new instrument.

The Gurin scale consists of four pairs of bi-polar items cast in a forced-choice format similar to the original Rotter Locus of Control measure (1966). In each item pair, a system-blaming and an opposing individual-blaming statement are presented. The subject is asked to choose the statement that he or she agrees with most. For example, the second Gurin item appears as follows:

- a. It is a lack of skill and abilities that keeps many Blacks from getting a job. It is not just because they are Black. When a Black is trained to do something, he (sic) is able to get a job.

b. Many qualified Blacks can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble. (Gurin et al., 1969, p. 49)

While such scale items are certainly within the realm of blame-orientation, the measurement technique itself is not appropriate since it is totally insensitive to the existence of ambivalence. Within the forced-choice format, a subject who strongly agrees with both statements (i.e. is ambivalent) cannot express such agreement (he or she would also be unlikely to do so with both statements presented side-by-side). Because he or she is forced to choose one statement over the other, the ambivalent individual receives the same score for the pair as one who strongly agrees with one statement and strongly disagrees with the other (i.e. is unambivalent).

Clearly a more specialized scale is needed. Such an instrument would be made possible if four major modifications were performed on the Gurin scale. First, the two statements comprising each item could be split thus providing a pool of four system-blaming statements and four individual-blaming statements. Second, six new items, as similar as possible to the originals, could be written. This would extend the overly brief original scale by increasing the total number of statements in each pool to ten. Next, each of the single statements (20 in all) could be embedded within a larger number of filler items in a way that maximized the distance between the halves of the original (and added) pairs. And finally, one could write a set of instructions which asked subjects to respond separately and independently to

each item.

With such a scale, an operational definition of blame-orientation ambivalence would be possible. Such a definition would read as follows: blame-orientation ambivalence refers to the attainment of high agreement scores for pools of individual-blame and system-blame statements when both are presented independently within the same measuring device.

An approximation of the new scale was developed and compared to the Gurin scale in a pilot study. This new scale (see Appendix A) contained the four Gurin items plus six pairs of new items written to resemble the originals. As was the case in the original scale, Blacks were retained as the target population. An example of one of the added items appeared as follows:

- a. When job training programs designed to help Blacks achieve more success in life are offered, attendance is usually very poor. Many Blacks seem unwilling to accept genuine help.
- b. Completing a job training program does not usually help a Black. Most well-paying jobs still go to Whites.

Three separate booklets, each with a particular content, were then prepared: (a) the Forced Choice booklet which consisted of the ten item pairs cast in the same forced-choice format as the Gurin scale, (b) the System-blame booklet which consisted of only the ten system-blame halves of the ten item pairs, each cast in a Likert format, and (c) the Individual-blame booklet which consisted of only the ten individual-blame halves of the ten item pairs, each cast in a Likert format.

This preparation was designed to provide a rough assessment of whether or not the forced-choice format could indeed mask the measurement of blame-orientation ambivalence. Theoretically, all three booklets should be measuring the same individual-system blame dimension; the forced-choice technique providing an assessment of the dominant orientation and the split-scales providing separate measurements of each component of the dimension. If the differing formats did not interfere with valid measurement, one would expect to obtain the same blame-orientation designations regardless of which format was used. If, on the other hand, the distributions of designations were different, one could suggest that the split-scale format had allowed subjects to express an orientation (i.e. ambivalence) which was masked by the forced-choice presentation.

In order to test the masking notion, the three booklets should ideally have been administered to a single group of subjects. As an approximation of such a situation, three roughly matched samples were used. The subjects were 96 Black sophomore teacher education students from Tennessee State University. Thirty were given the forced-choice booklet, thirty-three the system-blame booklet and thirty-three the individual-blame preparation. Each booklet was then scored and inter-item correlation matrices and score distributions were computed from the data.

The results of the pilot study demonstrated that a forced-choice format could indeed mask ambivalence. The score distributions in Table 1 indicate that 60% of the subjects who were ad-

Table 1  
Distributions of Blame-orientations Obtained With  
Different Measurement Techniques

Techniques	Blame-orientations			<u>n</u>
	Individual	System	Undesignated	
Forced-choice	60%	13%	27%	30
Split-scale (System-blame)	21%	70%	9%	33
Split-scale (Individual-blame)	55%	33%	12%	33



ministered the forced-choice booklet received individual-blame designations while 13% were scored as system-blamers. If the format were not important (or if ambivalence was not a possibility), one would have expected the other two booklets to have yielded similar distributions; such was not the case. In general, both of the split-scales provoked a relatively high degree of agreement even though their items represented opposing blame-orientations.

The cluster analysis revealed further differences in the data obtained from each booklet.<sup>3</sup> The forced-choice format did not seem to be measuring any unified dimension. None of the item pairs clustered and few of them presented inter-item correlations of any size. Both of the split-scales, on the other hand, contained items which clustered and many large inter-item correlations were obtained. Each of the split-scales appeared to be measuring factors that were more unified than whatever was being assessed by the forced-choice technique.

The results of the pilot study supported the view that a new measure based upon the split-scale technique might well provide more precise designations of the blame-orientation types - including the ambivalent. Such designations would be an essential element in the planned empirical investigation of blame-orientation among women.

The writing of the actual Blame-orientation Scale was guid-

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<sup>3</sup>The cluster analysis for the forced-choice data consisted of an inter-item correlation matrix of phi coefficients. For each of the split-scales, the matrices were based upon calculations of r.

ed by three objectives: (a) that the scale relate specifically to women (the target population), (b) that the actual purpose of the scale and its target population be masked, and (c) that subjects be provided with the opportunity to agree or disagree with both individual and system-blame items independently.

The five item pairs that had been most highly intercorrelated in the results of the pilot study were retained for use in the final scale. Within these items, all references to Blacks were simply reworded to pertain to women. An additional five item pairs were next written especially for the new scale. The individual-blame member of each pair was based upon a review of the literature on female stereotyping (e.g. Broverman, et al., 1970, 1972; Klein, 1946; Watson, 1966). The system-blame items consisted of complementary assertions that prejudice and discrimination were responsible for the situations depicted in the items. In this manner, a final pool of ten system-blaming and ten individual-blaming items worded for use with female subjects was created.<sup>4</sup>

The purpose and focus of the twenty scale items were then masked by embedding them in a larger group of filler items. The wording of these 26 additional statements resembled that of the actual scale items. This filler consisted of individual and system blaming statements about Blacks (five item pairs), Puerto Ricans (five item pairs), Native Americans (one item pair) and homosexuals (two item pairs). The combination of all of the items

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<sup>4</sup>The complete Blame-orientation Scale booklet is reproduced in Appendix A.

(actual and filler) would hopefully appear to the reader as a public opinion, prejudice or attitude scale relating to the treatment (system-blame items) and characteristics (individual-blame items) of a variety of topical American minority groups.

The final objective was accomplished by establishing two totally separate scales joined by a common cover story and a set of instructions that emphasized the independence of each scale (and item). One scale consisted of the 23 individual-blame statements (actual and filler) and the other consisted of the opposing system-blame statements. The true Likert format was dropped and subjects were simply instructed to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with each separate statement.

Earlier, blame-orientation ambivalence was operationally defined as, "the attainment of high agreement scores for pools of individual and system-blame statements when both are presented independently within the same measuring device." The scoring of the instrument was designed to be consistent with this definition. First, total scores (number of items agreed with are computed for each subject for each of the two scales: individual and system). The two median agree scores for the entire sample are next calculated. Median splits are then performed such that a subject's scale score is assigned a high on that particular component if it is above the median and a low if it falls below. In this manner, each subject is given one of four possible blame-orientation designations based upon the combination of her score assignments for each of the two scales. The four designations are:

1. Individual-blamer.....High individual score -  
Low system score.
2. System-blamer.....Low individual score -  
High system score.
3. Ambivalent.....High individual score -  
High system score.
4. Indifferent<sup>5</sup>.....Low individual score -  
Low system score.

#### Testing the Scale - The Questionnaire Study

The new Blame-orientation Scale was administered to a sample of female college students. Responses to the items were then analyzed in order to determine the soundness of the instrument. Also included in the test booklet were several of the self-report items used by Gurin et al. in their original factor-analytic study (1969). As noted above, the Gurin study utilized a forced-choice measure and focused upon Blacks as its minority population. Thus if the blame-orientations generated by women responding to the new scale related to self-report items in a manner comparable to the Gurin data, the new scaling technique, the possibility of measuring ambivalence and the view that women are a psychological minority group all would receive empirical support. Most importantly, however, a successful testing of the scale would indicate that I now had an instrument suitable for use in the proposed

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<sup>5</sup>This designation was not developed from the initial blame-orientation concept. Rather, it arose solely from the symmetry of the scoring technique. Characteristics of individuals falling into this category are fully discussed below.

experimental examination of the dynamics of blame-orientation.

The subjects used in the questionnaire study were 158 female students enrolled in introductory and social psychology courses at Brooklyn, Hunter, Richmond and City Colleges of C.U.N.Y., Ramapo College of New Jersey and Pennsylvania State University. The scale was presented as a public opinion survey and administered during class sessions. All class members, male and female, were invited to participate on a voluntary basis. The total number of female students fully and correctly completing the booklets constituted the sample of 158. Booklets completed by males were not scored at this time.

The results of this study are presented in some detail below. They are largely positive and are seen as providing justification for the use of the new instrument in the subsequent experimental examination of the blame-orientation concept.

Medians. Median agree scores for each component scale were computed. The median number of individual-blame items agreed with by the total sample was 3.602. The corresponding median for the system-blame items was 8.045.

Since the data represented by these medians was gathered from six different colleges, the comparability of the sub-samples was assessed. This was done by computing separate medians for each of the sub-samples and subjecting the resulting data to a median test. The following results were obtained:

Individual-blame items -  $\chi^2 = 7.903$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p > .30$

System-blame items -  $\chi^2 = 5.247$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p > .70$

On the basis of this lack of significance, the six sub-samples

were deemed comparable and the medians based upon the pooled scores were used for designating blame-orientations.

Blame-orientation distributions. Using the median-split scoring method with the medians for the entire sample the distribution of blame-orientation types found in Table 2 was obtained. The largest percentage of subjects fell into the system-blaming category while the smallest received the indifferent designation. The percentages of ambivalent and individual-blaming subjects were approximately equal.

Means & standard deviations. The mean agree score and standard deviation for each component scale were next computed. The results can be found in Table 3.

Internal consistency. The internal consistency of each component scale was estimated by means of the Kuder-Richardson K-R 20 (1937) and Chronbach's Alpha (1951) formulas. As can be seen in Table 4, the resulting coefficients indicated that both scales have a good degree of reliability.

Item analysis. An item analysis was performed for the purpose of determining the ability of each item to predict subjects' total scores. To this end, biserial correlations were calculated. The resulting coefficients ranged from .376 to .918. Eighteen of the twenty items produced coefficients that were greater than .55. Again, both component scales appeared to be made up of items that were internally consistent.

Relationship of individual and system-blame components. The problem of response set was examined by calculating the relationship between responses to each of the separate component scales.

Table 2

## Distribution of Blame-orientation Types

Ambivalent	System	Individual	Indifferent
25.3%	32.2%	26.5%	15.8%
( <u>n</u> = 40)	( <u>n</u> = 51)	( <u>n</u> = 42)	( <u>n</u> = 25)

Table 3

Mean Agree Scores & Standard Deviations  
for Individual and System-blame Scales

	Individual	System
Mean	3.685	7.437
<u>SD</u>	2.223	2.319

Table 4

Reliability Estimates for Individual &  
System-blame Scales Using Measures  
of Internal Consistency

	Individual	System
K-R 20	.749	.733
Alpha	.661	.731

the resulting Pearson Product Moment coefficient was  $-.12$ . Responses to the two component scales were relatively independent of one another and not likely to be a result of response set.

Validity. Various self-report items similar to those used by Gurin et al. (1969) had been included in the test booklets. The validity of the Blame-orientation Scale was assessed by examining subjects' responses to these items in light of their blame-orientation designations. However, the median-split scoring technique did not allow a strict test of the strength of the relationship between scale scores and these "criterion" items. Since a subject's blame-orientation designation was based upon two separate scores, there was no single figure that could be used in such an analysis. Using each of the single scores would not be meaningful since two subjects achieving the same score on one set of items could, depending upon their responses to the second set, easily belong to two entirely different blame-orientation categories.

Because of the problem noted above a chi-square analysis was used. Subjects were grouped according to blame-orientation types and their responses to "criterion" items were placed in contingency tables. This data was then subjected to  $X^2$  analysis (with Yates' correction for continuity routinely used for all  $2 \times 2$  tables).

Gurin et al. had found a strong contrast between the responses of (Black) individual and system-blamers. A similar significant contrast was predicted for the present group of female subjects. More specifically, it was felt that significantly more



system than individual-blaters would: (a) belong to civil rights groups, (b) belong to women's groups, (c) label themselves as "militant" on the women's rights issue and (d) aspire to non-traditional (for their sex) jobs. These outcomes would represent a replication of the Gurin findings and could thus be taken as an indication of the validity of the present scale.

No predictions were made regarding the ambivalent subjects. The responses of this group to "criterion" items were not considered to be particularly meaningful. According to the blame-orientation model, the attitudes and behavior of ambivalent women are strongly influenced by situational factors. Without a precise knowledge of the subjects' exposure to such factors, it was felt that responses to "criterion" items could not be systematically predicted or analyzed. Any examination of this group would have to await completion of the formal experiment.

As previously noted, the indifferent category arose from the symmetry of the scale rather than from the blame-orientation concept. This category is comprised of women who rejected both sets of items to a high degree. Labelling this pattern of response as indifferent had proved useful in other content areas where this same type of scaling technique was employed (i.e. Katz, Glass & Cohen, 1973). However, its appropriateness for blame-orientation work had yet to be examined. Following these authors, we conceived of this group as being indifferent to the fixing of blame for the subordinate status of women. We therefore predicted that the indifferent group would rank lowest in civil rights and women's group membership while ranking highest in the use of the la-

bel "uninvolved" to describe their position on the women's rights issue. No prediction was offered for responses to the job aspiration question since the formulation of this group did not lead to any meaningful suggestion.

Membership in civil rights groups. Responses to the first criterion item, reported membership in civil rights groups, supported the prediction of a significant contrast between system and individual-blamers. As shown in Table 5, 40% of the system-blamers reported such membership while the corresponding figure for individual-blamers was only 7 %;  $X^2 = 11.069$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .001$ . This represents a replication of the Gurin findings.

The second prediction, that indifferent subjects would rank lowest in positive responses to this item, was not supported by the data. The 24% reported membership for this group exceeded both the 15% reported by ambivalent subjects and the 7% claimed by the individual-blamers.

Membership in women's groups. Those who claimed membership in civil rights groups were also asked to designate the type of group that they (had) belonged to (racial, religious, ethnic, and/or women's). Contrary to expectations, there was no significant contrast between membership in women's groups reported by system and individual-blamers. Table 6 does, however, show a trend in the predicted direction.

As was the case with the civil rights item, the prediction that indifferent subjects would rank lowest in women's group membership was not confirmed. The percentage of indifferent subjects reporting membership in a women's group (12%) exceeded those of

Table 5  
Blame-orientation and Reported Membership  
in Civil Rights Groups

Reported Membership	Ambivalent	System	Individual	Indifferent
Yes	15% ( <u>n</u> = 6)	40% ( <u>n</u> = 20)	7% ( <u>n</u> = 3)	24% ( <u>n</u> = 6)
No	85% ( <u>n</u> = 34)	60% ( <u>n</u> = 30)	93% ( <u>n</u> = 38)	76% ( <u>n</u> = 19)

$\chi^2$  for all cells = 15.555, df = 3, p < .01.

$\chi^2$  for Indiv. vs. Syst. = 11.069, df = 1, p < .001.

