

EXPECTATION OF SUCCESS, LOCUS OF CONTROL
AND ATTRIBUTION OF BLAME IN
SPANISH-AMERICAN STUDENTS

by

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B.A. New Mexico Highlands University, 1972

A MASTER'S THESIS


submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Psychology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas
1976

Approved by:



Major Professor

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I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, minorities and their behavior patterns, characteristics, and problems have been widely examined. Many statements have been made regarding the ethnicity of minority populations and its probable effect on behavior and attitudes. The objective of this thesis will be to examine certain specific situational factors in the lives of ethnic groups as they affect selected behavior and attitudes in an academic setting.

The research will be conducted within the general context of Rotter's social learning theory (Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972), a molar theory attempting to explain human behavior in relatively complex social environments. The understanding of behavior through both cognitive and motivational processes is the primary focus of this theory. The theoretical framework will be discussed in some detail later.

The study was conducted in New Mexico using White-Americans (Anglos) and Spanish-Americans as subjects in order to examine possible differences and/or similarities when their behavior is observed under various conditions. It was thought that minority-majority status within one's environment would be an important determinant of individual differences in attitudes. It was anticipated that situational factors might possibly be more important than ethnic background as such under specific conditions. The goal of the study was to

emphasize that ethnic group studies should systematically examine situational cues (such as minority-majority status) and not attribute all behavioral differences to ethnicity itself. Social learning theory argues that many factors contribute to behavioral differences and to emphasize only one factor as the cause is an oversimplification of the problem.

A. Background and Research

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to cover social learning theory in detail. A brief summary should, however, be helpful in facilitating a better understanding of the constructs used in this research and the results obtained.

As stated earlier, Rotter's social learning theory (Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972) was developed for the purpose of predicting behavior in complex social situations. Several assumptions are basic to this theory but only the most important will be discussed. For example, in emphasizing learned social behavior, Rotter advocates utilizing both personal determinants and environmental determinants when investigating behavior. In addition, both general and specific determinants are emphasized, since the theory regards both situation-specific factors and dispositional elements as behavior determinants. Rotter views behavior as goal directed. But, not only is the importance of a goal or reinforcement a determining factor in behavior, so, too, is the individual's expectancy that the goal will occur. This makes the theory both motivational and cognitive. However,

it is the cognitive or expectancy facets that are the focus of this research.

In trying to predict behavior within Rotter's theory, one must keep in mind that it is a theory of how choices are made from an available repertoire of behavior. Prediction, therefore, involves determining which behavior is the most likely to occur. Social learning theory requires that expectancy, reinforcement value, and the psychological situation all be considered.

Expectancy, a widely used construct, is defined as the "probability held by the individual that a particular reinforcement will occur as a function of a specific behavior on his part in a specific situation or situations" (Rotter, 1954, p. 107). When an individual finds himself in a novel situation with no previous experience, generalized expectancies are a primary behavior determinant. However, an individual who has a history of experience in a specific situation relies on specific expectancies based on this prior experience. It is evident that social learning theorists view expectancies as prime determinants of behavior along with reinforcements. Thus, expectancies are subjective probabilities determined by one's objective past history of reinforcement and by expectancies generalized from other related behavior-reinforcement sequences (Rotter, 1954). It is the latter element that results in the subjective quality of expectancies.

This is, however, only one type of generalized expectancy discussed in social learning theory. A second type is also emphasized that deals with problem-solving expectancies. People are heavily involved in categorizing situations. They conceptualize situations as similar or dissimilar along various dimensions, such as reinforcements, social cues, and the nature of the problem to be solved (Rotter, Chance & Phares, 1972). Strategies to successfully deal with a wide variety of complex social situations are developed by such categorizing as a means of solving the problems inherent in most situations. Generalized problem-solving expectancies are an important behavioral determinant of individual differences in social learning theory. One such dimension of generalized problem-solving expectancies widely investigated is that of internal-external control of reinforcement (Phares, 1976; Rotter, 1966).

The concept locus of control or internal versus external control (I-E) of reinforcement was defined by Rotter (1966) as follows:

When a reinforcement is perceived by the subject as following some action of his own but not being entirely contingent upon his action, then, in our culture, it is typically perceived as the result of luck, chance, fate or under the control of powerful others, or as unpredictable because of the great complexity of the forces surrounding him. When the event is interpreted in this way by an individual we have labeled this a belief in external control. If the person perceives that the event is contingent upon his own behavior or his own relatively permanent characteristics we have termed this a belief in internal control. (p. 1)

Phares (1976) has cautioned that locus of control should be viewed as a continuum rather than as a simple typology. Neither internality nor externality describes people; rather, people can be ordered along an I-E continuum. Much research indicates that people differ in I-E expectancies (Phares, 1976). In trying to calculate a person's expectancy for success, such I-E differences must be considered. But other factors also should be considered: situation-specific experience, the extent of this specific experience, and experience generalized from related situations. When specific experience is absent, generalized experience will account for most of the variance (Rotter, 1954).

Turning now to specific I-E research, several investigations have been concerned with the relationship between I-E scores and ethnic groups status. Differences in I-E attitudes between ethnic groups have been reported which show blacks to have stronger external beliefs than whites (Joe, 1971). In a study of an isolated, tri-ethnic community, Jessor, Graves, Hanson, and Graves (1968) found whites to be relatively internal, with Spanish-Americans and Indian-Americans somewhat more external.

These investigators noted that Anglos appeared to have much control over the economy of the community, they dominated the administration of the educational system, and they held the more powerful political positions. "There is a definite

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hierarchy in the community, with the Anglos occupying the dominated position and maintaining control over most of the community institutions and resources" (Jessor et. al., 1968, p. 14). In addition, the Anglo population was in the majority (46%) with Spanish-Americans (34%) and Indians (20%) following.

It appears that many of the I-E ethnic studies have been conducted in an environment where the Spanish, Indian, or Blacks are a minority within a predominantly white culture. Their external belief system is usually interpreted as being partly related to their reduced access to real power or material advantages and their perception of their limited overall capacity for movement in society (Phares, 1976).

It is logical, then, to presume that different results could be expected were these minorities in the majority and thereby more in control of their environment. Under such conditions, they should no longer perceive themselves as having so little access to power and as being so limited within the larger society. Thus, access to power may be more important than ethnicity itself, unless the direct teaching of some I-E cultural beliefs is somehow related to its differential development in various cultures. Joe (1971) suggests that "a person's culture may influence his preference for items on the I-E scale to describe himself or national stereotypes" (p. 623).