Table 6  
Blame-orientation and Reported Membership  
in Women's Groups

Reported Membership	Ambivalent	System	Individual	Indifferent
Women's Group	7% ( <u>n</u> = 3)	16% ( <u>n</u> = 8)	2% ( <u>n</u> = 1)	12% ( <u>n</u> = 3)
Other & None	93% ( <u>n</u> = 37)	84% ( <u>n</u> = 42)	98% ( <u>n</u> = 40)	88% ( <u>n</u> = 22)

$\chi^2$  for all cells = 5.145, df = 3, p < .20.

$\chi^2$  for Indiv. vs. Syst. = 3.251, df = 1, p < .10.

both the ambivalents (7%) and individual-blamers (2%).

Self-labelling on the women's rights issue. The third item asked subjects to characterize their position on the issue of women's rights by choosing from among the labels "militant", "moderate", "conservative", and "uninvolved". The responses of the individual and system-blamers resulted in a significant contrast in the predicted direction. As can be seen in Table 7, 39% of the system-blamers chose to call themselves militant, while the corresponding figure for individual-blamers was only 5%;  $\chi^2 = 5.105$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .05$ . This finding is similar to the earlier findings of the Gurin study. In addition, it should be noted that no system-blamers ever chose the labels conservative or uninvolved. For this group alone, the "other" category shown in Table 7 is comprised totally of moderates.

The prediction that the indifferent subjects would rank first in choice of the "uninvolved" label was not confirmed by the data. While 13% of this group did choose to so label themselves, the corresponding figure for individual-blamers was 17%. The ambivalent and system-blaming subjects totally shunned this label.

Aspiration to non-traditional jobs. The final criterion item asked subjects to indicate the type of job that they would most like to have after completing their education. Responses were categorized according to a coding scheme developed by Tangri (1972) for designating "role innovators" among college women. While the results did not support the prediction of an individual system-blame contrast, the fact that more than 25% (40) of the

Table 7  
Blame-orientation and Self-labelling on  
the Question of Women's Rights

Self-label	Ambivalent	System	Individual	Indifferent
Militant	24% ( <u>n</u> = 6)	39% ( <u>n</u> = 13)	5% ( <u>n</u> = 1)	13% ( <u>n</u> = 2)
Other (Moderate, Conservative, Uninvolved)	76% ( <u>n</u> = 19)	61% ( <u>n</u> = 20)	95% ( <u>n</u> = 17)	87% ( <u>n</u> = 14)

Note. N = 92 because question did not appear in earlier version of scale booklet.

$\chi^2$  for all cells = 8.826, df = 3, p < .05.

$\chi^2$  for Indiv. vs. Syst. = 5.105, df = 1, p < .05.

responses could not be coded brings into serious question the usefulness of this data. Therefore this item will not be subsequently referred to.

Thus the predictions involving the individual-system blame contrast were supported on two of the three items with a trend in the predicted direction on the third. This constitutes a partial replication of Gurin et al. (1969) and, along with the favorable internal analysis of the scale, provides adequate justification for its use in the experimental test of the blame-orientation concept.

However, before hypotheses for an experimental investigation could be drawn, the disconfirmation of all of the predictions involving the indifferent subjects had to be addressed.

The term "indifferent" was originally intended to imply that women of this type were not involved in the affixing of blame for the disadvantaged status of their group. However, a review of the self-report data suggests that the responses of these women do not reflect indifference at all. In examining the rank order of system-blaming responses to each of the items, we find that these subjects ranked second (following system-blamers) on both of the group membership questions and third (above the individual-blamers) on the self-labelling item. Indifferent subjects clearly tended to respond to these questions in a direction expected of system-blamers (although considerably weaker).

A closer examination of actual responses to the Blame-orientation Scale also supports the view that subjects falling into the indifferent category are more similar to system-blamers than

they are to individual-blamers or to a true indifference. Thus a comparison of the mean number of individual-blame items endorsed by system-blamers and indifferents (both of which are necessarily below the sample median) shows them to be equivalent in their rejection of this orientation.<sup>6</sup> However, a similar comparison of the mean number of system-blame items endorsed by individual-blamers and indifferents (both of which again are necessarily below the sample median) shows a significantly higher level of endorsement of system-blame by the indifferent subjects.<sup>7</sup> These comparisons indicate that the women designated as indifferent actually have more in common with the system-blamers.

The finding of a lack of equivalence among scores falling below the median on the system-blame component of the scale can be looked upon as a measurement problem; one that perhaps represents a chance occurrence within this particular sample. However, in order to facilitate the drawing of the best possible hypotheses for the experimental study, this finding was not dismissed as error. Instead, a post hoc characterization of the indifferent subjects which related these scale responses to the self-report data was developed.

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<sup>6</sup>The system-blamers endorsed an average of 1.74 individual-blame items while the corresponding figure for the indifferents was 1.96. The difference between these two means is not significant;  $t = .7956$ ,  $df = 74$ ,  $p > .20$ .

<sup>7</sup>The individual-blamers endorsed an average of 4.97 system-blame items while the corresponding figure for the indifferents was 5.76. The mean number endorsed by the indifferents was significantly greater;  $t = 2.032$ ,  $df = 65$ ,  $p < .05$ .

This tentative interpretation first suggested that these women resemble system-blamers in as much as they categorically reject the notion of individual-blame. This rejection does not, however, lead them to a blanket acceptance of system-blame as an ideology. Instead, they remain open to the possibility of system-blame and accept it or reject it depending upon the specifics of the situation in which it is invoked. If the situation is one in which they do not feel that female disadvantage exists (e.g. because of information, beliefs or experiences to the contrary) they will reject attempts to apply a system-blaming analysis (as they did in response to several scale items). Some of these subjects may therefore see good reason to join civil rights and women's groups and to be involved with women's rights (i.e. their responses to the criterion questions) while at the same time rejecting several system-blame items because they refer to specific situations in which this contention is felt to be inappropriate.

On the basis of this new formulation, the designation of this group was changed from indifferent to open-system blamer. While recognizing that this new formulation is tentative and based upon post hoc speculation, it does allow the writing of specific hypotheses concerning the group which can then be empirically tested in the subsequent experimental study.

#### An Experimental Test of the Nature of Blame-orientation

With the scale favorably tested and each of the types better understood, the goal of exploring the concepts of blame-orientation and ambivalence through experimental research could fi-



nally be approached. If blame-orientation was truly a "cognitive lens" through which members of psychological minority groups interpreted actions in the social environment, then one should be able to provide such relevant actions and predict the responses of each of the blame-orientation types.

In accordance with the intended focus on everyday events and ordinary people, one could expect that the exposure of college women to something like a relevant television documentary would provide a stimulus situation sufficient for the testing of the ideas involved in the blame-orientation concept. The event could be expected to articulate with a woman's blame-orientation as long as it contained the following essential elements: (a) a factual presentation of disadvantaged status, (b) an individual-blaming interpretation of that status, (c) a system-blaming interpretation of that status, (d) a social protest activity and (e) differential levels of rejection (failure) of that protest by a representative of the majority system who uses individual-blame to explain the high failure situation.

Measurement could be accomplished by assessing the "militancy" of the women's reactions to the event. In this context, "militancy" would refer to the degree to which the women's attitudes and behavior were directed against the system and its representatives.

### Hypotheses

Given that women of known blame-orientation were, in fact, exposed to an event such as that outlined above, two hypotheses

could be drawn. These two hypotheses, which provide the basic predictions for the present study, are labelled the orientation hypothesis and the failure hypothesis.

The orientation hypothesis. This hypothesis predicts that blame-orientation should significantly determine subjects' reactions to the stimulus program. In other words, there should be a significant main effect for blame-orientation. Further, this effect should be most readily seen in a characteristic rank order of militancy of responses made by members of the four blame-orientation types and a control group of males. The rank order should consist of the following three positions listed in descending order of militance:

1. The most militant - (system and open-system blamers).

The system-blamers have been placed in this position for reasons which by now should be obvious. The open-system blamers have been included in this rank because of the fact that the stimulus program firmly establishes the existence of female disadvantage. Since the fact of disadvantage is not open to question, members of this group should characteristically reject individual-blame and fault the system in a manner comparable to the true system-blamer.

2. The intermediate - (ambivalents). Ambivalent women are the only subjects who are expected to respond differentially to the two failure conditions (see the failure hypothesis below). Thus, with half of the group embracing system-blame and the other half individual-blame, their combined response means should fall

into this intermediate position.

3. The least militant - (individual-blaters and control males. These two groups have a common base in the acceptance of female stereotypes as an explanation for disadvantage. As such, their responses should show the least degree of militancy directed against a system that they do not fault.

The range of responses included in this rank order cannot be specifically predicted. However, it is predicted that the reactions of the groups occupying the first and third positions should significantly differ from one another. In addition, no significant differences within each position are expected.

The failure hypothesis. This hypothesis concerns the effects of the differential levels of rejection (of the protest action) presented in the stimulus program. The hypothesis is fully based upon the model that was presented earlier (see pp. 6 - 3).

It is my expectation that the differential levels of failure will not bring about differential responses on the part of the subject population as a whole. Situational elements, in and of themselves, should not act as sufficient causes for such responses. Blame-orientation would necessarily mediate reactions to such situations and thus a main effect for failure should not be seen.

The specific prediction in this regard holds that differential reactions to the failure conditions should occur only in the case of the ambivalent women. The ambivalent blame-orientation should operate differently in conditions of high vs. low failure.

In the low failure situation, one would expect the ambivalent women to respond in a highly militant manner. The system-blaming component of their dual orientation should provide a basis for identification with the actions of those engaged in social protest. The relatively benign outcome of the protest action should not serve to undermine that identification by arousing the ambivalence of these women. No individual-blaming explanation for the low failure outcome of the protest is called for and, indeed, none is offered.

The high failure situation, on the other hand, should provoke a very different reaction on the part of the ambivalent women. Once again, their system-blaming component should allow them to endorse the actions of those involved in social protest. In this case however the outcome of that protest is far from benign. A strong rejection by the powerful representative of the majority should evoke feelings of disappointment, failure and crisis. These subjects should enter into a state of internal conflict (arousal) based upon the fact that the system-blaming orientation that led them to these negative experiences is ambivalently held. This state of conflict should be intensified by the individual-blaming arguments that the majority representative uses to justify his actions.

Under these (high failure) circumstances, ambivalent subjects should respond in a highly non-militant manner. Such responses would be entirely consistent with the individual-blaming component of their dual orientation and would serve to reduce their state of arousal in the two basic ways suggested earlier.

First, a resolution based in individual-blame would allow these subjects to attain a state of cognitive clarity by bringing the fact of the failure, the explanations of the system's representative and their own individual-blame into balance. Secondly, such individual-blaming behavior would protect them from further experiences of rejection and failure by psychologically removing them from the arena of protest activity.

The other blame-orientation groups are not expected to respond differentially to the high and low failure conditions. A non-ambivalent blame-orientation would provide no basis for the type of situation-dependent arousal depicted above. In the absence of such arousal, one would expect a woman's blame-orientation to mediate a stability of responses across failure situations.

The success of this prediction should be seen in a significant interaction of blame-orientation and failure in which ambivalent subjects display the distinctive response pattern outlined directly above.

## Method

### Overview

Subjects whose blame-orientations had been previously measured were exposed to a video tape that contained the elements necessary for a test of the blame-orientation concept and ambivalence model.

The Blame-orientation Scale was used to measure the orientations of a large number of college women. Those most strongly representing each of the four types were invited to take part in a supposed study of "conflict resolution". A control group was drawn from among male students who had completed the scale along with the women. The final sample of 80 subjects included 16 representatives of each of the four blame-orientations and 16 male controls.

The subjects viewed a video tape that was designed to simulate a documentary program about the uncovering of female disadvantage at a college in Ohio. The program began with a factual presentation of inequities followed by both individual and system-blaming interpretations offered by prominent campus women. A feminist group then mounted a series of protest actions which climaxed with a presentation of demands upon the administration during an occupation which "imprisoned" the college president. The major manipulation occurred at this point with the screening of two different versions of the president's reply to the sit-ins. In a high failure (arousal) version the women were strongly rejected with an individual-blaming justification for doing so.

In the low failure (arousal) situation the president, without placing blame, suggested that the demands be tabled and that a dialogue between opposing parties be created.

Dependent measures were taken by use of a questionnaire which assessed subjects' reactions to features of the overall situation and to each of the principal characters. This questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix B.

### Subjects

The subjects were 64 female and 16 male paid volunteers. All were students at Ramapo College of New Jersey. The mean age of the females was 26.7, while the mean age of the males was 23.3.

### Procedure - Phase I

The Blame-orientation Scale was administered during a three week period to 518 students in 28 classes at Ramapo College of New Jersey. The administration was conducted by the regular classroom teachers who explained that the instrument was part of a survey being done by a friend at Rutgers University. Students were assured that participation was entirely voluntary. The only identification required was the placing of the last four digits of one's social security number on the test booklet.

Usable booklets completed by females ( $N = 202$ ) were fully scored and coded. The 120 subjects representing the 30 most extreme scores in each of the four blame-orientation categories (i.e. the farthest from the appropriate medians) were then selected for identification and recruitment. Usable booklets completed by males numbered 212. Thirty of these were chosen at ran-

dom for use in the identification and recruitment of the control group.

The actual identification of the 150 members of the subject pool was accomplished by matching the four digit numbers provided on the test booklets with the social security numbers appearing on the appropriate course registration lists secured from the college registrar. By means of this procedure, the names and addresses of all 150 were obtained. During this entire process, every attempt was made to ensure the privacy of the students. Because the author was acquainted with much of the Ramapo student body, it was felt that it was not ethical for him to know the blame-orientations of women who had voluntarily filled out the scale after hearing a misrepresentation of its purpose (i.e. the Rutgers survey cover story). To this end, a second experimenter who was not familiar with Ramapo students was employed. This experimenter kept all actual records of blame-orientation scores and devised a list of code numbers to keep the author blind during the identification process. This also served to reduce the possibility of experimenter effects when he later came into contact with the subjects during phase II data collection.

Recruitment letters were sent to all 150 potential subjects on a single date. This was done to ease the scheduling process. Such a procedure meant that the potential time interval between the scale administration and receipt of the letter ranged from two to five weeks for any given subject.

The recruitment letter (see Appendix B) was printed on "Conflict Resolution Institute" stationary. It told of a large re-



search program involving a series of studies; one of which was to be run on the Ramapo campus. The name of a sponsoring Ramapo professor (David Greene) was mentioned and the task of a potential subject was generally described. Finally, a telephone number and call-in period were provided along with mention of a \$4.00 stipend.

The second experimenter took all of the calls generated by the letters and did all of the scheduling. She filled each of the ten cells of the 5 X 2 factorial design (four blame-orientations + control males X high and low failure) with eight subjects per cell. As far as was possible, the second experimenter balanced the extremity of the scores of those scheduled for each of the failure conditions. She also attempted to have a variety of types (and control males) present at each data gathering session.

Sixty-five subjects responded to the first letter and were tested during a three and one half week period. For these subjects, the time lapse between exposure to the scale and exposure to the video tape had a range of from three to seven weeks. Follow-up letters were sent to obtain an additional fifteen subjects. This additional running time extended to nine weeks the maximum interval between exposure to the scale and exposure to the tape.

#### Proceedure - Phase II

The goal of this proceedure was to expose subjects to the video tape. Because of the central position of the tape in the overall design of the research, it is described in some detail

below ( a full script appears in Appendix B).

The 29 minute tape begins with a cover story delivered by a neatly dressed, thirty-five year old male experimenter. He appears against a blank background and welcomes subjects to a study that is being conducted by the "Conflict Resolution Institute" of the City University of New York. Sounding much like an experimenter reading a script, he explains that this presentation is part of a series of studies in which "dramatized accounts" of actual conflict situations are presented to viewers through the use of video tape. Subjects are told that they will be asked to answer questions about the depicted conflict situation. Following some preliminary instructions (e.g. "no talking"), the experimenter briefly introduces the tape and fades from view.