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In an exploratory or pilot study (hereafter referred to as

Experiment I) conducted by the author in New Mexico, some support for the above contention regarding access to power was found. The results suggested that a Spanish population in a predominantly Spanish environment was significantly more internal than was a Spanish population in a predominantly Anglo environment. Of considerable importance also was the apparent lack of significant I-E differences between the Spanish population in a predominantly Spanish environment and the Anglo population in a predominantly Anglo environment (see Appendix A for details). This does not suggest any inconsistency in the concept of locus of control. Rather, it is an indication that different environmental experiences can affect one's internal-external belief system.

As stated earlier, generalized expectancies are only one behavioral determinant. Reinforcements are also of value when predicting behavior. In social learning theory, a reinforcement strengthens the expectation that a particular behavior in the future will again be followed by that reinforcement. It has already been stated that behavior differs when individuals perceive reinforcement as contingent on their behavior (internal belief) as opposed to being contingent on chance or outside forces (external belief). Therefore, it follows that when the reinforcement is viewed as noncontingent on an individual's own behavior, its occurrence will not increase expectancy as much as when it is seen as contingent. Conversely, its nonoccurrence

will not reduce or extinguish an expectancy so much as when it is seen as contingent (Rotter et al., 1972). More simply stated, a student who fails and perceives this as his fault will, under similar conditions, more likely expect to fail in the future. However, an individual who sees the failure as non-contingent on his behavior will have less expectation of failure than his counterpart.

How people account for their successes and failures is of interest to social learning theorists also. Attribution of responsibility or the degree one person holds another as responsible for his behavior is viewed as a prime determinant of much interpersonal behavior (Phares and Wilson, 1972). For example, if a student perceives his failure as the result of his teacher's prejudice, it could easily affect his interpersonal responses to that same teacher in a variety of future situations and perhaps to many future teachers perceived as similar.

Attribution of responsibility and its relation to achievement as a function of one's internal-external belief system has been discussed by Phares (1976). In a study conducted by Phares, Wilson, and Klyver (1971), it was noted that internals attribute less blame for their failure to the environment than do externals. When both success and failure are involved, Davis and Davis (1972) have shown that internals accept more responsibility for their behavior than do externals (but only under

failure conditions). Feather (1968) has noted that internals increase their aspirations with success and decrease it with failure much more than externals. Externals, however, are more likely to decrease their expectations with success and increase them with failure. Other studies have also reported this atypical expectancy change by externals (Phares, 1976). Such behavior shows that externals fail to make systematic use of their prior experience in problem-solving and future planning. Keep in mind also that an external belief system denies individuals the satisfaction of success since they view outside forces as the determining factors.

Of particular interest in the present study is how two diverse Spanish populations, one in an environment predominantly Spanish and another predominantly Anglo, differ in their expectation of success, attribution of blame following failure, and internal-external locus of control. Adding the variable of two experimenters, one Spanish and the other Anglo, it seems plausible that Spanish students in the majority would indicate equal expectation of success with both experimenters. Since they have little or no experience with Anglo teachers (and assuming no cultural experience to the contrary), they would be forced to generalize primarily from their experience with Spanish teachers. These generalized expectancies should engage previous experience with test-situations that have involved only Spanish teachers. Prejudicial Anglo-Spanish interactions within

the classroom would not influence individuals, since they have not experienced them.

However, Spanish students in the minority have been aware of racial prejudice, either through direct or indirect experience. Racially mixed urban areas in New Mexico have turned to the civil rights movement with much publicized coverage of campus dissension. This, coupled with racially mixed classroom experiences, would seem to suggest that Spanish students in the minority would have lower expectations of success with an Anglo than with a Spanish experimenter. The urban school groups would thus perceive themselves more in control with the Spanish teacher and less with the Anglo (assuming each experimenter symbolizes a value scheme or access to power representative of their race).

Following failure, it would also seem plausible that the two diverse Spanish populations would differ in their attribution of blame. The Spanish students in the predominantly Spanish environment have experienced little or no racial prejudice in their classrooms, therefore it is less probable that they would attribute blame to an Anglo teacher. On the other hand, the Spanish students in a predominantly Anglo environment, having experienced a racially mixed classroom, would seem more likely to use an Anglo teacher as a target for blame following personal failure.

The internal-external control of reinforcement scores were

anticipated to duplicate those from pilot Experiment I. That is, Spanish students in the majority should manifest higher internal scores than Spanish students in the minority. This is, of course, predicated on the notion that majority Spanish students will perceive themselves as possessing greater power and control than will Spanish students in the minority.

B. Statement of Hypotheses

Based on these premises, the following hypotheses were investigated.

1. a. Spanish students in a predominantly Spanish environment will manifest the same expectation of success scores regardless of the experimenter's race.
b. Spanish students in a predominantly Anglo environment will manifest lower expectation of success scores when the Anglo experimenter administers the test as compared to when the Spanish experimenter does so.
2. An internal-external belief system will determine attribution of blame for failure in Spanish students in the following way:
 - a. Externals, as a group, will attribute more blame to outside forces than will internals.
 - b. External Spanish students in the Anglo dominated school will more often blame the Anglo experimenter than will external Spanish students in the Spanish dominated school.

3. Spanish students in the Spanish dominated school will manifest higher internal scores than will those Spanish students in the Anglo dominated school.

II. METHOD

A. Location and Population

New Mexico has proven to be an ideal site to study the Spanish population in two environments; a predominantly Spanish environment and a predominantly Anglo environment. In comparison to other states, New Mexico has the highest concentration of Spanish-Americans in proportion to Whites. The northeastern part of the state is populated by a majority of Spanish-Americans, while the other parts have a majority of Anglo-Americans. The author studied two northeast New Mexico Spanish school populations from rural areas, El Pueblo and Villanueva, and one from Albuquerque, an urban area located in the central part of the state.

The El Pueblo school is located in a secluded country site and is attended by children from nearby rural communities. The students have a minimal amount of contact with Anglos in the school as well as in their community. To the author's knowledge, at the time of testing (January, 1974, one year after Experiment I was conducted), only one Anglo student attended the school and one Anglo teacher was employed. The latter commuted daily from a nearby city. The Villanueva school, approximately 16 miles away, is similar in all aspects. No Anglo students attended; one Anglo teacher was employed there.