The "tape" consists of a series of discrete scenes that have ostensibly been produced as a documentary by a college television station. The anchor person for the production is a student broadcaster in his early twenties who addresses his viewers from a tree-shaded lawn in front of a modern academic building. After briefly describing the college (e.g. size), the broadcaster states that the occasion for this broadcast is the release of a long awaited report of the findings of a statewide commission probe into discrimination at institutions of higher learning. He invites the subjects to open a news release envelope which has been placed on their desks (see Appendix B) and read the Commission findings along with him. This was done to ensure the exposure of subjects to this information.

The abridged report sets forth five areas in which female

disadvantage has been found. These are: (a) a small proportion of female faculty (15%), (b) a small proportion of female administrators (9%), (c) a lack of women's studies courses or a women's center (as have been provided for campus Blacks), (d) a poor success rate by the Placement Center in finding jobs for female graduates, (e) far greater female than male dissatisfaction with the on-campus delivery of psychological services. The student broadcaster next informs the viewers that the television station is going to attempt to get beyond the "descriptive nature of the report" by interviewing two prominent campus women. The first of these is Mary Summerfield, the college's Dean of Women.

The Dean is seen sitting at her desk in a spacious office. Behind her, one can see numerous bookshelves and filing cabinets. Upon her desk is a plaque prominently displaying her name and position. The Dean is a woman of about forty years of age. She is conservatively attired. Her hair is severely pulled back and parted down the middle of her head; she looks very much like a traditional college administrator. She delivers her remarks in even, unemotional tones. She does, however, convey a sense of strength and conviction.

The Dean begins her remarks by implying that the campus feminists are hardly representative of the majority of American women. She then proceeds to address the Commission findings point by point. Each of the five items are explained by blaming women for the existence of these conditions (i.e. in individual-blaming terms). She argues that there are few female faculty because women with proper qualifications are in short supply (despite ef-

forts to find and recruit them). Hiring on the basis of sex would simply undermine the quality of education at the college. The lack of female administrators is likewise due to the scarcity of women with administrative talent. Refusing to hire the unqualified has led to charges of discrimination, but has served to uphold the quality of the institution. Next, since the majority of women do not subscribe to feminist views, the establishment of women's courses and centers would only divert needed resources to areas where they would be of little benefit. As regards the Placement Center, it has to work with many female students who are either unqualified for the jobs they seek or do not really desire them in the first place. Finally, everyone knows that women in general have more problems with maladjustment than men do. The counselors are hard pressed to deal with such widespread and deep seated conditions. "Quoting satisfaction figures from people who are admittedly unhappy and dissatisfied to begin with is a violation of good old common sense." The Dean concludes her individual-blaming interpretation of the findings by strongly suggesting that the problem lies not within the college administration, but within women themselves.

The second prominent woman to be interviewed is Professor Ellen Martin of the Women's Alliance. She is introduced by a voiceover following the fading out of the image of the Dean. The Professor is a woman in her late twenties who is neatly but casually attired. She is seen seated behind a desk in her small office. A prominent plaque identifies her and the name of the organization. The Professor's remarks are delivered with a degree

of emotion. At times, her voice rises in a controlled anger.

The Professor begins by placing blame for the conditions directly upon the administration (i.e. system-blame). She then addresses the Commission findings point by point as an illustration of her claim. She states that qualified women are deliberately not hired by the college. More female than male applicants are rejected each year. Many of these applicants come from the "finest graduate schools in the nation." The few female administrators who are hired are locked into low level positions. When high level vacancies occur, nation-wide searches are conducted in spite of the fact that qualified women are present on the campus. The refusal to fund women's programs is aimed at limiting the consciousness of females on the campus. The administration seeks to prevent women from seeing themselves as the largest minority group at the college. The Placement Center does not take female applicants seriously. They are steered into overcrowded fields with little chance for successful careers. The prevailing attitude is that they will "just get married anyway." On-campus psychological counselors simply try to reinforce the stereotypical women's role. They attempt to force women to accept the very same ideas that are responsible for their seeking counseling in the first place. The Professor then closes by contending that the report has simply confirmed what has been known all along; that the college administration is guilty of prejudice and discrimination against women.

After the Professor fades from view, the scene shifts back outside to the student newscaster. He brings the subjects "up to

date" by detailing the events that followed the release of the Commission findings. He reports that the Women's Alliance and their supporters took various actions (e.g. vigils, boycotts, marches) to which the administration did not respond. He then describes the long-expected confrontation in which the protestors occupied the hallway outside of the college president's office, imprisoning him inside. A list of demands that were presented to the President have been provided for the subjects in a second news release envelope on their desks (see Appendix B). The newscaster invites the audience to read the demands along with him (again seeking to ensure exposure of the subjects to the information). These demands parallel the Commission findings and ask for immediate remedies accompanied by a federal investigation.

Dramatically working toward a climax, the newscaster informs the subjects that the President emerged from his office and addressed the sit-ins after hours of telephone consultations with campus officials. The college television station is said to have simultaneously broadcast the audio portion of the President's reply throughout the campus. The audience is then invited to listen to a tape of that momentous broadcast.

The scene now shifts to a sign bearing the name of the President surrounded by a geometric pattern. After a few seconds of exposure, this gives way to a picture of the President's face and upper torso which fill the entire screen. This type of presentation was meant to simulate a television news story where, lacking a filmed report, a picture of the individual accompanies a broadcast of his or her remarks. As is often the case with such seg-

ments, the audio portion of the tape had a characteristic distant, crackling quality.

The President is a white-haired man in his mid to late sixties. He is conservatively dressed in a dark suit, tie and wire rimmed glasses. There are two different versions of his remarks which constitute the major manipulation of this phase of the study. The high failure version is intended to produce a state of arousal in ambivalent subjects consistent with the model presented above. This is done by presenting a strong rejection of the women's demands with an individual-blaming justification for the failure of the protest action. Here the President states that the demands "are categorically rejected....(because)....responsibility for these conditions falls squarely on the shoulders of women in this society in general and here at Marshall (college) in particular." He then goes on to fault the women's group by stating that its actions have shown it to be "poorly organized, non-representative of the majority of female students, and extremely naive in its approach to bringing about social change." He closes his remarks by reminding the sit-ins that "Attacking a system that is merely a reflection of the prevailing condition of women themselves is irresponsible, illogical and, ultimately, doomed to failure."

The low failure version, on the other hand, is intended to prevent arousal in ambivalent subjects from occurring. Here, the demands of the sit-ins are tabled with the statement that "these requests cannot be immediately implemented." Without placing any blame, the President justifies this action with a traditionalist

argument about the careful process of social change and the impossibility of changing institutions "overnight". Addressing the actions of the women's group, he states that "The events of the past several weeks have demonstrated that there is a pressing need for the establishment of a dialogue between the administration of this college and the Women's Alliance and its supporters." He closes with the words, "I am looking forward to the opportunity to meet with you and to discuss our differences in an atmosphere of friendly reconciliation."

After the President has faded from view, the experimenter from the "Institute" appears in his initial setting. He informs the subjects that the Institute is interested in learning about their impressions of the situation and how they might feel about suggestions for its resolution. They are then invited to open the third envelope remaining on their desks. This envelope contains the Dependent Measures Questionnaire (see Appendix B). Subjects are then given instructions for completing the questionnaire and thanked for their cooperation. With this the experimenter fades from view marking the end of the video tape.

Data collection was accomplished by the first experimenter (the author). He first met subjects at the assigned classroom. He was kept blind to the blame-orientation of each subject and the failure condition to be run at any given session. The number of subjects present at any session ranged from one to 12.

After everyone was seated, the experimenter welcomed the subjects and passed around a sign-in sheet asking for name and social security number. He then distributed the handout packets



and explained that all necessary information would be given on the video tape. This reply was used to answer all appropriate questions. The experimenter then cautioned the subjects about talking, started the video tape and left the room. During the running of the tape, the experimenter remained outside of the classroom door and intercepted latecomers.

The video monitor shut itself off automatically at the end of the tape. The experimenter, who could view subjects through a glass panel in the door, did not reenter the room until everyone had finished filling out the questionnaire. Upon his reentry, he asked subjects to turn their test booklets over in order to write the answers to two further questions on the back. The questions were: Did you recognize any people or objects in the video tape? Do you have any idea why you, in particular, were invited to participate in this study? Next all subjects were fully debriefed. During the debriefing, subjects were asked if they would like to receive a copy of their blame-orientation score and/or a preliminary statement of the results of the research. Those who so desired were sent the appropriate documents by the second experimenter. Finally, subjects were paid the sum of \$4.00 for their participation and the session was ended. The average session lasted approximately one hour.

## Results

### Effectiveness of the Video Tape

Aside from the Blame-orientation Scale, the stimulus program was the key element in the research design. The content of the program had been carefully written to conform to the requirements of the experiment. However, one could legitimately ask whether or not the video tape itself had provided subjects with a realistic and believable event. The answer to this question was supplied by two separate measures. Both were part of the Dependent Measures Questionnaire which was administered to subjects prior to debriefing. Responses to both of these items pointed to the success of the stimulus program.

The first measure consisted of a 5 point bi-polar scale for response to the question, "how believable was the video tape?" The overall mean response, 3.70, was both positive and well above the midpoint. The second item asked subjects to indicate the degree to which they had been able to "imagine that you were present on the campus during the video tape." The overall mean response to this 5 point scale was 3.388 which was taken as a positive indication of the ability of the tape to provoke something akin to identification on the part of the subjects. The goal of providing a believable event that was capable of engaging those who viewed it had apparently been achieved.

### Effectiveness of the Deceptions

The procedure involved two major areas of deception. The

first concerned the video tape itself. Subjects had been led to believe that the events depicted on the tape had taken place at a college in Ohio. This was done to strengthen the supposed connection between the tape and the "Conflict Resolution Institute." In reality, the video program had been filmed on the home campus of the subjects. This situation left open the possibility that some of them might have recognized elements within the tape. Such recognition could have conceivably compromised the impact of the stimulus program.

The success of the deception was examined by asking subjects to indicate (just prior to debriefing) whether or not they had recognized anything in the video tape. In response, 36 of the 80 participants reported that they had recognized people and/or buildings.<sup>8</sup> The impact of this high level of reported recognition was tested by examining responses to the imaginability and believability items. For both of these measures, the mean scores of subjects who reported recognition were compared with the mean scores of those who did not. If the impact of the stimulus program had in fact been compromised, the effect should have been evident in responses to these particular items. Such was not the case. The results presented in Table 8 clearly indicate that the

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<sup>8</sup>The high degree of subject recognition of people/buildings in the tape (45%) may have been provoked by the question itself. In debriefing, many subjects reported that they were not sure that the tape was not genuine until the recognition question was asked. In fact, one woman reported that she had noticed the similarity of a building to one on the Ramapo campus. However, before the recognition question was asked, she had concluded that the two schools had employed the same architect.

reported recognition of elements within the video tape did not weaken the impact of the stimulus program.

The second area of deception involved concealing the relationship between the two phases of the experiment. The connection between filling out the Blame-orientation Scale in class and being invited to participate in the study of "conflict resolution" had necessarily been kept from the subjects. The success of this deception was measured by asking subjects to indicate (prior to debriefing) whether or not they had any idea how they, in particular, had been selected for the study. The responses indicated that the deception had succeeded for the bulk of the 80 subjects (85%). Twelve did state, however, that they had been selected as a result of having previously completed the Blame-orientation Scale.

Once again I was presented with the possibility that the impact of the stimulus program had been compromised. As was done above, this possibility was tested by examining responses to the imaginability and believability items. The mean scores of the 12 subjects who had connected the two phases were compared with those of the 68 who had not. As shown in Table 9, the results clearly indicated that the believability of the tape was not affected. However, the 12 subjects did have significantly more difficulty imagining themselves to have been present on the Marshall College campus. Fortunately however the fairly even distribution of these twelve subjects on both of the independent variables made it highly unlikely that this difficulty had exerted any sys-

Table 8

Mean Believability & Imaginability Responses of  
Subjects Who Did & Did Not Report Recognition of  
People or Buildings in the Stimulus Program

	Recognized	Did Not Recognize	Diff.	<u>t</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
Believability	3.538	3.772	.189	.771	78	> .20
Imaginability	3.305	3.454	.149	.882	78	> .20

Table 9

Mean Believability & Imaginability Responses of  
Subjects Who Did or Did Not Connect Phases I & II

	Connected	Did Not Connect	Diff.	<u>t</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>p</u>
Believability	3.500	3.735	.235	.697	78	> .20
Imaginability	2.750	3.500	.750	2.344	78	< .05

tematic influence on the dependent measures.<sup>9</sup>

### Strength of Manipulation

The actual manipulation employed in the research involved the presentation of two different versions of the college president's reply to the sit-ins. The high failure condition was intended to provide subjects with a strong experience of rejection and failure. In the low failure situation, the experience of rejection and failure was intended to be felt weakly, if at all.

The success of the manipulation was measured by asking subjects to indicate, on a 5 point scale, the degree to which they felt that the women had "failed to achieve their goals" after hearing the president's reply to the sit-ins. The responses to this item clearly cast doubt upon the strength of this manipulation. There was no significant difference between the mean of 2.85 obtained in high failure and that of 3.05 obtained in low,  $F(1,70) = .266$ ,  $p = .99$ . More importantly, the ambivalent subjects, who were especially expected to be differentially aroused by the two conditions, did not perceive different degrees of failure in the two situations. In fact, the mean responses of the two ambivalent groups were a remarkably identical 2.875.

On the basis of this measure alone, one would be forced to conclude that the failure manipulation was not effective. However, several portions of the subsequent analysis did indicate

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<sup>9</sup>The distribution was as follows: high failure - 6, low failure - 6; system-blamers - 2, open-system blamers - 5, ambivalents - 1, individual-blamers - 3, control males - 1.

that these two conditions were the cause of differential responses (i.e. two significant main effects for failure and one significant interaction). Nevertheless, one must seriously question whether or not failure per se was the causative factor in these significant differences.

#### Derivation of Dependent Measures

The questionnaire administered at the conclusion of the stimulus program contained 21 separate items. These questions were designed to measure subjects' reactions to four distinct areas of the stimulus program. These areas were: (a) aspects of the overall situation, (b) evaluations of the system-blaming professor, (c) evaluations of the individual-blaming dean, and (d) evaluations of the president who had rejected the demands of the sit-ins.

A separate "militancy" index was derived from each of the four groups of measures, referring to the degree to which responses were directed against the system. For the first category, such responses included endorsing statements and actions directed against the college administration. For each of the other three categories, the respective militant responses included forming favorable evaluations of the system-blaming professor, forming negative evaluations of the individual-blaming dean and forming negative evaluations of the rejecting president.

The first militancy index was derived by combining scores on five items that dealt with reactions to the overall situation. These items asked subjects to: (a) evaluate the sit-in on a 5

point scale ranging from a "good thing" to a "bad thing", (b) choose from among a range of militant and non-militant actions the one they felt the demonstrators should have taken as an immediate response to the president's reply, (c) choose from among a range of militant and non-militant long term actions the one they felt the women should have engaged in over the "next several months", (d) indicate whose interpretation of the Commission findings they agreed with more by marking a position on a 5 point scale that presented the "professor's interpretation" and the "dean's interpretation" as opposite poles and (e) indicate the degree to which they themselves would have supported or worked against passage of the women's demands if they had been presented in a campus referendum.<sup>10</sup>

Combining these five items was theoretically justified by the fact that all of them were intended to assess reactions to a common referent - the situation itself. The empirical justification for such a procedure was provided by an inter-item correlation matrix computed via Pearson's  $r$ . These correlations, which can be found in Table 10, indicated that all five items

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<sup>10</sup>A sixth question presented the "president's interpretation" of the Commission findings and the "professor's interpretation" of the Commission findings as poles in a bi-polar item. Subjects were asked to indicate which interpretation they agreed with most by marking a position on the 5 point scale. However, this item was subsequently dropped from the analysis when it was recognized that the president's interpretation was not consistent across failure conditions. This meant that the item could not be used for measuring the effectiveness of the blame-orientation variable where data from each of the failure conditions would necessarily be combined for each blame-orientation group.