The Albuquerque school contains a mixture of Spanish and Anglo teachers and pupils. The administrative staff, teachers,

and pupils were predominantly White, with pupils averaging 60% White and 40% Spanish. This assured that the typical Spanish student had substantial contact with Whites (Anglos).

B. Subjects

One hundred-twenty-one sixth-graders of both sexes and of Spanish descent served as the subjects from three schools. That is, 30 subjects were recruited from El Pueblo (or Valley), 49 from Villanueva, and 42 from Albuquerque. The sixth grade group was chosen since, in the pretesting, this age group showed the greatest I-E differences between rural and urban schools.

C. Procedure

Three tests were administered to measure subjects' internal-external belief system, expectation of success, and attribution of blame, respectively. Personal data were also obtained from the subjects (Ss) concerning their parents and teachers.

Subjects were tested in groups and oriented by one of two female experimenters (Es), either Anglo or Spanish. The Es were counterbalanced across the groups to control for possible effects of presentation order. The purpose for presenting each experimental group to two experimenters of different race was to determine what, if any, individual differences would result. As stated earlier, it was thought that the previous classroom interaction experienced by the Spanish students, whether racially mixed or not, would then generalize to the present test-situation.

The first test administered was the Crandall children's version of the I-E measure (Crandall, Katkovsky, and Crandall, 1965). The Ss were told that this was not related to the study.

Upon completion and collection of the I-E test, the Rorschach test was administered. This test was used to obtain the Ss' expectation of success scores. The Ss were given two sets of five ink blots, each set given by a different experimenter. After the first E (E₁) provided a general description and purpose for the testing and how the tests would be scored, the Ss were asked to give an estimation of how successful they expected to be in correctly identifying the first set of five ink blots. After the expectation scores were obtained, the Ss were asked to identify each ink blot.

The Roschach test was not used here in its conventional way as a projective technique. The Ss were instructed that the purpose of the test was to determine how well they could identify the pictures in comparison to other students. The objective of the test, however, was to obtain the expectation of success scores under two experimenters, Anglo and Spanish. Since it was important to measure how the subjects reacted to each experimenter, the testing was divided into two separate sets. This allowed the subjects exposure to each experimenter separately, yet in similar situations. By using the abstract ink blots, it was hoped the Ss would less readily try to guess

how successful they were on the first set. Consequently, their second expectation of success score would be unbiased.

After the first set of the Rorschach cards was completed and collected, the Ss were asked to draw two pictures, one of a Spaniard and the other of an Anglo. The Ss were told that this was to keep them occupied while E₁ scored the first set of ink blot tests.

After the drawings were completed and collected, the first E told the group something unexpected had arisen and she would have to leave. Upon cue, E₂ walked in and was introduced by E₁, who explained that E₂ would continue the testing and administer the second set of ink blots. E₂ then administered the second set of ink blots, never returning the Ss previous expectation scores. (E₂ told the Ss that time was running short and she would be unable to return the scores of the first set.)

Like E₁, E₂ obtained expectation scores for the second set of ink blots using the same procedure. When the expectation scores were collected and the ink blots identified, E₂ gave the Ss a questionnaire inquiring about personal data. Again, the Ss were told that this was to keep them occupied while E₂ scored the second set of ink blots.

The scores returned to the Ss regarding their expectation of success were a combination of the two sets of ink blots. All Ss systematically received lower scores than they had expected and all thereby failed. The Ss were then given the questionnaire assessing attribution of blame.

The attribution of blame test is a pencil and paper test designed by the author (see Appendix B, Sample 5). It contained a total of 37 true-false statements regarding the failure of tests. The overall test score depicts the general trend of the subject with regards to whether he blames himself or his environment for failure. Subareas were incorporated into the test so specific blame factors could be separated, i.e., outside forces, teachers, or oneself.

To avoid creating a relatively permanent sense of failure from doing poorly on the Rorschach, after the attribution of blame test was completed and collected, Ss were told that an error had been made in scoring. All Ss were given new scores that would ensure a feeling of success. The experimenter's handbook for administering the tests and scoring is included in Appendix B for reference.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Hypothesis I. Expectation of Success

First, for the expectation of success scores, the order effect was checked. There was no significant difference between the first and second set of ink blots. Therefore, the groups were combined within each school and t-tests within groups (correlated samples) were performed.

Table 1
Expectation of Success

School	N	Anglo Experimenter	Means	Spanish Experimenter	<u>t</u>
Valley	30	84.66		79.66	2.55**
Villanueva	49	88.16		79.18	3.34*
Albuquerque	42	90.00		85.00	2.58**

Note: two-tailed t tests were employed

*
 $p = .005$

**
 $p = .01$

As is evident from the t values, the expectation of success scores for all schools were significantly different for Anglo and Spanish Es. Clearly, this evidence does not support the first hypothesis which anticipated no differences between Anglo and Spanish Es in the Spanish dominated schools but did expect

a difference in the Anglo dominated school (with the Anglo E eliciting lower expectancy scores).

By looking at the means for each experimenter, it is evident that the Spanish E obtained significantly lower scores in all three schools. Because of the experimental design, it is impossible to determine whether it was the Spanish E's race, her personality, or other factors that caused the lower scores. Since formal data on Es (other than racial affiliation) are not available, it is difficult to speculate. However, because of personal knowledge of both experimenters, the author suspects personality variables. The Spanish E's demeanor is very authoritative. For example, she was able to maintain discipline in the classroom with little effort. The Anglo E, however, was very playful yet timid when requesting order. More effort and time were required both initially to quiet the groups so that testing could begin and to maintain order during the testing. This was true of all groups in all schools.

If one views expectation of success in a given situation as a function of one's internal-external beliefs in that specific situation (or power, if you will), the lower expectation of success with the Spanish E could be the result of the subjects' decreased feelings of power or control in that specific situation. Possibly, the groups felt more in control when the Anglo E was in charge and consequently increased their expectation of success. The disciplinary problems experienced

by each experimenter suggest that, when the subjects felt they could misbehave, they possessed some access to power.