Table 10  
Inter-item Correlation Matrix For  
Reactions to the Overall Situation

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
S's Own Vote in Campus Referendum (1)	----	.447	.444	.317	.660
Evaluation of Sit-in (2)	----	----	.409	.452	.409
Immediate Response to President (3)	----	----	----	.414	.458
Long-range Response to President (4)	----	----	----	----	.471
Interpreta- tion of Com- mission Find- ings - Prof. vs. Dean (5)	----	----	----	----	----

were homogeneous and could thus be combined into a single meaningful index. This dependent measure was labelled the Situation Index.

The remaining three militancy indexes were derived from the evaluations of the three principal characters. A common set of five items had been used in the evaluation of the professor, the dean and the president. The positive poles of these 6 point bipolar measures characterized the target individual as being: (a) reasonable, (b) realistic, (c) intelligent, (d) significant, and (e) attractive. Combining each set of measures into a single index for each character had obvious conceptual justification. The empirical justification was again examined by generating inter-item correlations based on Pearson's  $r$ .

As can be seen in Tables 11, 12 and 13 the correlations were generally good. The only exceptions were those involving the attractiveness item in evaluations of the dean. These low negative correlations may have been due to the fact that attractiveness was the only item that referred to a physical attribute of the individual. As such, it could be considered vague and, in any case, tangential to the referent's position in the events depicted in the stimulus program. It can be further noted that this item was also involved in the lowest correlations that were obtained from evaluations of the professor and the president. For these reasons, the attractiveness item was dropped from the analysis and scores on the remaining four items were combined to form three measures of militancy. These three measures were labelled the Professor Index, the Dean Index, and the President Index.

Table 11  
Inter-item Correlation Matrix for  
Evaluation of the Professor

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Attractive (1)	----	.490	.503	.419	.285
Reasonable (2)	----	----	.612	.589	.434
Realistic (3)	----	----	----	.409	.463
Intelligent (4)	----	----	----	----	.337
Significant (5)	----	----	----	----	----

Table 12  
Inter-item Correlation Matrix for  
Evaluation of the Dean

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Attractive (1)	-----	-.037	-.006	.366	.363
Reasonable (2)	-----	-----	.611	.278	.509
Realistic (3)	-----	-----	-----	.216	.344
Intelligent (4)	-----	-----	-----	-----	.489
Significant (5)	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

Table 13  
Inter-item Correlation Matrix for  
Evaluation of the President

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Attractive (1)	----	.368	.236	.289	.255
Reasonable (2)	----	----	.648	.405	.379
Realistic (3)	----	----	----	.391	.329
Intelligent (4)	----	----	----	----	.335
Significant (5)	----	----	----	----	----

Thus 17 of the 21 original questionnaire items had been combined to form four militancy indexes. Scores on these indexes provided the dependent measures for testing the hypotheses set forth in the Introduction (see pp. 38 - 42).

#### Hypothesis Testing: the Orientation Hypothesis

The orientation hypothesis predicted that a woman's blame-orientation would significantly affect the way that she reacted to a relevant event such as the viewing of the stimulus program. It was further predicted that this influence would be manifested in a characteristic rank order of militancy of responses made by each of the four blame-orientation types and the control males. The predicted rank order included the following three positions: (a) the most militant - system and open-system blamers, (b) the intermediate - ambivalents, and (c) the least militant - individual-blamers and control males. Within this characteristic rank order it was predicted that the mean responses of the groups occupying the first and third positions would significantly differ from one another. Significant differences within each of these positions, however, were not expected.

The prediction was tested by subjecting each of the militancy indexes to a 5 X 2 analysis of variance (4 blame-orientations + control males X high and low failure) and examining the main effects of blame-orientation. As can be seen in Tables 14, 16, 18 and 20, the hypothesis was strongly confirmed. Blame-orientation did significantly affect the amount of militancy revealed by the subjects in their reactions to (a) the overall situation, F

Table 14  
Analysis of Variance of  
Scores on Militance of Reactions to the Situation

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	Sig.
Blame-orientation	248.674	4	62.169	6.733	.001
Failure	.312	1	.312	.034	.999
Interaction	47.625	4	11.906	1.289	.282
Error (within)	646.369	70	9.234		
Total	942.981	79			

Table 15  
Mean Militancy of Response to  
The Situation, in Rank Order

Blame-orientation						
Failure	Open- System	System	Ambiv- alent	Control	Individ- ual	Over- all
High	22.25	21.0	21.0	17.375	15.625	19.45
Low	20.75	20.12	19.375	18.50	17.875	19.325
Combined	21.50	<u>20.56</u>	<u>20.187</u>	<u>17.937</u>	16.75	19.387

Note. Means sharing a common underlining do not significantly differ from one another. Means not sharing a common underlining differ from one another with  $p \leq .05$ .

Note. Potential response range 5 (non-militant) - 25 (militant).

Table 16  
Analysis of Variance of  
Scores on Militance of Evaluations of the Professor

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	Sig.
Blame-orientation	162.175	4	40.544	6.275	.001
Failure	48.050	1	48.050	7.437	.008
Interaction	15.075	4	3.769	.583	.999
Error (within)	452.246	70	6.461		
Total	677.546	79			

Table 17  
Mean Total Evaluations of the Professor  
in Rank Order of Militancy

Blame-orientation						
Failure	Open-system	Ambivalent	System	Control	Individual	Overall
High	22.25	22.125	21.50	18.37	18.75	20.60
Low	21.00	19.50	19.25	18.25	17.25	19.05
Combined	21.625	20.812	20.375	18.312	18.00	19.825

Note. Means sharing a common underlining do not significantly differ from one another. Means not sharing a common underlining differ from one another with  $p \leq .05$ .

Note. Potential response range 4 (non-militant) - 24 (militant).



Table 18  
Analysis of Variance of  
Scores on Militance of Evaluations of the Dean

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	Sig.
Blame-orientation	243.550	4	60.888	4.328	.004
Failure	3.612	1	3.612	.257	.999
Interaction	43.950	4	10.987	.781	.999
Error (within)	984.867	70	14.070		
Total	1275.980	79			

Table 19  
Mean Total Evaluations of the Dean  
in Rank Order of Militancy

Blame-orientation						
Failure	System	Ambiv- alent	Open- system	Individ- ual	Control	Over- all
High	10.625	12.50	12.50	15.50	15.125	13.25
Low	10.625	12.625	15.25	13.75	16.25	13.70
Combined	10.625	12.562	13.875	14.625	15.687	13.475

Note. Means sharing a common underlining do not significantly differ from one another. Means not sharing a common underlining differ from one another with  $p < .05$ .

Note. Potential response range 24 (non-militant) - 4 (militant).

Table 20  
Analysis of Variance of  
Scores on Militance of Evaluations of the President

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
Blame-orientation	224.300	4	56.075	3.997	.006
Failure	171.112	1	171.112	12.196	.001
Interaction	15.950	4	3.987	.284	.999
Error (within)	982.116	70	14.030		
Total	1393.479	79			

Table 21  
Mean Total Evaluations of the President  
in Rank Order of Militancy

Blame-orientation						
Failure	System	Ambiv- alent	Open- System	Individ- ual	Control	Over- all
High	9.25	10.50	11.00	13.375	14.25	11.675
Low	12.25	14.125	14.75	14.625	17.25	14.60
Combined	10.75	12.312	12.875	14.00	15.75	13.137

Note. Means sharing a common underlining do not significantly differ from one another. Means not sharing a common underlining differ from one another with  $p < .05$ .

Note. Potential response range 24 (non-militant) - 4 (militant).

(4,70) = 6.733,  $p < .001$ ; (b) the professor,  $F(4,70) = 6.275$ ,  $p < .001$ ; (c) the dean,  $F(4,70) = 4.238$ ,  $p = .004$ ; and (d) the president,  $F(4,70) = 3.997$ ,  $p = .006$ .<sup>11</sup>

The prediction that the influence of blame-orientation would be manifested in a characteristic rank order of militancy of the response means of the five groups was next examined. As shown in Table 15, the predicted order was fully obtained for responses to the Situation Index. In response to this measure, the open-system and system-blamers showed the most militancy while the individual blamers and controls exhibited the least. As predicted, the mean response of the ambivalent women fell in between the two extreme positions.

The significance of the differences between the means in this rank order were tested by subjecting all possible pairs of comparisons to the Tukey HSD procedure (Winer, 1971). As can be seen in Table 15, all of the predicted contrasts between the most and least militant groups were significant with the sole exception of that between system-blamers and control males.

As shown in Tables 17, 19, and 21 the mean responses to the remaining three militancy indexes only partially confirmed the prediction of a characteristic rank order of response. As expected, on all three of these evaluations of principal characters, the individual-blamers and control males occupied the least mili-

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<sup>11</sup>As previously noted and explained (see p. 29), the nature of the scores generated by the Blame-orientation Scale do not make possible the calculation of correlations between scale scores and the magnitude of responses to dependent measures.

tant positions while the most militant responses were consistently made by either one of the system-blaming groups. The major departure from the prediction involved the ambivalent women whose militancy of response to each of the three indexes ranked higher than that of one of the two system-blaming groups.

In mean responses to the professor shown in Table 17, it was the system-blamers who occupied the intermediate position while the ambivalent women ranked directly below the open-system blamers in terms of their militance. This departure from the predicted rank order was also seen in terms of the planned comparisons. As expected, the mean responses of the open-system blamers were significantly more militant than those of both the individual-blamers and the control males. However, with the ambivalent women occupying the upper ranks of militance, it was their response means that also differed significantly from those of the two lowest ranking groups.

The mean evaluations of the dean and the president can be found in Tables 19 and 21 respectively. As shown in both tables, the order of these means parallels the partial confirmation of the rank order prediction that was seen above in the responses to the professor. However, on both of these measures it was the open system rather than the system-blamers who were displaced from the upper ranks of militancy by the responses of the ambivalent women.

The planned comparisons for both measures offered partial support for the prediction of significant contrasts between the most and least militant groups. On the Dean Index, the mean re-

sponse of the top ranked system-blamers was significantly different from those of both of the least militant groups; the individual-blamers and control males. On the President Index, the mean response of the system-blamers significantly differed only from that of the control males.

#### Hypothesis Testing: the Failure Hypothesis

The failure hypothesis predicted that the ambivalent women would be differentially affected by the manipulation that occurred at the point of the president's reply to the sit-ins. Up until this point, in both versions of the tape, the system-blame component of the dual orientation of the ambivalent subjects should have provided a basis for their identification with those engaged in social protest. In the low failure condition, this identification was not likely to be challenged nor ambivalence aroused. A system-blaming interpretation could easily be maintained in light of the relatively benign response of the president and the fact that he did not use individual-blame as a justification for his tabling of the women's demands. In response to such a situation it was predicted that the ambivalent women would react to the tape in a highly militant manner consistent with their system-blame.

In the high failure situation, on the other hand, the severity of the president's response was designed to provoke feelings of failure, disappointment and crisis which would serve to challenge the continued use of an ambivalently held system-blame that had led to these negative experiences in the first place. The

degree of ambivalence aroused by this challenge should have been heightened by the president's intensive use of individual-blame as the sole justification for his actions.

Given this state of arousal, the hypothesis predicted that the ambivalent women would respond to the tape in a highly non-militant manner (the rationale for this prediction was extensively stated earlier).

In contrast to the differential responses of the ambivalent subjects, no such effects of failure were expected on the part of the subject population as a whole. Rather, it was expected that blame-orientation would mediate a stability of response across the two failure conditions.

The ANOVAs that had been performed on responses to the militancy measures were examined for consistency with my expectation that there would be no differential effects of the failure conditions on the subject population as a whole. As clearly indicated in Tables 14 and 18, there was no main effect of failure on responses to either the situation,  $F(1,70) = .034$ ,  $p = .99$  or the dean,  $F(1,70) = .257$ ,  $p = .99$ . However, as seen in Tables 16 and 20, strongly significant effects were obtained on responses to both the professor,  $F(1,70) = 7.437$ ,  $p = .008$  and the president,  $F(1,70) = 12.196$ ,  $p < .001$ . These latter two effects were not consistent with the expectation.

In order to more closely examine these equivocal findings, the actual means involved in the two significant differences were inspected. These means, which can be found in Tables 17 and 21, indicated that the professor had been evaluated more favorably

following high failure while the president's more positive ratings followed exposure to the low failure condition. Both of these trends were uniformly evidenced in the individual cell means of all five groups.

The major prediction of the failure hypothesis suggested that ambivalent subjects would shift their behavior in situations where their ambivalence was aroused. The specific prediction stated that the militancy of the responses of these subjects would be stronger in the low failure condition than in the high failure situation.

This prediction was tested by again examining the two-way ANOVAs that had been performed on responses to the four militancy indexes. If the hypothesis was correct, there should have been significant interactions of blame-orientation and failure with ambivalent subjects showing the distinctive response pattern outlined above.

The results reported in Tables 14, 16, 18, and 20 do not support the prediction. There were no significant interactions in responses to the situation,  $F(4,70) = 1.289$ ,  $p = .28$ ; the professor,  $F(4,70) = .583$ ,  $p = .99$ ; the dean,  $F(4,70) = .781$ ,  $p = .99$ ; or the president,  $F(4,70) = .284$ ,  $p = .99$ .

Thus the failure hypothesis was not confirmed. The significant effects of situational factors on the responses of the subject population as a whole were inconsistent with my expectations while the lack of distinctive differential responses on the part of the ambivalent women clearly ran counter to the predicted effects of failure upon this group.

### Additional Analyses

In light of the equivocal findings relating to the failure hypothesis, it seemed important to know whether or not the effectiveness of the stimulus program had differed for any of the groups or for subjects in either of the two failure conditions. In order to test these possibilities, the believability and imaginability measures were subjected to a two-way analysis of variance similar to that performed on the militancy indexes.

As shown in Table 22, ratings of imaginability were not significantly affected by blame-orientation, failure or an interaction between the two factors. There was, however, a strong trend on the failure variable ( $p = .06$ ) where, as shown in Table 23, imaginability ratings tended to be greater in the high failure condition.

The ANOVA of believability responses shown in Table 24 indicated that these ratings were significantly affected by blame-orientation,  $F(4,70) = 2.668$ ,  $p = .04$ . This effect was further examined by computing multiple comparisons via Tukey's HSD procedure. As revealed in Table 25, the ambivalent subjects reported significantly more believability for the tapes than did the individual-blamers. However, of far more interest in this analysis is a highly significant interaction between blame-orientation and failure,  $F(4,70) = 5.652$ ,  $p < .001$ . When presented in graphic form (Figure 1), the most apparent feature of this effect is the uniqueness of the open-system blamers. They were the only group that showed a decrease in believability moving from low to high failure. All other groups evidenced the opposite trend. In addi-



Table 22  
Analysis of Variance of  
Imaginability Ratings of the Stimulus Program

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	Sig.
Blame-orientation	7.425	4	1.856	1.765	.14
Failure	3.612	1	3.612	3.435	.06
Interaction	2.325	4	.581	.553	.99
Error (within)	73.625	70	1.052		
Total	86.987	79			

Table 23  
Mean Responses to the Imaginability Measure

		Blame-orientation				Overall
Failure	System	Individ- ual	Control	Open- system	Ambiv- alent	
High	3.50	3.25	3.50	3.50	4.25	3.60
Low	2.625	2.875	3.50	3.375	3.50	3.175
Combined	3.062	3.062	3.50	3.437	3.875	3.388

Note. Potential response range 1 (could imagine very little being on campus) - 5 (could imagine very much being on campus).