B. Hypothesis II. Attribution
of Blame

An analysis of the attribution of blame scores will now be attempted. This involves a total score and four subscores. The total score depicts the general trend of the subject with regard to whether he blames himself or the environment for failure. The four subscores each isolate different aspects of that overall score. Subscore I places the blame on facilities (outside environment), Subscore II blames himself, Subscore III blames instructors, and Subscore IV specifies which instructor, Spanish or Anglo, he blames. The test was scored in the internal direction, therefore, the lower the score the more externally blaming a person is and the higher the score the less externally blaming he is. The one exception to this was Subscore IV. This was not scored in terms of internal-external behavior, but according to which experimenter, Spanish or Anglo, was blamed more often. A higher score here denotes that the Spanish E was blamed less or that the Anglo E was blamed more.

Analysis of variance, with unequal N's (Myers, 1972, p. 116), was used to determine if any significant differences existed. A median split on the entire population was performed to determine who were internals and who were externals based on Crandall's I-E scale. Because the median was 25, those between

1-24 were classified as externals and those between 26-34 as internals.

Table 2
Analysis of Variance for Attribution
of Blame—Subscore I

SV	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	102			
Schools (A)	2	.67	.34	1.62
I-E (B)	1	1.63	1.63	7.76*
Sch/I-E (AB)	2	.79	.49	1.61
S/AB	97	20.37	.21	

* $p = .01$

Table 3
Mean Scores for Attribution of Blame
Subscore I by Groups

Schools	Externals	Internals	Total	Mean Overall
Villanueva	6.21	7.90	14.11	7.05
Valley	7.38	7.40	14.78	7.39
Albuquerque	<u>5.87</u>	<u>7.29</u>	13.16	6.58
Total =	19.46	22.59		

A significant difference was found between internals and externals (B main effect), with the latter having the lower score (see Table 3). This confirms that internals blamed outside forces less than externals as predicted in Hypothesis IIa.

Though no significant results were found between the schools, an interesting pattern occurred that will again be evident in other subscores. Valley school subjects were less likely to blame outside facilities for failure than were Villanueva and Albuquerque. (See average mean scores for schools, Table 3). Though Valley and Villanueva are comparable in environment and location, significant differences were found between the two rural schools as will be evident in other blame subscores. In addition, Villanueva often performed more like Albuquerque.

Table 4
Analysis of Variance for Attribution
of Blame—Subscore II

SV	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	103			
Schools (A)	2	1.75	.88	3.14*
I-E (B)	1	.21	.21	.75
Sch/I-E (AB)	2	.77	.39	1.39
S/AB	98	27.44	.28	

*
p - .05

Table 5
Mean Scores for Attribution of Blame
Subscore II by Groups

Schools	Externals	Internals	Total	Mean Overall
Villanueva	5.68	6.85	12.53	6.27
Valley	7.69	7.13	14.82	7.41
Albuquerque	<u>6.00</u>	<u>6.52</u>	12.52	6.26
Total	= 19.37	20.50		

Table 4 reveals no significant difference regarding personal blame between internals and externals as predicted by Hypothesis IIa. There was a nonsignificant tendency for internals to get higher scores in all three schools (Table 5). Note that the test was scored in the internal direction; therefore, the higher the score, the more internally blaming a person is.

Of interest is the significant difference between the schools (A main effect). The Newman-Keuls procedure (Winer, 1971) was used to determine the specific differences between the three schools. A significant difference was found between Albuquerque and Valley and between Villanueva and Valley, but not between Villanueva and Albuquerque. Valley had the highest score (7.41), indicating they more readily blamed themselves than outside factors, an internal behavior, followed by Villanueva (6.27) and Albuquerque (6.26). Stated differently, Valley

was relatively more internally blaming with Villanueva and Albuquerque following. Note that in Subscore I the same pattern appeared though not significantly so. Also keep in mind that Valley and Villanueva are socioeconomically similar and both are in Spanish dominated areas, but Villanueva is more like Albuquerque in their blame scores. On the other hand, Albuquerque is economically different from the two rural schools and is in an Anglo dominated area.

In trying to discover why this atypical behavior occurred between the schools, the raw data on the previous history of teachers were examined. It was found that one of the experimental groups of Spanish students in the Spanish dominated school, Villanueva, had an unusually high exposure to Anglo teachers, like the urban school, Albuquerque. The other rural school Spanish groups had no previous exposure to Anglo teachers. The similarity in blame scores between the rural school, Villanueva, and the urban school, Albuquerque, could be attributed to a high exposure of Anglo teachers, a common factor between two otherwise different schools.

A significant difference was found between internals and externals, with internals blaming the instructor less than did externals. Note that the higher the score the more internally blaming one is. This verifies the prediction of Hypothesis IIa again. Significant results were also found between the schools (A main effect). The Newman-Keuls procedure revealed that all

three schools were significantly different from each other. Unlike the previous two subscores, Albuquerque had the highest mean score (12.49), with Valley (11.03) and Villanueva (10.58) following.

Table 6
Analysis of Variance for Attribution
of Blame—Subscore III

SV	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	103			
Schools (A)	2	3.99	1.99	4.74*
I-E (B)	1	4.16	4.16	9.91**
Sch/I-E (AB)	2	.87	.44	1.04
S/AB	98	40.74	.42	

* $p = .05$

** $p = .01$

Table 7
Mean Scores of Attribution for Blame
Subscore III by Groups

Schools	Externals	Internals	Total	Mean Overall
Villanueva	9.21	11.95	21.16	10.58
Valley	10.46	11.60	22.06	11.03
Albuquerque	11.93	13.05	24.98	12.49
Total =	31.60	36.60		

Though Subscore III did not follow the Valley-Villanueva-Albuquerque pattern, differences between the two rural schools still exist. The significant difference between Villanueva and Valley, with the latter school being more internal still follows the tendency seen in several previous blame scores. Recall that these two schools are similar in socioeconomic background and environment, yet different in their blame scores.

Table 8
Analysis of Variance for Attribution
of Blame—Subscore IV

SV	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	102			
Schools (A)	2	1.57	.79	1.60
I-E (B)	1	.51	.51	1.04
Sch/I-E (AB)	2	.16	.08	.16
Total	97	47.53	.49	

No significant results were found either between internal and external groups nor between schools. In all three schools, externals showed a trend toward more readily blaming the Anglo experimenter as compared to internals. With these scores, however, the higher the score the more often the Anglo experimenter was blamed for failure.