Table 24  
Analysis of Variance of  
Believability Ratings of the Stimulus Program

Source	<u>SS</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>	Sig.
Blame-orientation	9.300	4	2.325	2.668	.04
Failure	.800	1	.800	.918	.99
Interaction	19.700	4	4.925	5.652	.001
Error (within)	60.999	70	.871		
Total	90.799	79			

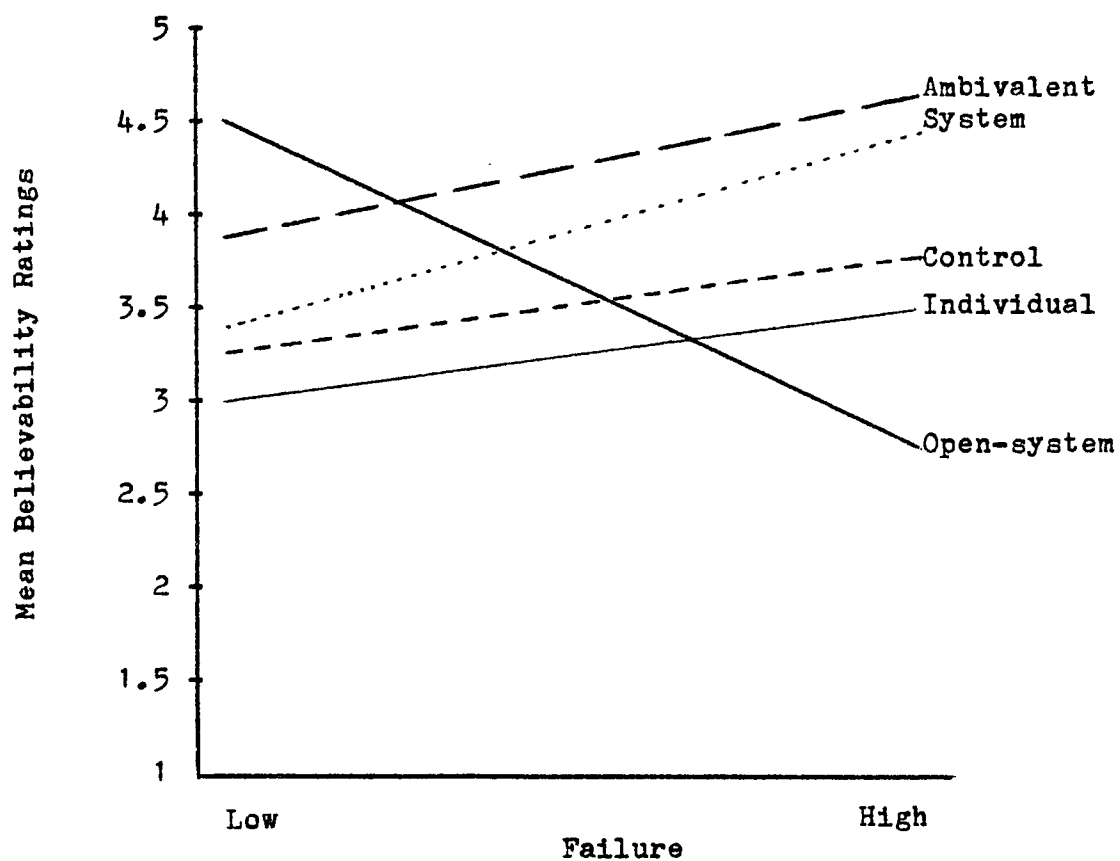
Table 25  
Mean Responses to the Believability Measure

Blame-orientation						
Failure	Ambiv- alent	System	Open- system	Control	Individ- ual	Overall
High	4.625	4.375	2.75	3.75	3.50	3.80
Low	3.875	3.375	4.50	3.250	3.00	3.60
Combined	4.25 <sup>a</sup>	3.875	3.625	3.50	3.25 <sup>a</sup>	3.70

Note. Potential response range 1 (not at all believable) - 5 (very believable).

<sup>a</sup>Combined response means significantly different with  $p < .05$

Figure 1  
Interaction of Blame-orientation and Failure  
on Group Responses to Believability Item



tion, the responses of the open-system blamers were more extreme than those of any other type. In low failure, their believability ratings were the highest of any group while in high failure, their believability ranked below that of all the others.

A second group of interest is the ambivalents whose believability ratings surpassed those of all of the other groups in high failure and were second only to those of the open-system blamers in low.

### Discussion

The outcome of the present study suggests that blame-orientation may well be a real and important aspect of the cognitive lives of members of marginal minority populations. The results allow the drawing of two general conclusions about the nature of blame-orientation while also providing a basis for viewing each of the blame-orientation types as a distinct group with at least some predictable behavioral characteristics. In addition, the findings have implications for the validity of the Blame-orientation Scale, the relationship between blame-orientation and marginality, and the relationship between blame-orientation and participation in social protest - all of which are discussed below.

### General Conclusions

The first general conclusion to be drawn involves an acceptance of the basic orientation hypothesis. Blame-orientation did indeed significantly affect the militancy of subjects' responses to the stimulus program. This influence was seen in the highly significant main effects of blame-orientation on reactions to the overall situation and to each of the principal characters. In addition, this variable unexpectedly produced a significant main effect on subjects' ratings of the believability of the stimulus program. On this basis one can thus conclude that the manner in which a woman places blame for the subordinate status of her sex is significantly related to the way in which she reacts to a video dramatization of feminist protest activity taking place in

the external social environment. The significant effect on believability ratings further suggests that blame-orientation may be related to a woman's willingness to accept or reject pertinent information presented in the form of news or documentary programming.

The second general conclusion involves the effects of the differential failure conditions on the militancy of responses to the stimulus program. As stated in the failure hypothesis, this manipulation of the president's reply to the demands of the sit-ins was not expected to have any significant effect on the responses of the subject population as a whole. Since blame-orientation should have determined whether or not a subject believed that the demands were justified, the only key feature in both conditions should thus have been the fact that these (just or unjust) demands were rejected by the president. Variations in the tone of or rationale for this rejection should not have made any difference in the way that subjects responded to an action that was either compatible (individual-blaters & controls) or incompatible (system & open-system blaters) with their particular orientations.<sup>12</sup>

In a manner consistent with my expectation, there was no significant effect of failure on either reactions to the total

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<sup>12</sup>A second part of the failure hypothesis predicted that the ambivalent subjects, unlike the four groups noted above, would be differentially affected by the failure manipulation. This effect was expected to be seen in a blame-orientation X failure interaction. This portion of the hypothesis is fully discussed below.

situation or evaluations of the individual-blaming Dean of Women. However, such effects were obtained, and strongly so, in evaluations of both the president and the system-blaming professor. The professor received a significantly more favorable evaluation from subjects who were exposed to the high failure version of the president's speech while the president himself was evaluated significantly more favorably by those who heard the low failure version of his reply to the sit-ins. This particular response pattern was evidenced in the individual cell means of all five groups. As would be expected with such a uniform effect, there were no significant interactions between blame-orientation and failure.

These results suggest that a system representative who verbally attacks his or her opponents while responding to a confrontation will be less favorably evaluated than one who surrounds his or her actions with conciliatory rhetoric. In a sense, words seem to speak louder than actions since these more negative evaluations are formed uniformly by all observers regardless of whether or not the specific action taken is compatible with their blame-orientations. A verbally vehement response by a system representative also appears to uniformly enhance the impact of his or her most direct opponent. In the present case, the results suggest that the president's crushing rejection of the sit-ins in high failure served only to elevate the credibility of his opponent (the professor) while diminishing the favorableness of his own impact upon the subjects.

These findings bring to mind the manner in which excessive

reactions by authorities served to "radicalize" many students during the 1960s. During that period it was quite common for a few campus activists to be joined by hundreds of apolitical and even conservative students after the former group had been subjected to police violence or harsh discipline by college authorities. Then, as in the present case, student reaction to official excess seemed to transcend individual ideological or political orientations. However, the results of the present study differ from these situations in that the effect under discussion did not generalize beyond the level of evaluations of particular principal characters. The subjects' reactions to the overall situation, including their suggestions for further activity by themselves and the sit-ins, were unaffected by the failure manipulation. These responses, as well as evaluations of the individual-blaming dean of women, were significantly influenced only by blame-orientation.

#### The Blame-orientation Types

A major focus of my blame-orientation work has been the formulation of four distinct blame-orientation "types". Up until the present time, the characterization of these groups was based upon evidence gained from the content analysis of Black protest writings and the development of the Blame-orientation Scale. The present study represents the first attempt to test these characterizations within an experimental context.

The test of these formulations was contained in the orientation hypothesis. This test involved predicting the characteristic



manner in which members of each type would react to a stimulus program that was highly relevant to their status as members of a marginal minority population. The specific predictions outlined the position expected of each group when mean responses to the stimulus program were arranged in rank order of militancy. They also maintained that the mean responses of the most and least militant groups would significantly differ from one another.

The subjects' responses to the Situation Index offered the strongest support for the orientation hypothesis. The obtained rank order corresponded perfectly to that which had been predicted. Three of the four possible contrasts between mean responses of the most and least militant groups achieved significance while contrasts within these ranks did not. Responses to the remaining three militancy indexes generated varying degrees of support for the hypothesis.

Since the significance of all of these findings lies in their ability to test the formulation of each blame-orientation type, we will now proceed to a separate discussion of each of these distinct groups. Here it should be noted that while the four blame-orientation types are conceptually distinct, their designation via the Blame-orientation Scale involves the application of arbitrary cut-off points to scores falling along continuous dimensions. Thus while subjects are clearly typed for purposes of discourse, it is recognized that the exact boundaries of each type cannot be specified in any precise way.

In order to aid in the clarity of the discussion of the blame-orientation types, Table 26 has been prepared. This table

Table 26

Summary of Obtained Positions in Rank Orders of Militancy of  
Response to the Dependent Measures

Situation Index	Open- system	<u>System</u>	Ambiv- alent	<u>Control</u>	Individual
Professor Index	Open- system	Ambivalent	<u>System</u>	<u>Control</u>	<u>Individual</u>
Dean Index	System	<u>Ambivalent</u>	Open- system	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Control</u>
President Index	System	<u>Ambivalent</u>	Open- system	<u>Individual</u>	<u>Control</u>

Note. Within each index, groups sharing a common underlining do not significantly differ from one another. Groups not sharing a common underlining differ from one another with  $p \leq .05$ .

summarizes the obtained rank order of militancy of responses to each of the dependent measures. It also indicates which of the planned comparisons achieved significance.

The individual-blamer. As indicated in Table 26, the mean responses of the individual-blammers ranked below those of all other female types on each of the four militancy indexes. Their responses were significantly less militant than those of at least one other female group on three of the four dependent measures. In all, there were six significant contrasts between the mean responses of the individual-blammers and those of the other groups of female subjects. While the system-blammers, open-system blammers and ambivalents never significantly differed from one another, each of these types displayed significantly more militance than the individual-blammers on two of the four dependent measures. In addition, the individual-blaming women ranked lowest in their estimations of the believability of the stimulus programs (just below the control males). Their estimation was significantly lower than that given by the ambivalent women who ranked first in their willingness to see the video taped program as a plausible reality.

While the responses of the individual-blammers were different than those of all other female subjects, their similarity to those of the males was striking. On all four dependent measures these women shared the least militant rank with the male controls. On two of the measures, including reactions to the situation, their degree of militancy actually ranked below that of the male subjects. On no occasion did the responses of the individu-

al-blaming women significantly contrast with those of the males.

It is clear from these results that the individual-blaming women are a distinctive group. The present findings support the conclusion that these women interpret and can be expected to act within the relevant social world in ways that echo the views of the male majority far more than those of members of their own minority group.

The system-blamer. The results of the present study reinforce my characterization of the system-blamer. These women scored within the most militant position in response to three of the four dependent measures; including the all-important Situation Index. They also presented significant contrasts with the individual-blamers and control males in 50% of the possible comparisons between themselves and these two groups. There was no instance in which another group of subjects was significantly more militant than the system-blamers.

The only seemingly anomalous finding involved the response of these women to the system-blaming professor. Here, they were not as militant as was expected and actually occupied the intermediate rank of militancy. Their mean response did not contrast significantly with that of either the individual-blamers or the control males.

The unusualness of this intermediate level of response is underscored when it is noted that these women had a strongly militant reaction to the other two characters depicted in the tape. The system-blamers' evaluations of these two opponents of the professor were more unfavorable than those of any other group. In

three of the four possible comparisons with the responses of the individual-blamers and the control males, the evaluations formed by the system-blamers were, as expected, significantly more negative.

The comparatively weak level of support given to the professor by her sister system-blamers may, however, be understandable if one looks at the role of each of the characters from the point of view of the system-blaming subjects. The dean and the president were clearly the "enemy". If these subjects had been present on that campus, they may well have been moved to actively oppose the words and actions of these characters which were so antithetical to the system-blaming orientation. The reaction of the system-blamers to the dean and president as well as their scores on the Situation Index clearly support this contention.

But what about the role played by the professor? Could she be defined as "friend" in as simple and definite a manner as her opponents were defined as enemy? Possibly not. While the subjects would certainly have agreed with her system-blaming outlook, they may not have supported her particular type of strategy and tactics. Within the realm of social and political activism it is not unusual to find factionalism, disputes and even overt clashes among people who, nevertheless, share certain basic ideologies. While the dean and president may have been evaluated largely in terms of their opposition to system-blame, the impact of the professor might well have been based upon wider (political) considerations. While certainly post hoc and speculative, this interpretation does serve to put a puzzling pattern of responses into

an understandable perspective.

A distinctive picture of the system-blamer does emerge from the results of the present research. As a woman who interprets female subordination in terms of system-blame, she can be expected to react militantly to exposure to situations where women are disadvantaged. Within such situations she should, at the very least, rank among those who most approve of action directed against the system. Her reactions to system representatives who either employ individual-blame or reject protest actions can be expected to be more negative than those of most other women and any males who might be present. However, her evaluation of other system-blammers who are involved in protest activity might, in part, depend upon the specific manner in which that activity is conducted.

The open-system blamer. The open-system blamer was the only blame-orientation type that did not originally arise from the content analysis of Black protest writings. The formulation of this group was based entirely upon findings that emerged during the development of the Blame-orientation Scale. As one might recall, these findings indicated that subjects whose responses fell below the median on both scale components nevertheless responded to the self-report items in a manner that seemed to indicate a mild system-blaming orientation. This situation was found to be reflective of a non-equivalence of scores falling below the median on the system-blame component of the scale. The "low" mean agreement score of the open-system blaming group proved to be significantly higher than the low mean agreement score of those des-

ignated as individual-blamers.

While this situation could have been dismissed as anomalous, I instead chose to attempt a post hoc conceptualization of the open-system blaming group that would allow the drawing of the best possible hypotheses for the planned experimental examination of the blame-orientation concept. The open-system blamer was characterized as a woman who is open to a system-blaming outlook rather than in constant possession of one. She was seen as a woman who rejects the notion of female inferiority (the low individual-blame score) without, however, adopting the view that anti-female discrimination by the system is pervasive (the "low" system-blame score). Because of this, she was believed to be a person who (in contrast to the true system-blamer) would not accept, a priori, blanket charges of willful subordination of women on the basis of sex. However, in situations where female disadvantage was proven to exist, she was thought to be likely to reject individual-blaming interpretations and be ready to accept (and act upon) explanations based on system-blame.

This formulation led me to predict that the open-system blamer would respond to the stimulus program in a manner entirely comparable to that outlined for the true system-blamer. Since the video tape clearly established female disadvantage as an uncontested fact, the open-system blamer was expected to respond in a manner that rejected the views and actions of the dean and president and embraced the position of the system-blaming professor and the actions of the protesters.