Table 9
Mean Scores of Attribution for Blame
Subscore IV by Groups

School	Externals	Internals	Total	Mean Overall
Villanueva	8.38	7.71	16.09	8.09
Valley	8.92	8.00	16.92	8.46
Albuquerque	<u>7.21</u>	<u>7.15</u>	14.46	7.23
Total	= 24.61	22.86		

The rural schools more readily blamed the Anglo teacher than the urban school, with Valley having the highest mean score (8.46), followed by Villanueva (8.09) and Albuquerque (7.23). The actual prediction was based on the fact that lack of racial prejudice within the rural schools would make them less inclined than the urban school to blame Anglos. Speculation of why just the opposite happened is difficult, since numerous factors probably contributed to their behavior. Recall, however, that one rural group had a high exposure to previous Anglo teachers.

During the testing in all three schools, the author was able to observe the subjects' behavior. Of interest here is the apparent lack of knowledge in the rural schools as to what an "Anglo" was. Perhaps it was the connotation of the word itself that they were unaware of, but it indicated they lacked

exposure to any derogatory meaning it might have. The urban subjects were, however, familiar with the term "Anglo."

C. Hypothesis III. Internal-
External Control of
Reinforcement

Table 10

T-Tests for Internal-External Scores Between Schools

School	N	Mean	Compared Schools	<u>t</u>
Villanueva	49	24.59	Villa/Valley	n.s.
Valley	30	25.42	Valley/Albq	n.s.
Albuquerque	42	24.95	Villa/Albq	n.s.

Several t tests (between groups) were performed here to determine if any significant differences occurred. First, the order presentation of experimenters was checked within each school for effects and none were found. Therefore, the groups were combined within each school and tested for significant I-E differences between schools. Again, no significant differences were found. T-tests were also performed between sexes in each school and no significant differences were found. These data do not support Hypothesis III, unlike the pilot findings in Experiment I. By briefly reviewing the results obtained in both experiments, a possible explanation may be found for the discrepancy in mean scores between the two experiments.

Table 11
Mean Scores on the Internal-External Scale
for all Spanish Groups in Experiment I
and Experiment II

School/Grade	(1973) Experiment I					(1974) Experiment II
	2	3	4	5	6	6
Valley	18.90	23.66		22.90	25.37	25.13
Albuquerque ₁ *		24.75	24.30	23.53	20.06	24.95
Albuquerque ₂ *					25.50	
Villanueva						24.59

*The two urban schools were assigned code names by request of the principals of these schools. Note that Albuquerque₁ is the same school that has been referred to as Albuquerque throughout the present study.

Generally, in Experiment I the Spanish students in a predominantly Spanish environment progressively increased their internality, while the Spanish students in a predominantly Anglo environment decreased their internality. No significant differences between the two groups were evident until the sixth grade. In Experiment II, sixth graders were selected as the subjects in order to maximize the possibility of getting similar results. The testing was conducted one year later. Therefore, the fifth graders previously tested were now sixth graders for those schools tested both years. When comparing the 1973 fifth grade mean scores, no significant differences

existed between Valley and Albuquerque₁. In one year, the Valley groups, now sixth graders, increased their internal score from 22.90 (1973) to 25.13 (1974), almost as much as their 1973 sixth grade counter group. However, the 1974 sixth grade Albuquerque₁ groups did not decrease like their 1973 counter group (20.06), but increased their score (24.95).

One possible explanation for this change of pattern in the Albuquerque₁ school could be the method by which the subjects were selected. When selecting the 1973 Albuquerque groups, the teachers tested the groups by classes. However, in 1974, the Albuquerque₁ principal stipulated that the subjects must volunteer for the testing. It is possible that students with internal characteristics volunteered more readily than externals, thus biasing the sample. The rural schools did not make this stipulation either year. Another major difference between the two experiments is the experimenter. In Experiment I, the teachers tested their own classes, while in Experiment II experimenters unknown to the classes tested the students. Possible differential reactions to the experimenters as opposed to the teachers could have caused a difference in score also.

IV. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This investigation has studied Spanish-Americans and Whites (Anglos) in various environments and under different conditions.

Experiment I was concerned with examining how Whites and Spanish-Americans differed in their internal-external locus of control scores when in the majority as opposed to being in the minority. Previous studies have suggested that Whites are more internal than Spanish-Americans. However, in many previous studies, Spanish-Americans were always in the minority. Jessor et al. (1968) conducted a study in a tri-ethnic community and found whites to be most internal, with Spanish-Americans and Indians being less internal. The isolated community used for the study had 46% Anglos, 34% Spanish-Americans, and 20% Indians.

Pilot work had found Spanish-Americans and Whites to be equally internal when both were in the majority. In addition, when comparing Spanish-Americans, it was found those in the majority were significantly more internal than those in the minority. Also of interest was the apparent increase of internal scores as the Spanish-Americans in the majority became older, while the Spanish-Americans in the minority showed a decrease in internal scores with age. Here, one's majority-minority status in the environment proved to be more important than ethnicity itself.

The present study was again concerned with Spanish-Americans

in two diverse environments and how they would differ in expectation of success, attribution of blame, and internal-external locus of control. An additional independent variable was added, two experimenters of different race, one Anglo and the other Spanish.

The first hypothesis predicted expectation of success scores elicited by experimenters in the majority Spanish groups would not differ, since subjects lacked both experience and prejudice with Anglos. However, it was thought the minority Spanish groups, having experienced some prejudice, would differ in their expectation of success scores, with the Anglo experimenter eliciting lower scores. This was not verified by the data. Both Spanish groups showed significantly different expectation of success scores, with the Spanish experimenter always producing the lower scores. It was felt her strong authoritative personality may have dominated any racial differences between the two experimenters. This gave the subjects a decreased feeling of power which then decreased their expectation of success scores in the situation.

Upon failing the ink blot identification test, the subjects were then tested to see to whom or what they would attribute their failure. It was hypothesized that externals would blame outside forces more readily than would internals. In addition, it was predicted that external Spanish students in the minority would more readily blame the Anglo experimenter than would

Spanish students in the majority. Though not all blame subscores produced significant results, all scores followed a logically consistent pattern that supported Hypothesis II, at least in part. The following generalized statements can be made: internals displayed appropriate behavior characteristic to this belief system. They blamed outside forces and instructors significantly less than did externals. Curiously, no significant results were found in the area of specifically blaming oneself between internals and externals; although internals achieved the higher scores in all groups (the results were not significant). Also, no significant results were evident in attributing blame to either of the experimenters. Again, all groups consistently showed higher scores if they were externals, possibly showing a trend for externals to more readily blame the Anglo experimenter than for internals to do so.

Also, in several instances, the two rural schools though similar in socioeconomic status and environment were significantly different in their blame scores. The Valley school exhibited more internal blaming trends than Villanueva, with the latter school often being more like Albuquerque, the urban school. The last two schools, Villanueva and Albuquerque, were on several occasions not significantly different from each other though different in minority-majority status and socioeconomically. It was noted that one common factor between the two schools was a previous history of a high exposure to Anglo

teachers. Since the rural school, Villanueva, could not possibly have provided such an exposure, these pupils may have encountered Anglo teachers previously in some other school. The urban school, Albuquerque, always provided such an exposure. Therefore, the rural Villanueva groups may have been generalizing from previous experience to the present test situation. In general, the Valley groups usually had the highest score (being more internal), with the Villanueva group and the Albuquerque group following. Only once were the Albuquerque groups significantly more internal in blaming behavior than the Valley group and the Villanueva group, specifically when blaming instructors. However, when it came to blaming oneself, the Valley groups significantly blamed themselves more readily than the Villanueva and Albuquerque groups.

Hypothesis III stated that Spanish students in the majority would manifest higher internal scores than Spanish students in the minority. Since Experiment I had provided data to support this, Experiment II was expected to provide a validation. However, the data did not support this hypothesis; no significant I-E score differences were found between the two environmental groups. Two explanations for this discrepancy are possible. It is highly possible that, because of uncontrollable selection procedures in the urban school, the test was biased. Also, the experimenters differed across experiments. In Experiment I, the teachers administered the tests to their own classes, and

in Experiment II experimenters unknown to the students administered the tests. Perhaps this also has some effect on the subjects.

Phares (in press) has suggested that locus of control can be viewed as a characteristic of situations as well as of people. "Such variables as personal control, predictability, chance, perceived freedom, etc. do make a difference. Such findings are, of course, important by their very nature. However, they suggest something else as well. They give us confidence that what we have learned about situations will apply to the personality level also. . . . In predicting human behavior these situational studies are also important in a more theoretical sense. As emphasized earlier, we cannot hope to predict or understand behavior by the exclusive reliance on broad, generalized personality characteristics. We must also know a great deal about the situations" (Phares, in press).

Appendix A

EXPERIMENT I: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

Experiment I was intended as an exploratory study to investigate how Spanish-Americans, both in the majority and minority, and whites would differ on an internal-external control scale. It was conducted in New Mexico in March, 1973, one year prior to the thesis study.

The research concerning Rotter's concept of internal-external control of reinforcement includes the area of ethnic groups. Graves and Jessor studied ethnic differences in an isolated, tri-ethnic community and found whites to be most internal followed by Spanish-Americans and Indians, who were the most external among the three groups (Jessor et al., 1968).

Experiment I explored the standing of both Spanish-Americans and White-Americans over one personality variable: internal-external control of reinforcement. The basic question investigated was that in a situation where Spanish-Americans are in the majority, they will attribute more personal responsibility for what happens to them. Therefore, they should be more internal. This notion was based on the belief that those people who are in the majority will perceive themselves in control and better able to master their environment. Thus, access to power could be more important than ethnicity itself in determining internality.

Subjects

587 Anglo and Spanish students were tested. They ranged from the second to ninth grade and were selected from four schools in New Mexico. One is a private school located in Santa Fe. Two others are large public schools located in Albuquerque (hereafter referred to as Albuquerque₁ and Albuquerque₂). All these are in urban areas where Anglos are in the majority, therefore fulfilling the condition of Spanish students being in the minority. One exception, in spite of Anglo dominance in that city, was the Albuquerque₂ school where Spanish students and teachers are in the majority within the school. The fourth school is El Pueblo (or Valley), located in a rural area. It contains Spanish students exclusively. Though Albuquerque₂ had a Spanish majority, Anglos attended.

Procedure

Since time did not allow the author to administer the tests, the teachers of selected classes served as experimenters. Most of them were able to attend an orientation given by the author concerning the research. All tests had specific step-by-step instructions for administration.

Two versions of the internal-external scale were used: the Crandall I-E Scale (Crandall, Katkovsky, and Crandall, 1965) and the Rotter I-E Scale (Rotter, 1966). All tests were translated into Spanish and groups were counterbalanced for most grades in most schools.

Results

Due to lack of comprehension of the Spanish test version by the subjects and incomplete tests by some of the groups, some subjects had to be dropped. Of prime concern here are the I-E results for the second to sixth grades who took the English version of the Crandall test. These will be the only results reported.

Table 12
Mean Scores for the Crandall I-E Test
(English Test Version)

School/Grade	Spanish				
	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Valley	18.90	23.66		22.90	25.37
Albuquerque ₁		24.75	24.30	23.53	20.06
Albuquerque ₂					25.50
	Anglos				
	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Albuquerque ₁		21.75	24.71	24.40	
Albuquerque ₂					26.76

It is interesting to note (Fig. 1) the apparent increase in internal scores as the Spanish students in Valley (the rural school) get older. On the other hand, the internal scores progressively decrease for Spanish students in Albuquerque₁ (the

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CONTAINS
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REST OF THE
INFORMATION ON
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urban school). T-tests were calculated to determine if any significant differences existed between groups. Of importance is the lack of significant I-E differences between the Spanish students in a predominantly Spanish environment, Valley, and the Anglo students in a predominantly Anglo environment, Albuquerque₁. Significant differences were found for the following groups:

1. The 6th grade Spanish students from Albuquerque₁ and Valley ($p = .01$), with the latter manifesting higher internal scores.
2. The 6th grade Spanish students from Albuquerque₁ and Albuquerque₂ ($p = .01$), with the latter showing higher internal scores.