However, before discussing the outcome of the predictions,

it must be noted that the formulation of this group was not fully tested by the present research. The design did not include a condition in which the fact of female disadvantage was not clearly established. Under such a condition, I would have predicted that the open-system blaming response would be significantly less militant than that of the true system-blaming group. Because the inclusion of such a condition was beyond the scope and resources of the present work, one must be content with the attempt to partially validate the formulation by demonstrating that a group of women who scored below the median on both components of the Blame-orientation Scale nevertheless responded to this particular situation as if they were true system-blammers.

The results of the present research generally support my view of the open-system blaming type. These women had the single highest score in response to the all-important Situation Index where they shared the most militant rank with the true system-blammers. They were significantly more militant than the individual-blammers and control males in 50% of the possible comparisons between themselves and these two groups. There was no instance in which any group was significantly more militant than the open-system blammers and their responses did not significantly differ from those of the true system-blammers at any time.

While the responses noted above certainly do present a system-blaming picture, a focus upon evaluations of the three principal characters reveals that the response pattern of the open-system blammers was the direct opposite of that shown by the true system-blaming group. Although these differing response patterns



were not expected, their existence can be explained in a manner that is consistent with the formulation of the open-system blamer as a truly distinctive type.

As indicated in Table 26, and discussed earlier, the system-blammers responded to the professor with a mean evaluation that achieved only the intermediate rank of militancy. The open-system blammers, on the other hand, ranked first in the militancy of their support for this system-blaming figure; a militancy that significantly contrasted with that shown by the individual-blammers and control males. In response to the dean and president however, it was the open-system blammers who occupied the intermediate rank of militancy while the true system-blammers showed the single most negative responses to both of these representatives of individual-blame. I have already interpreted the responses of the system-blammers by examining the role played by each of the characters from the point of view of that particular orientation. Doing the same from the point of view of the open-system blamer leads to an explanation that is consistent with the distinctive portrait of this group that has already been drawn.

It is possible that the professor was strongly supported because it was she who offered an explanation of the situation that members of this group were open to and ready to accept (i.e. system-blame). According to my formulation, once the fact of disadvantage had been established, the open-system blammers would reject any individual-blaming interpretations and stand ready to have the situation clarified for them in terms of system-blame. It was the professor who performed this clarifying role. But what

of the responses of this group to the dean and the president? If this group rejects individual-blame, why did their responses to these two figures only achieve an intermediate level of militancy - one that was not significantly different from that of the individual-blamers and control males?

My interpretation of this situation requires another look at the system-blame component of the Blame-orientation Scale. The majority of these ten scale items consist of rather general charges of sexist discrimination in areas such as corporate management, graduate education, and promotion to supervisory positions. The mean number of these items endorsed by the system-blaming subjects was 9.437, while the corresponding figure for the open-system blamers was 5.875. On this basis, one can suggest that the open-system blamers, by rejecting almost half of the items, are indicating that charges against the system (and its representatives) are, as often as not, untrue. Perhaps it is this more benign view of the system that tends to soften the definition of its representatives as "enemy"; a definition that seems to prevail among system-blamers who are willing to see manifestations of discrimination all around them.

In addition to the degree of distinctiveness that emerges from their responses to the militancy indexes, the open-system blamers also showed themselves to be a highly unique group in the way that they judged the believability of the two versions of the stimulus program. While all of the other groups tended to find high failure to be more believable than low, the open-system blamers evidenced the opposite trend - giving high failure its

single poorest rating (2.75 on a 1 to 5 scale) and low failure its single most positive response (4.50). Turning to Figure 1 (p. 80), it is not difficult to see that it was the uniqueness of the open-system blamers that accounted for the highly significant interaction between blame-orientation and failure revealed by the ANOVA of responses to the believability item.

This difference between the open-system blamers and all of the other groups is indeed difficult to explain. However, one can offer the following highly speculative interpretation. For all of the non-ambivalent groups, except the open-system blamers, the high failure version was likely to have been closer to their individual conceptions of social reality. For the system-blamer, the high failure response would be more compatible with the belief in a hostile system that actively seeks to oppress women in many spheres of their lives. The vehement rejection by the president was likely to have been expected and thus more believable than the conciliatory stance offered in the low failure version. For the individual-blamers and control males, on the other hand, the high failure version might have been more believable because it was, in a sense, the more correct of the two. The system-blaming orientation of the sit-ins was faulty and thus it could be expected that the president would educate them with a response based in individual-blame rather than with one which ignored their erroneous beliefs.

In contrast to all of this stands the open-system blamer who shares neither of these two views of social reality. She does not accept individual-blame and she does not see the system as a to-

tally hostile force that is incapable of positive responses toward women. Thus, for this group alone, the low failure version with its lack of individual-blaming accusations and the benign tone of its rejection of the demands might have seemed closer to a reality that they could believe in.

One major problem with this interpretation does however arise. It lies in the fact that the individual-blamers (along with everyone else) tended to form poorer impressions of the president under the high failure condition. This is hard to reconcile with the contention that they saw an education in individual-blame as a necessary and realistic response. If this was so, why did they then think less of the president when he used such a reply? Unless one can assume that it was the sheer vehemence of the president's response that so negatively affected the individual-blamers, the present interpretation of the believability responses is rendered ever more tenuous. Regardless of this problem however, the believability finding is important in and of itself simply because it bolsters the contention that the open-system blaming group is indeed unique.

The ambivalent. From the beginning, the ambivalent type has always occupied a central position in my blame-orientation work. One of my most important goals has been seeking to understand the process by which such individuals appear to shift their focus from one blame-orientation component to the other (i.e. from system to individual-blame). In its widest application, this shifting process was seen as impacting upon the very course of minority social protest. The general idea held that support for system

blaming protest would wane during periods of great majority resistance because many supporters (and some leaders) who were actually ambivalent would drop out and perhaps even join any individual-blaming opposition that existed within the minority group itself.

The present study was designed to specifically test this suggested shifting process by presenting subjects with differential failure experiences. The high failure experience was expected to precipitate an individual-blaming (non-militant) reaction on the part of the ambivalent subjects, while the low failure experience was expected to provoke a system-blaming (militant) response.

The predictions involving the ambivalent women were twofold. First, it was suggested that they would occupy an intermediate position in the rank orders of militancy since these rank orders represented an averaging of reactions to the two failure conditions. Secondly, it was expected that there would be a significant interaction between blame-orientation and failure which would find only the ambivalent women responding differentially to the two failure conditions along the lines suggested above.

The results of the present research do not strongly support acceptance of either of the hypotheses concerning the ambivalent type. The intermediacy prediction of the orientation hypothesis was confirmed on only one of the four dependent measures (the Situation Index). On the remaining three measures, the militancy of the ambivalent women ranked between that of the two system-blaming groups. The portion of the failure hypothesis that pre-

dicted significant interactions between blame-orientation and failure was not confirmed in any way. These interactions simply did not occur and there was no indication, on any index, of the distinctive response pattern in which the ambivalent women alone were expected to respond differentially to the two failure conditions. There is thus no evidence that the hypothesized "shifting process" ever took place.

The picture of the ambivalent women that does emerge from these largely negative results is one of a mildly system-blaming group. These women never differed significantly from either of the system-blaming types while presenting a total of three significant contrasts with the responses of the individual-blamers and control males. Their response to the Situation Index most closely resembled that of the system-blammers, while their reactions to each of the principal characters paralleled the pattern presented by the open-system blaming type. As previously mentioned, the militancy of their responses to each of the three principal characters ranked in between that of the two system-blaming groups.

The males. Although the males have actually been discussed in the presentation of each of the blame-orientation types, some additional comments are in order. The feature most worthy of note is that the males responded much as they were expected to. Their relative lack of militance and strong similarity to the individual-blaming women is by now familiar to the reader. However, one fact that should be given additional emphasis is that these male subjects were chosen simply on the basis of their sex. They were

not given any attitude measures and were chosen on an essentially random basis. In selecting this group, I was in essence saying that people who, by birth, are members of the majority society will necessarily hold attitudes reflective of that membership. The results of the present research indicate that this assumption was correct.

#### The Validity of the Blame-orientation Scale

Up until the point of the present study, demonstrations of the validity of the Blame-orientation Scale had been based upon the use of self-report data and analysis by non-parametric statistics. I had been able to show significant contrasts between self-reports of those designated as system vs. individual-blammers in the areas of civil rights group membership and position on the women's rights issue. As discussed elsewhere, the nature of the scores generated by the scale did not permit more traditional validity estimates based upon correlations of scale scores and magnitude of response to criterion items (see p. 29). Thus the need for this less direct approach.

The present experiment, however, can be viewed as having established a new and stronger indication of the validity of the scale. In the present instance I was successfully able to predict reactions to a stimulus program using blame-orientation designations provided by the instrument. The success of several of these predictions (especially in regard to the system, open-system and individual-blaming types) was established by the use of ANOVA and subsequent planned comparisons via the conservative Tukey method. The fact that this enterprise was predictive in nature, used a

carefully designed stimulus program and an array of dependent measures, employed a male control group, and depended upon analysis via parametric statistics provides a new and more substantial indication that the scale is effective. The results of the present study would certainly seem to warrant continued use of the instrument.

### The Relationship Between Blame-orientation and Marginality

In the introduction to this work, the idea that blame-orientation is a facet of marginality was developed. It was suggested that the options of blaming the group or blaming the system really represented the choice of identifying with the group of origin or with the mainstream. The preceeding discussion, however, has suggested a schema in which blame-orientation and marginality can be seen as highly related, but nevertheless distinct. Within this view, blame-orientation is seen as denoting the content or direction of one's resolution of the identity problem while marginality represents the success (or stability) of that resolution.

If one examines the discussion of the four blame-orientation types from this point of view, the position of each group within the schema becomes clear. The system and individual-blammers are not marginal. Their resolution of the identification problem has provided them with a stable belief system - a system that allows them to interpret (and act upon) the relevant social world without reliance upon definitions of the situation provided by others.

The open-system blamers and ambivalents, on the other hand, are marginal individuals. Their resolutions of the identification problem faced by minority group members are incomplete. The open-



system blamer accepts neither orientation and is thus dependent upon others to define the situation to a point where he or she can determine a "proper" course of action. The ambivalent individual is in much the same position, only more so. By accepting both resolutions, the possibility of internally generated action that is consistent and stable becomes remote. Because of this, the ambivalent individual can be buffeted about by the actions and definitions of others - external forces that can dramatically change the direction of one's behavior (although the present research has admittedly not provided evidence for this assertion).

This point of view throws a different light upon the Blame-orientation Scale and its distinction from the Gurin measure. The forced-choice technique measures only the direction of one's resolution of the identification problem. The Blame-orientation Scale, on the other hand, measures the stability of one's resolution along with indications of direction where it is meaningful to do so.

This new point of view is, of course, conjectural. Its validity cannot be established without further work. One possible direction for such efforts would be the performance of more detailed (and perhaps adequate) tests of the ambivalent and open-system blaming formulations. A second strategy would be the performance of a direct comparison of the two scales; both in terms of comparing the individual profiles projected by each and, most importantly, in terms of their relative predictive validity.

At this point it is important to note that there is yet another mode of interpreting the ambivalent and open-system blaming

types. This is to see their responses to the scale as being a result of response style rather than true marginal conflict. From this perspective, the open-system blamer becomes a nay-sayer and the ambivalent becomes acquiescent. In the absence of a statistical refutation of such a possibility, I wish to offer three lines of argument that can be brought to bear upon this position.

First, there appears to be a general feeling that the response style argument, in regard to attitude and personality measurement, has all but been laid to rest (e.g. Block, 1965; Butcher, 1972; Mischel, 1968). It appears that Block's often cited monograph and other factor analytic studies have shown the problem to be less important than was once thought. Secondly, it can be noted that none of the dependent measures used in the present study called for a yes or no response. As such, they are likely to have been far less vulnerable to response set than was the Blame-orientation Scale. Thus, the successful predictions of the relationship between these two scale designations and response to the dependent measures (although not great in number) would appear to support a content based interpretation of responses to the scale. Finally, a third but not unrelated argument is the invocation of "construct validity" as exemplified by my ability to interpret the unexpected responses of these two groups along lines suggested by the theoretical formulation of each orientation.

#### Blame-orientation and Social Protest

My interest in blame-orientation arose from an examination of the writings of those who were engaged in social protest. For me, the connection between the two has always been strong. At the

outset of this work, I had hoped to find a way both of understanding and predicting which members of minority populations would engage in, or at least support, protest directed against their disadvantaged status. The concept of blame-orientation appeared to be important for uncovering some knowledge, however fragile, about the basis upon which one either accepts his or her status or fights to change it. The results of the present study have hopefully paved some of the way toward that understanding.

## Appendix A: Scales & Scale Items

### Items Included in the Split-scale Pilot Study

1. A Black who sets high goals for himself will usually wind up being frustrated when he sees all of the opportunities going to Whites.

The problem with many Blacks is that they don't set high enough goals for themselves. Many tend to "sell themselves short".

2. A strong desire to want to get ahead is not enough if you are Black. Discrimination does not care about what Blacks want.

One reason that many Blacks haven't gotten ahead is that they really haven't wanted to. While some Blacks are well motivated, others seem content to just stay where they are.

3. It is a lack of skill and abilities that keeps many Blacks from getting a job. It is not just because they are Black. When a Black is trained to do something, he is able to get a job.

Many qualified Blacks can't get a good job. White people with the same skills wouldn't have any trouble.

4. When job training programs designed to help Blacks achieve more success in life are offered, attendance is usually very poor. Many Blacks seem unwilling to accept genuine help.

Completing a job training program usually does not help a Black. Most well-paying jobs still go to Whites.

5. Blacks may not have the same opportunities as Whites, but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that come their way.

Many Blacks who don't do well in life have good training, but the opportunities just always go to Whites.

6. Many minority groups have overcome problems of discrimination in this country. Blacks could do it too if they would only "get themselves together."

Blacks in this country suffer more widespread and deeply rooted discrimination than do other minority group members. In

most cases a member of another minority group will be hired before an equally qualified Black.

7. Just like everybody else, Blacks are not perfect. But most of their problems are caused by Whites.

Blacks blame too many of their problems on Whites. While racism does indeed exist, it may be more fruitful for Blacks to stop complaining and take a more realistic look at themselves.

8. When two qualified people, one Black and one White are considered for the same job, the Black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.

Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder they'd do better.

9. Being Black presents a great handicap in this country. If you are Black, trying hard is not enough because you will still be discriminated against.

Many Blacks use the fact that they are Black as an excuse not to try to better themselves. Racial discrimination can be overcome by continued and strong effort on the part of Blacks.

10. The problem for many Blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.

The attempt to "fit in" and do what is proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how proper you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you are Black.

The Blame-orientation Scale

AGE \_\_\_\_\_

SEX \_\_\_\_\_

RACE \_\_\_\_\_

GRADE - FR. \_ SOPH. \_ JR. \_ SR. \_

SOC. SEC. # \_\_\_\_\_

OPINION SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

(Last Four Digits Only)

This booklet contains two separate sets of questions. Each set contains statements much like those that we see and hear every day in newspapers, on radio and television and from friends. We would like to know how you feel about these statements. The reason that there are two separate sets of questions is that we would like you to respond to each question independently. In other words, we would like you to deal with each question separately and not be influenced by any of your previous or subsequent answers. Having two separate sets will help you in this task and we ask that once you have completed a set, that you do not refer back to it while filling out the other. Also, when working on a particular set of questions, DO NOT LOOK BACK at your answers to other questions in the set.

We are not interested in how consistent all of your answers are, but rather in each individual answer to each individual question. Worrying about consistency often interferes with a person's expression of how he or she really feels. We would like you to put aside such worries and simply answer each question as you come to it. Please be assured that this is NOT a test of intelligence or personality. We would simply like to know how you feel about these commonly heard and commonly discussed items.