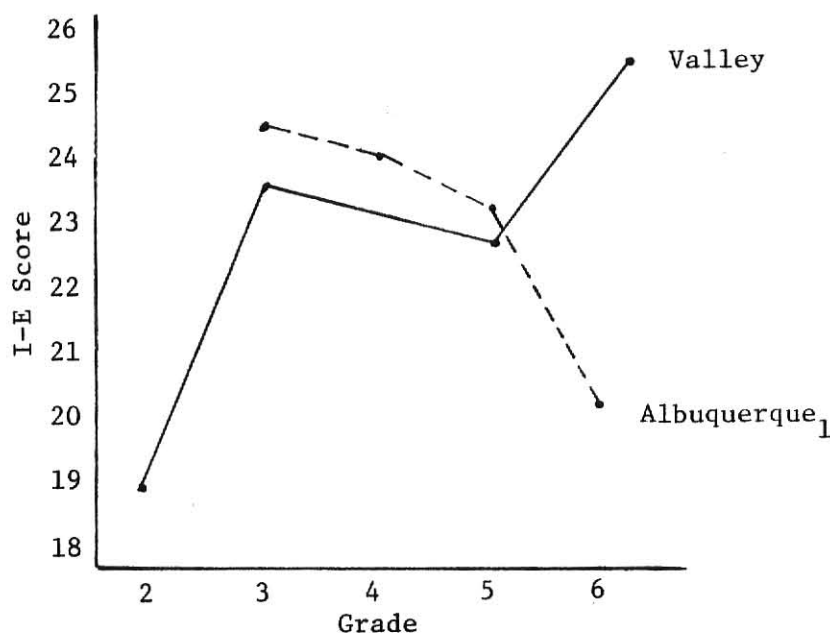


Figure 1. I-E Mean Scores for Spanish Students

Discussion

Since both Albuquerque₂ and Valley provided Spanish students in a predominantly Spanish environment and both were significantly more internal than Spanish students in a predominantly Anglo environment, it seems plausible to conclude that different environmental experiences affect one's I-E belief system. More specifically, those who are in the majority and are thereby in control of their environment, perceive themselves as having access to power and not being limited by their status in society. This condition appears to facilitate higher internal scores. Therefore, individuals in a minority status may develop external beliefs as a function of their perceived lack of control within their environment.

Much research has accumulated to support this supposition. It has been said that "the most basic characteristic of internal individuals appears to be their greater efforts at coping with or attaining mastery over their environments. This is the most elemental deduction that could be made from the nature of the I-E variable. Fortunately, this deduction has received widespread support from experiments with many different populations" (Phares, 1976, p. 78).

Therefore, the fact that previous studies have shown Spanish-Americans, Indians, and Blacks manifesting lower internal scores than whites can be attributed to their minority status, at least in part. This study failed to reveal any I-E differences between Whites and Spanish-Americans when both enjoy majority status in their environment.

Appendix B

EXPERIMENTERS HANDBOOK

FOR

ADMINISTERING THE TESTS

EXPERIMENT II

Outline

The tests and tasks will be presented in the following order:

1. Crandall I-E Test -- Sample 1
2. Expectation scores for first ink blot test obtained--
Sample II
3. First ink blot test administered--Rorschach and
Sample III
4. Two pictures of teachers will be drawn (Anglo and
Spanish)
5. Expectation scores obtained for second ink blot test--
Sample II
6. Second picture test administered--Sample III
7. Personal data collected--Sample IV
8. Ink blot test scores are returned--Sample II
9. Attribution of blame test administered--Sample V
10. Correction made on scoring

Samples

	Page
1. Crandall I-E test	52
2. Expectation Score Sheet	59
3. Ink Blot Answer Sheet	60
4. Subjects' Personal Data Sheet	61
5. Attribution of Blame Questionnaire	62

(E₁)

1. Initial Instructions and I-E Test

(Anglo E) Hello, my name is _____

(Spanish E) Olá, me nombre es _____

"I am here to give you several tests. The first one is not really a test though. It is really a questionnaire to find out how you feel about certain things. (Hand out I-E material -- sample 1.) Let's read the instructions, you follow on your test. This is a questionnaire to find out how you feel about certain things. Each question has two possible answers lettered a or b. Please select the one statement from each pair that best describes your feelings or beliefs. There are no right or wrong answers. Some people check a and some b. There is an answer sheet provided, so please use it. Print your name on the sheet. Remember check a or b each time according to the way you personally believe. Be sure and answer all the questions."

"Before you start taking the test, let me explain a little more what we are doing. The main reason I am here is to give you certain tests for a study we are doing on how many pictures you can correctly identify. The purpose of our study is to see how well you do in comparison to other kids. These tests tell us how good you are at seeing things correctly and finding what is really in the pictures. I want to ask you, please not to talk to each other once I start giving the tests. I will answer

(E₁)

any of your questions, so don't ask each other." (If any of the students ask any questions regarding the nature of the study, tell them that you will answer those questions after all the testing is done. Answer only those questions that regard instructions or about the tests themselves.)

"Okay, let's begin taking the test. Remember check a or b according to how you feel. Be sure and answer all the questions. Do you have any questions? Begin."

(After everyone has completed the I-E test, collect all the test material and hand out sheets of paper -- sample 2)

2. Expectation scores and Ink Blot Test - First Set

"On the sheet of paper I just handed out, write your name, the name of this school, the grade you are in, and your sex. Also, be sure and write your name on the bottom line too. When you are finished, raise your hand."

"I will be giving you the picture test now. This test is meant to find out how well you can identify the pictures. I will give you ten pictures in all. For each picture I want you to look for a hidden thing. I will give you five pictures now, then later on I will give you five more. In other words, I am splitting the ten pictures in half. For each set of five pictures, you will get a score."

(E₁)

"Before you start identifying the pictures, I want you to tell me how many pictures out of the first five you feel you can identify right. Let me describe how I will score your test. For each picture there are two right answers and each right answer is worth 10 points. Therefore, you can get 100 points in all from the first five pictures. Do you understand? (If there is much confusion, illustrate on blackboard.) Usually, most students get about 70 for their score. I will let you know how you do on the test later. On the sheet I handed out, I want you to write on the line that says test 1 how much you think your score will be. As soon as you are finished, raise your hand."

(Collect the expectation score sheets and hand out the answer sheets for the picture test -- sample 3)

"Write your name on the line in the right hand corner. For each picture, you should write down on the answer sheet what you see in it. Remember each picture has two possible right answers. I am going to let you write three things for each picture to give you a better chance of getting the two right ones. Any questions?"

Pictures 1 to 5: "Look at the picture and write down what you think you see in it. You have to look for a hidden thing. Some will be easier than others to find."

(E₁)

"Fold your papers in half and pass them to the person on your right. The person on the end of each row should keep the papers until I go to get them." (E should try to systematically collect the papers.)