Now please turn to the first set of statements, read the instructions carefully and begin.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR SETS SY & SE

The following two sets each contain numbered items preceded by an A and a D. For each item, read the statement carefully and then indicate whether you agree or disagree by circling the appropriate letter, A or D. Remember to respond to each item independently and please do not leave any out.

SET SY PAGE 1

- A D 1. No matter how hard they try, most Puerto Ricans are unable to break out of the poverty cycle because they are blocked by other groups who see them as a threat to their own economic security.
- A D 2. Completing a job training program usually does not help a Black. Most well-paying jobs still go to Whites.
- A D 3. If there were true equality of opportunity women would show themselves to be equal to men in all areas except those requiring extremes of physical size and strength.
- A D 4. Puerto Ricans have been excluded from many aspects of mainland U.S. society because of widespread discrimination.
- A D 5. Many large corporations have limits beyond which women are rarely allowed to advance.
- A D 6. Many homosexuals have difficulty finding apartments and jobs because many people find them objectionable solely because they are homosexuals.
- A D 7. Women interested in careers have been pushed into certain fields (i.e. nursing) by the fact that these were the only ones open to them.
- A D 8. Many Blacks who don't do well in life have good training, but the opportunities just always go to Whites.
- A D 9. Few women are found at high levels in various scientific fields because of widespread sex-discrimination in the areas of graduate education and the hiring of scientific professionals.
- A D 10. Many Puerto Ricans have been unable to progress far beyond the relative state of poverty that they left behind in Puerto Rico because of the ethnic discrimination that they face on the U.S. mainland.
- A D 11. When two equally qualified people, one Black and one White, are considered for the same job, the Black won't get the job no matter how hard he tries.
- A D 12. Many qualified women can't get a good high-paying job. Men with the same level of skills wouldn't have any trouble.
- A D 13. Being a woman presents a great handicap in this country. If you are a woman, trying hard to achieve is not enough because you will still be discriminated against.
- A D 14. Homosexuals often find themselves laid-off through no fault of their own when their co-workers refuse to accept them and pressure bosses to let them go.
- A D 15. In this country, women suffer more deeply rooted and subtle forms of discrimination than do members of various minority groups. In many cases, a male member of a racial minority group will be promoted to a supervisory position before a white woman will because it is felt that it is unnatural for a woman to supervise men.
- A D 16. American Indians seeking to improve their status in society are often confronted with demands that involve giving up their proud heritage and cultural identity.
- A D 17. The proportionally few women in this country who have achieved high positions in business, scientific and political endeavors differ from the mass of American women only in the fact that they have somehow overcome the barriers of a sexist society.



SET SY PAGE 2

- A D 18. The attempt to "fit in" and do what is proper hasn't paid off for Blacks. It doesn't matter how proper you are, you'll still meet serious discrimination if you are Black.
- A D 19. As the newest "immigrant" class, Puerto Ricans have found it difficult to secure employment since the older ethnic groups have monopolized most of the unskilled and semi-skilled labor markets.
- A D 20. Just like everybody else, women themselves are not perfect. However, many of their problems are caused by the male establishment.
- A D 21. Many Puerto Ricans have been forced onto the welfare rolls by the fact that the U.S. mainland economic and social systems have given them no other way to support themselves.
- A D 22. A strong desire to want to get ahead is not enough if you are Black. Discrimination does not care about what Blacks want.
- A D 23. A woman who sets high goals for herself will usually wind up being frustrated when she sees all of the opportunities going to men.

GO ON TO THE NEXT SET

SET SE PAGE 1

- A D 1. Poverty has become a way of life for many Puerto Ricans. They seem to be content to remain at the lower levels of American society.
- A D 2. When job training programs designed to help Blacks achieve more success in life are offered, attendance is usually very poor. Many Blacks seem to be unwilling to accept genuine help.
- A D 3. Even if there were complete equality of opportunity tomorrow, men would still predominate in many fields because of certain unique natural abilities.
- A D 4. Puerto Ricans have been isolated from mainland American society largely because they have wanted it this way. For the most part, they are a clannish people who prefer to remain outside of the social, economic and political institutions of the mainland U.S. .
- A D 5. Since women are generally non-aggressive and non-competitive by nature, it is not surprising that few females ever advance very far in the business world.
- A D 6. Many homosexuals have difficulty finding employment and housing because of a "chip on the shoulder" attitude that many people find objectionable.
- A D 7. There is an overabundance of women in fields like teaching and nursing because women have certain temperamental qualities that make them especially suited for these jobs.
- A D 8. Blacks may not have the same opportunities as Whites, but many Blacks haven't prepared themselves enough to make use of the opportunities that do come their way.
- A D 9. There are relatively few female engineers, physicists and mathematicians because most women tend to think in terms of concrete images rather than abstract ideas thus making it difficult for them to achieve in these fields.
- A D 10. Many Puerto Ricans continue to live in a relatively impoverished state after coming to the U.S. mainland because living conditions in Puerto Rico have made them accustomed to such a lifestyle.
- A D 11. Many Blacks have only themselves to blame for not doing better in life. If they tried harder they'd do better.
- A D 12. It is a lack of skill and abilities that keeps many women from getting high-paying jobs. It is not just because they are women. When a woman is trained to do something and does it well, she is able to get a good job.
- A D 13. Many women use the fact that they are women as an excuse not to try to achieve. Sex discrimination can be overcome by women who try hard enough.
- A D 14. Homosexuals often have difficulty holding down jobs because their contempt for "straight" society often leads them into conflicts and disputes with their co-workers.
- A D 15. Many disadvantaged groups have overcome problems of discrimination in this country. Women could do it too if they would only "get themselves together."
- A D 16. Although American Indians do face very real and serious problems, it is largely their pride that is responsible for their present plight.
- A D 17. Successful female business executives have certain natural abilities that set them apart from the bulk of American women.

SET SE PAGE 2

- A D 18. The problem for many Blacks is that they aren't really acceptable by American standards. Any Black who is educated and does what is considered proper will be accepted and get ahead.
- A D 19. It is not surprising that unemployment is high among Puerto Ricans. They, like most Latin Americans, find it difficult to adjust to the fast pace of U.S. mainland economic activities.
- A D 20. Women blame too many of their problems on male chauvenism. While some sex discrimination does indeed exist, it may be more fruitfull for women to stop complaining and take a more realistic look at them selves.
- A D 21. Puerto Ricans make up a substantial part of the welfare rolls because generations of poverty have caused them to regard Public Assistance as a valid and desirable way of maintaining oneself.
- A D 22. One reason that many Blacks haven't gotten ahead is that they really haven't wanted to. While some Blacks are well motivated, others seem content to just stay where they are.
- A D 23. The problem with many women is that they don't set high enough goals for themselves. Many tend to "sell themselves short."

GO ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

## PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN THE SPACES PROVIDED

1. Have you ever been a member of a civil rights group? \_\_\_\_\_

If your answer was yes, what type?

Racial \_\_\_\_\_

Religious \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnic \_\_\_\_\_

Womens' (consciousness raising) \_\_\_\_\_

Womens' (action oriented) \_\_\_\_\_

2. On the question of civil rights for racial, ethnic and religious minority groups, do you consider yourself:

a militant \_\_\_\_\_

a moderate \_\_\_\_\_

a conservative \_\_\_\_\_

uninvolved \_\_\_\_\_

3. On the question of womens' rights, do you consider yourself:

a militant \_\_\_\_\_

a moderate \_\_\_\_\_

a conservative \_\_\_\_\_

uninvolved \_\_\_\_\_

4. What do you HOPE to be doing five years after you graduate?

\_\_\_\_\_

THANK YOU

## Appendix B: Materials Used in Phase II

### Subject Recruitment Letter



The Graduate School and University Center  
of the City University of New York  
Graduate Center: 33 West 42 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036

**\*\* CONFLICT RESOLUTION INSTITUTE \*\***

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

The Conflict Resolution Institute is currently conducting a series of studies. One such investigation of conflict resolution will take place at Ramapo College of New Jersey from April 24th thru May 1st. The research at Ramapo is being coordinated by our colleague, Prof. David Greene.

Your name has been selected as part of a systematic sampling of the Ramapo student body. We would like to take this opportunity to invite you to participate in the study. Participation will not require much of your time - one hour arranged at your convenience. For your assistance, you will receive the sum of \$4.00. In addition to the money, we are confident that participation in the study will also prove to be interesting and informative.

Please be assured that participation involves absolutely nothing that is painful, embarrassing or even tiring. In fact, the study involves nothing more than watching a television program.

If you are interested in helping in an important research project, in participating in an interesting and informative study and in earning \$4.00 for watching a television show right on your own campus, please call:

(201) 825-2800 x473 between 10am & 4pm

from Tues, 4/20 thru Fri, 4/23

Showings will be scheduled at your convenience including evenings & Saturdays.

CS:fs

Yours Truly:  
*Paul S. Smith, Ph.D.*  
Principal Investigator

Script of the Stimulus Program

Introduction and instructions. Project Director: Hello, I am Dr. Paul Swenson of the Conflict Resolution Institute located at the City University of New York. First, I would like to thank you all for coming to participate in what I hope you will find to be a most interesting study. We at the Institute are concerned with the examination of how conflicts between various groups in our society are resolved. Our main focus is on questions such as: How do members of opposing groups come to perceive each other? What kinds of decision making processes are used in conflict resolution? What effect does the particular issue, be it social, economic or political, have on the course of resolution?

The present study is one of a series which attempts to present to an audience, a dramatized account of an actual conflict situation through the use of video tape. The audience is then asked to view the tape and to attempt to become involved, as much as possible, with both the issues and the participants in the conflict situation. The members of the audience are then requested to answer various questions dealing with how they would seek to resolve the situation. You are such an audience.

The presentation that you are about to see involves a series of events that took place at Marshall College, a large private institution located in Ohio. Your task is to watch the video tape as intently as possible and to try to identify with the situation. This might best be done by imagining yourselves to be present on the Marshall campus as students to whom these events

are very important. Later on, you will be asked to answer questions relating to this conflict situation.

At this point I must ask that there be absolutely no talking or communication amongst yourselves. Please direct your full attention to the presentation. Get comfortable. Just sit back, relax, and watch the monitor. Remember to imagine that you are present on the Marshall campus during the events that will now follow.

Presentation of the inequity. Moderator: This is Peter Mallory of MCTV, Marshall College's own television station, broadcasting from our central campus in Lancaster, Ohio. Marshall is a privately endowed liberal arts institution located on a large, wooded tract of land here in the center of the state. The student body, made up equally of men and women, presently numbers about 12,000 and there are 646 faculty and 203 administrative personnel presently employed by the college.

Last year, as part of a new state-wide policy, Marshall was investigated by a team from the state Human Resources & Human Rights Commissions. The team was mandated to examine such things as: admission policies, hiring practices, student services, financial aid allocation and housing allotments at the school. The Commissions were particularly interested in the treatment of women and other minority groups in these areas. As part of their investigation, the team also heard complaints from student and faculty groups as well as from individuals.

The results of the investigation have just been released and MCTV has obtained a complete, official report. One section of the report that is of particular interest deals with the position of

women on this campus. We have run off abridged copies of some of the findings and distributed them to our viewing audience. If you look on the desks in front of you, you will find these copies in the sealed manila envelopes marked "Commission Report." If you will now break the seal, we can review these important revelations together. (pause)

First let me stress that this section of the report that I am about to read from is primarily a descriptive introduction. It does not, at this point, attempt to place blame or to examine the motivations of anyone at the college. It merely sets forth facts and figures which are intended only to describe the situation. Here now are some of the findings dealing with the position of women on this campus. If you like, you can read along with me.

1. Of the 646 faculty members 544 or 85% are men, while only 102 or 15% are women.

2. Of the 203 administrative posts at the college, 183 or 91% are filled by men while 20 or 9% are filled by women. It is also noted that 18 of these 20 positions are, and I quote, "lower level administrative posts."

3. There are only three academic courses in the disciplines of history, psychology and sociology dealing exclusively with women. There is no women's studies program nor any officially supported women's center on the campus. Here it is noted that the college does have a fully supported Black studies program and a fully funded Third World Student Center which provides a variety of services and activities.

4. Statistical data gathered from the Office of Career Plan-



ning & Placement indicates that 66% of all male students registering for the service are successfully placed in jobs while the corresponding figure for female students is 9%.

5. Data gathered from students using the Psychological Services Center at the college indicates that 81% of the male students are satisfied with the service while the corresponding figure for female students is 11%.

These then are some of the highlights of this part of the report which runs on for several more pages. As I mentioned earlier, and now wish to stress again, this section of the report and the facts that I have now shared with you seek only to describe the position of women here at Marshall College.

In order to get beyond the descriptive nature of this report, MCTV has interviewed two well-known female figures here at Marshall who have given us their interpretations of the facts uncovered by the investigating team. These two women are Professor Ellen Martin of the 90 member Marshall College Women's Alliance and Dr. Mary Summerfield, Marshall's Dean of Women. First we will hear the remarks of Dean Summerfield.

Individual-blame interpretation of the inequities. Dean Summerfield: Let me begin by stating that the facts put forth by the Commission are true; I do not dispute this. I also sympathize with the Women's Alliance and recognize their anger and frustration. However, I feel that now is the time for the reasons behind these facts to be made known. The source of these apparent inequities lies not at the feet of the administration of this college, but is rather rooted in the present condition and desires of the

majority of American women (which, I might add, are hardly represented by the 90 members of the Women's Alliance). Let me analyze these facts, one by one, and demonstrate how responsibility for them lies with women themselves and not with the actions and policies of this administration.

1. The faculty ratio. It is true that women are under-represented on our faculty, but this is not because we desire to keep them out. On the contrary, we would welcome female Ph.D.s to round out our faculty. However, the sad fact is that such women are not easy to find. Our hiring committees are made up of faculty as well as administration members. These committees have standards which they apply equally to all applicants regardless of race, creed or sex. I don't think that any of you would want it to be otherwise. The unfortunate fact is that many women candidates fail to meet these standards of excellence which are the foundation of a quality education here at Marshall. Upon the reasons for this failure I cannot speculate. I can only state, and document if necessary, that the majority of female applicants do not present the highest qualifications for the various faculty positions. I wish it were otherwise, but it is not.

2. The ratio in administrative positions is another reflection of the same situation. There exists a scarcity of female administrators who can fill such top level posts. There are some, but they are few and far between. In this area, as with the faculty situation, our choices are to either hire and promote on the basis of merit and face wrathful charges of bias and discrimination, or to hire people of questionable qualifications and face

charges of undermining the quality of education here at Marshall.

3. In the area of women's studies and a women's center, I can only state that the majority of women have not been actively involved in identifying themselves as an oppressed minority and in seeking to have that status explored. True, there are a few women today who are developing such an orientation and I think that Ellen Martin and her friends are some good examples. However, this college cannot commit large amounts of its limited endowment to the creation of departments and programs that are of limited value and appeal to even those groups whom they primarily concern. To do so would be irresponsible and would take needed funds from other programs with a broader base of appeal, support and utility.

4. The placement service data again merely reflects problems that involve women as a group and not the administration. How can a placement service find jobs for women who either don't qualify for them or don't want them? Our service is here for everyone to use, but it cannot be expected to work miracles.

5. The experiences of the Psychological Services Center also raise many interesting questions that women on this campus, and not the administration should answer. It is a known fact that maladjustment rates for women throughout this society are nearly double those of men. This situation may be understandable, but it is also undeniable. Our psychological counselors are hard pressed to deal with the deep seated and widespread problems that female students present to them. Further, I think that quoting satisfaction figures from people who are admittedly unhappy and dis-

satisfied to begin with is a violation of good old common sense.

I could go on and on. I could suggest that those who are dissatisfied with Psychological Services are largely the same female students who are dissatisfied with placement services. I could suggest that these dissatisfied students might look at every service on this campus, from the bookstore to the post office, and be dissatisfied; that is until they realize that the real source of their feelings comes from the inside - from dissatisfaction with themselves. And until such realization comes, statistics like these will be essentially meaningless and as such deserve no further comment.

No, there is no sexist conspiracy here. The situation at Marshall is simply a reflection of the wants, desires and failures of women in general and of the majority of women on this campus.

System-blame interpretation of the inequities. Moderator: and now the remarks of Professor Ellen Martin. Ellen Martin: Over the past few years, we have become increasingly aware of the sexist inequities that flourish at the college. We have always felt that the administration of this school was hostile to the needs of women and was actively seeking to keep us in a subordinate and demoralized position. Now, with the release of this report, we feel that the administration's sexist policies have finally been exposed. The conditions that exist here exist because the administration has created and encouraged them. I think the facts speak for themselves and need no interpretation. But, since the administration will probably try to explain them away and since

the college community deserves to hear the truth, I will deal with these facts point by point.

1. A 544 to 102 male/female faculty ratio clearly reflects the attempt to bar qualified women from teaching here. Last year, in this state alone, 38% of the Ph.D.s granted were granted to women. The nationwide figure was closer to 40%. Clearly we may ask why it is that female faculty here at Marshall number only 15%. I can definitely state that it is not because they haven't applied for jobs here. Even Dean Summerfield will have to admit that a higher proportion of women applicants are rejected here every year. Is it possible that all of these women, many of whom come from the finest graduate schools in the nation, possess inferior qualifications?

2. The situation in regard to administrative posts provides an even more blatant illustration of what I'm talking about. Not only do women comprise less than 10% of the administration here, but most of those women have been locked into low level positions and denied the possibility of advancement. Does it not seem strange that all 18 lower level administrators, some of whom have served for over 10 years, should be qualified for their present jobs, but not for promotion and advancement? Why was it necessary last year to search the country for a qualified male registrar when the remaining female assistant registrar was fully qualified and was running that office at peak efficiency? The one really high ranking woman at this college, Dean Mary Summerfield, has gotten to this position by denying her sex and by becoming a spokesMAN for an administration that points to her as its token

woman.

3. Moving on to the women's studies and women's center issues, I must again remind you that 50% of the students on this campus are members of a sex that holds a unique position in this society. Our experiences as an oppressed minority group provide substantial subject matter for the study of history, political science, sociology, psychology and many other fields. We have special problems and special needs and yet the administration refuses to recognize us; refuses to grant to the largest minority group on this campus, the same concessions that it has made to other, smaller groups. Why? Can this simply be dismissed as an oversight? Or is there something to be gained by seeking to limit the consciousness of women on this campus? Is there some profit to be made by preventing women from seeing themselves as a group; a group with a common history and a common destiny? I trust that you can answer these questions for yourselves.

4. The situation at the placement center provides yet a further illustration of what by now should be an obvious and painful point. When a female student registers for the placement service, she is often steered into a job category that the placement officer feels is appropriate for women; a job with too many applicants and little chance for success. Many placement officers do not take the female applicant seriously and many have the attitude that they should give the best job openings to men since the women will just get married anyway and not really have to support themselves. It is little wonder that few women are successfully placed when they are deliberately prevented from trying, on their

merit, to land the kinds of positions that their education here at Marshall has prepared them for.

5. The deplorable record of the Marshall Psychological Services Center is the last area of the report that I will comment on. Here, women students with real problems; women whose identities have been clouded and confused by a society which considers them chattel, come seeking help and guidance. But are they given that help? No! What they receive in its place is reinforcement of the very ideas that have pushed them to the Center in the first place. They are told that they must adjust; that they must stop trying to compete and trying to be what they were not meant to be. To protest second-class citizenship is seen as female hysteria and is treated with the advice that if we stop protesting and accept our roles, the problems will disappear. Is it any wonder that dissatisfaction with this "service" is widespread? This kind of advice we can gladly do without.

In closing, I can only repeat that the report of the Commission simply confirms what we have known all along - the administration of Marshall College is biased, sexist, immoral and guilty of one of the most blatant examples of willful discrimination in American higher education today.

Social protest directed at the system. Moderator: In the weeks following release of the Commission report, the Women's Alliance engaged in a wide range of activities - they staged protest demonstrations, held silent vigils, started petition campaigns, attempted to debate administration members, held guerilla theatre events and boycotted classes. All of these activities,

which drew a moderate amount of student support, were directed at what was characterized as "the sexist villany" of the administration.

Throughout these weeks, President Bolin and other key members of the administration maintained a rather low profile. They seemed to be attempting to avoid confrontation and appeared to have adopted a wait and see attitude.

Finally, things came to a head and the confrontation that we all knew was coming arrived. On a bright, sunny Monday morning at 9 AM, 106 female students entered the administration building. They presented a list of demands to President Bolin and then proceeded to occupy the hallway outside his office, making him a virtual prisoner. The students declared that they would not leave the hallway until all of their demands were met. Copies of these demands were distributed throughout the campus and you will find such copies in the white envelope on the desk in front of you. If you will remove these copies, we can now read through them together. (pause)

"The Women's Alliance of Marshall College and other student supporters charge the Bolin administration with initiation and encouragement of discriminatory policies and practices which deny equal rights and protection to the women of this campus as well as to women who attempt to become members of this academic community. We further note that these policies and practices have been fully exposed in the recent report of an officially sanctioned state investigating team. As a first step in overhauling the oppressive system that now exists at Marshall College, we



demand the following:

1. An immediate end to discriminatory hiring and promotion practices.
2. The establishment of an active recruitment program for qualified female faculty and administrators with the ultimate goal of achieving a more realistic sex ratio. An immediate upgrading of the positions of qualified females already on the campus.
3. Immediate formation of a Women's Studies Department.
4. The establishment of a Women's Center including services such as independent psychological counseling and career planning and placement.
5. Extension of an invitation to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to institute an investigation of violation of civil rights by members of the administration."

At twelve noon, President Bolin emerged from his office after conferring, by telephone, with other members of the administration and Board of Trustees. He addressed the students who had occupied his hallway for the better part of the morning. His remarks were simultaneously broadcast throughout the campus by this television station. Here now is a recording of that broadcast.

Rejection of demands - high failure condition. President Bolin: After carefully considering the demands of the Women's Alliance and conferring via telephone with members of the Board, I must hereby announce that these requests are categorically rejected. Soon after release of the Commission report, the position of my administration was made clear by Dean Mary Summerfield. That position has not been swayed, modified nor influenced by the events of the past several weeks. If anything, my initial posi-

tion has been strengthened by the irresponsible actions of the Women's Alliance.

In the statement by Dean Summerfield, it was pointed out that apparent inequities do exist here at Marshall. I have no quarrel with such an admission. However, I feel that responsibility for these conditions falls squarely on the shoulders of women in this society in general and here at Marshall in particular. These apparent inequities exist not because of any evil intentions on the part of the administration; not because of any conspiracy, or even personal bias. Rather, they exist for two very important reasons: First, because the majority of women want them to exist and support their existence by their lack of participation in so called "non-traditional" areas (for example, athletics). Secondly, they exist because, at the present time and for whatever reason, there is a lack of qualified women capable of filling any positions which might be created in attempting to balance sex ratios in various areas.

Sadly, the events of the last few weeks have made obvious a third dimension of this problem. The Women's Alliance has shown itself to be poorly organized, non-representative of the majority of female students, and extremely naive in its approach to bringing about social change. These conditions will not be altered by marching and chanting; these conditions will not be altered by boycotts and petitions; and these conditions will be altered least of all by sitting in my hallway!

My final suggestion to the assembled women is that if they are truly interested in social change, they must begin to recog-

nize that it is women themselves that must change. Attacking a system that is merely a reflection of the prevailing condition of women themselves is, irresponsible, illogical, and, ultimately, doomed to failure.

Rejection of demands - low failure condition. President Bolin: After carefully considering the demands of the Women's Alliance and conferring via telephone with the members of the Board, I must hereby announce that these requests cannot be immediately implemented.

The Commission report has pointed out that apparent inequities do exist here at Marshall. I have no quarrel with these findings. However, we all must recognize that an institution of this size and complexity, which has functioned in a traditional and consistent manner since 1906, cannot be altered and transformed overnight because of the demands of any one group.

Looking beyond this campus to the larger society, I think you all would agree that conditions throughout most of this nation are not very different from those that have been found to exist here at Marshall. Change is a slow process. First, the need for change must be demonstrated beyond the slightest doubt. Secondly, the methods of change must be carefully and painstakingly gathered. And, finally, these methods must somehow be integrated into the lives of an entire population. Attempting to transform this institution significantly, immediately, and in isolation from the world in which we live is perhaps well-intentioned, but nevertheless cannot meet with success. Whether or not the changes that you demand will ever take place is, at this time, a com-

pletely open question.

However, the events of the past few weeks have demonstrated that there is a pressing need for the establishment of a dialogue between the administration of this college and the Women's Alliance and its supporters. There are many issues and areas that should be laid open for discussion. Perhaps there is much that we can learn from each other. To this end, I have charged Dean John Baker with the task of assembling the mechanism for such an interchange. I have made it clear to him that all interested and affected parties must have access to such a mechanism so that the concerns of all can be aired. I am looking forward to the opportunity to meet with you and to discuss our differences in an atmosphere of friendly reconciliation.

Final instructions. Project Director: At this point, we are interested in finding out what your impression of this situation was and exactly how you would go about resolving it. For this purpose, we have prepared a simple questionnaire which is contained in the third envelope remaining on your desks.

Please remove the questionnaire. Read each question carefully and answer it while still imagining that you are students on the Marshall campus.

Thank you for your co-operation.

News Release Item Number One

# COMMISSION REPORT RELEASED!

STATE REVIEW OF THE POSITION OF  
WOMEN AT MARSHALL REVEALS THAT\*:

1. Of the 646 faculty members, 544 or 85% are men while only 102 or 15% are women
2. Of the 203 administrative posts at the college, 183 or 91% are filled by men while 20 or 9% are filled by women. It is also noted that 18 of these 20 positions are "lower level administrative posts."
3. There are only 3 academic courses in the disciplines of history, psychology and sociology dealing exclusively with women. There is no Womens' Studies program nor any officially supported Womens' Center on the campus. However, the college does have a fully supported Black Studies program and a fully funded Third World Student Center which provides a variety of services and activities.
4. Statistical data gathered from the Office of Career Planning and Placement indicates that 66% of all male students registering for the service are successfully placed in jobs while the corresponding figure for female students is 9%.
5. Data gathered from students using the Psychological Services Center at the college indicates that 81% of the male students are satisfied with the service while corresponding figure for female students is 11%.

\* ABRIDGED + DISTRIBUTED BY MCTV

News Release Item Number Two

# WHY WE HAVE ACTED

The Womens' Alliance of Marshall College and other student supporters charge the Bolin administration with initiation and encouragement of discriminatory policies and practices which deny equal rights and protection to the women of this campus as well as to women who attempt to become members of this academic community. We further note that these policies and practices have been fully exposed in the recent report of an officially sanctioned state investigating team. As a first step in overhauling the oppressive system which now exists at Marshall College, we demand the following:

1. An immediate end to discriminatory hiring & promotion practices.
2. The establishment of an active recruitment program for qualified female faculty & administrators with the ultimate goal of achieving a more realistic sex-ratio. An immediate upgrading of the positions of qualified females already on the campus.
3. Immediate formation of a Womens' Studies Department.
4. The establishment of a Womens' Center including services such as independent psychological counseling and career planning and placement.
5. Extension of an invitation to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to institute an investigation of violation of civil rights by members of the administration.

COME OUT AND SHOW YOUR  
SUPPORT  
SUPPORT! 12 NOON TODAY  
ADMINISTRATION BLDG.  
PLAZA.

Dependent Measures Questionnaire\*\*CONFLICT RESOLUTION QUESTIONNAIRE\*\*

AGE \_\_\_\_\_  
 SEX \_\_\_\_\_  
 EDUCATION \_\_\_\_\_  
 (highest grade completed)  
 I.D.# \_\_\_\_\_

Please answer each of the following questions by CIRCLING the letter or number of the choice that you AGREE WITH MOST. Please do not leave any out and remember to circle ONLY your first choice.

1. Now that they have heard the President's response, what should the members of the Womens' Alliance and their supporters do next?
  - a. Appologize to the President.
  - b. Leave the building without appologizing to the President.
  - c. Continue to occupy the hallway, but not the President's office.
  - d. Occupy the President's office.
2. What should they do over the next several months?
  - a. Continue to work for their demands using increasingly militant tactics.
  - b. Continue to work for their demands using moderate tactics similar to those they have used in the past (eg. petitions, demonstrations, boycotts).
  - c. Work for gradual change using more moderate tactics designed not to antagonize the administration.
  - d. Stop protesting and instead initiate various programs aimed at improving the outlook, motivation, interests, skills and abilities of the women at Marshall so that they can take advantage of any new or existing opportunities.
  - e. Stop protesting and learn to accept conditions as they are, including the place of women at Marshall.
3. Which number represents the interpretation of the Commission findings that you agree with MOST?
 

Prof. Ellen Martin	6	5	4	3	2	1	Dean Mary Summerfield
(Womens' Alliance)							(Dean of Women)
4. Which number represents the interpretation of the Commission findings that you agree with MOST?
 

Prof. Ellen Martin	6	5	4	3	2	1	President Bolin
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5. If the list of demands were to be subjected to a college-wide referendum, would you be most likely to:
  - a. Actively campaign for passage of the demands.
  - b. Simply vote in favor of the demands.
  - c. Actively campaign for the defeat of the demands.
  - d. Simply vote against the demands.
  - e. Neither vote nor campaign.

(over)

6. How would you evaluate the sit-in action by the Womens' Alliance?

5	4	3	2	1
A Very Good Thing	A Good Thing	Uncertain; Don't Know	A Bad Thing	A Very Bad Thing

Please answer each of the following questions by circling the number that best represents how YOU feel about the object of the question. Please note that the adjectives are arranged in pairs. Please read each pair carefully. Do not leave any out.

7. How would you rate Prof. Ellen Martin, spokesperson for the Womens' Alliance?

INTELLIGENT	6	5	4	3	2	1	UNINTELLIGENT
REASONABLE	6	5	4	3	2	1	UNREASONABLE
UNREALISTIC	1	2	3	4	5	6	REALISTIC
SIGNIFICANT	6	5	4	3	2	1	INSIGNIFICANT
UNATTRACTIVE	1	2	3	4	5	6	ATTRACTIVE

8. How would you rate Dean Mary Summerfield?

SIGNIFICANT	6	5	4	3	2	1	INSIGNIFICANT
INTELLIGENT	6	5	4	3	2	1	UNINTELLIGENT
UNREASONABLE	1	2	3	4	5	6	REASONABLE
ATTRACTIVE	6	5	4	3	2	1	UNATTRACTIVE
UNREALISTIC	1	2	3	4	5	6	REALISTIC

9. How would you rate President Bolin?

ATTRACTIVE	6	5	4	3	2	1	<u>UN</u> ATTRACTIVE
REASONABLE	6	5	4	3	2	1	<u>UN</u> REASONABLE
<u>UN</u> INTELLIGENT	1	2	3	4	5	6	INTELLIGENT
SIGNIFICANT	6	5	4	3	2	1	<u>IN</u> SIGNIFICANT
<u>UN</u> REALISTIC	1	2	3	4	5	6	REALISTIC

10. To what degree were you able to imagine that you were present on the Marshall campus during the video-tape?

VERY MUCH      5      4      3      2      1      VERY LITTLE

11. After hearing the President's reply, to what degree did you feel that the women had failed to achieve their goals?

COMPLETE FAILURE      5      4      3      2      1      NO FAILURE AT ALL

12. How believable was the video-tape presentation?

VERY BELIEVABLE      5      4      3      2      1      NOT AT ALL BELIEVABLE

• THANK YOU •



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