3. Scoring and Teacher Drawings

"I will now score your tests for these first five pictures. Because it will take me a little while to score them, I am going to give you something to do. (Hand out two blank pieces of paper.) On the two pieces of paper I am handing out, I want you to draw two pictures. First draw a picture of a Spanish teacher. When you are finished, I want you to draw a picture of an Anglo teacher. Draw only one teacher on each sheet. Put your name on each sheet and whether it is an Anglo teacher or a Spanish teacher. Any questions? Begin."

THINGS TO DO WHILE SUPPOSEDLY SCORING THE TESTS

1. Check to make sure Ss have their name on the expectation score sheet twice -- sample 1.
2. Check to see that expectation score is on line for test 1.
3. If not, cross it out and place score on right line.
4. Check to see that S has not gone over 100 in estimating his score.
5. If there is free time, pretend to be scoring the papers.

(When the pictures or drawings are collected, the second E (E₂) should come in with a message.)

(E₁)

"I have just gotten a message that I have a phone call. I will be unable to give you the rest of the picture test. But, E₂ will finish for me." (Leave)

(E₂)

4. Expectation Scores and Ink Blot Test - Second Set

"We have a lot to do, so I will start right away. Since we do not have much time left, I will not hand back the picture test scores now. First, I will give you the second set of pictures."

"As you already know, this test is given so that we can find out how well you can find the hidden picture. Before you start to identify what you see, again I want you to tell me how many out of five you think you will get right. (Hand back expectation sheet -- sample 2) Let me review once more how I will score the picture test. I will show you five pictures, and each picture has two right answers. For each right answer you will get 10 points. So if there are 10 possible answers in all, your highest score is 100. Do you have any questions? (Illustrate if there is any problem.) Remember these are different pictures than the ones you saw before. Usually most students get about 70 for their score. Write what you think you will get on the middle line where it has test 2 (point to it) on the sheet of paper I just handed back. When you are finished, raise your hand."

(E₂)

(Collect expectation score sheet -- sample 2 and administer the picture test. Hand out answer sheets -- sample 3)

"Write your name on the right hand corner. Remember, each picture has two right answers. I will let you write three answers for each picture to give you a better chance to get the two right ones. Any questions? I will score your test after you are finished."

Pictures 1 to 5: "Look at the picture and write down what you think you see in it. You have to look for a hidden thing. Some are easier to find than others."

"Fold your papers in half and pass them to the person on your right. The person on the end of each row should keep the papers until I go get them." (E collects the papers systematically.)

5. Scoring and Personal Data on Subjects

"I will now score your tests for the last five pictures. Because it will take me a little while to score them, I am going to ask you to complete a questionnaire for me."

(Hand out personal data sheet -- sample 4)

"First, I want you to write your name. Then, write your father's name and your mother's name. If you can remember, you

(E₂)

should also put down what your mother's name was before she was married. I also want the names of your teachers when you were in the first to sixth grade. There are some other questions to answer, but you can read them on your own. Any questions? Begin. When you are finished, just turn your papers over and wait until I am finished with the scoring."

SCORING: The highest score that can be obtained will be 100 when the two scores are combined. Essentially what you are doing is reducing the maximum of the two tests together to 100 by proportionally giving each test a maximum of 50%. This is being done so that the Ss will have a maximum of 100% on their final score since they are accustomed to it.

To get their score, you should first sum the two expectation scores, then divide by 2. Now subtract 40 from the last number (dividend). No one should go below 30; if they do, just give them 30. In other words, no one is to get a score below 30. Cut the paper -- sample 2 -- on the dotted line. Never do any calculating on the half of the page that you will hand back. Also, write failed on that half that you will return, since no one will get over 60.

(Collect the personal data sheet)

"I have finished scoring your tests. The score you get back will be a combination of the two scores for the two tests.

(E₂)

The highest score that you will get is 100%, even though the two are combined. What I did was get the two tests and reduce each so that the highest you could get for each was 50%. If, let's say, you had 90% on the first test, I made it a 45%. Let's say, also, that you got the same on the second test, so that again you had 45% after I reduced it. Well, your final score would be 90%. Remember what I did was combine both scores. If you get below 60%, you failed." (Illustrate on blackboard how scoring was combined.)

6. Attribution of Blame Test

(Hand out final score on bottom section of sample 2. Also give the attribution of blame test out -- sample 5)

"Please do not discuss your scores with each other. The last test I have to give you is concerned with your feelings about failing or passing a test. Look at the corner of the sheet where your score is. There is a number inside a circle. This is your assigned code number. Write this number on the line that says code no. I am using a code number so that whoever looks at this questionnaire will not know whose test it is."

"This is a questionnaire asking about your feeling about tests. It is a true-false questionnaire. If you agree with

(E₂)

the statement, write true. If you do not agree with the statement, write false. There are no right or wrong answers, each of you may feel differently."

"Your answers should be recorded on the blank space by each item. Do not write your name at all. Remember, you have a code number to use. Please answer each question carefully and honestly. We want to know how you really feel about the tests. On the top of the page there is a sample question. Let's work on it first. It reads--"I like to take tests." Write true if you agree with it or false if you do not agree with it. Any questions about how you will take the test? Okay, begin and be sure to answer all the questions. When you are finished, turn your paper over and raise your hand."

(After Ss finish) "Before I collect the tests from you, I want you to write on the other side of the questionnaire which test you think you got a higher score on. Remember, there were two picture tests. I gave one and E₁ gave one. On which of these two tests do you think you did better?

(Collect all the material for the questionnaire, but not the expectation score sheet.)

(When you return to your front desk, seem to notice something.) "You know, I just looked at the answer sheet for the

(E₂)

picture test, and I scored your tests wrong. I did not add right. You all need to add 40 on your test scores. Anything over 60 is passing."

"I bet all of you got much better scores now. I am going to ask you to do me a favor. I still need to test some more students and you might know them. I want you to promise me that you will not tell them about the tests or anything you did in here. You wouldn't want them to get higher scores because you told them, would you? Do you promise? Also, when you go out, throw the paper that has your score in the waste basket. We wouldn't want anyone to find them. I want to thank you all for being very good while taking the tests."

Sample 1

Attitude Questionnaire

This is a questionnaire to find out how you feel about certain things. Each question has two possible answers lettered a or b. Please select the one statement from each pair that best describes your feelings or beliefs. There are no right or wrong answers. Some people check a and some b.

If there is an answer sheet provided, please use it. Print your name on the sheet and any other information requested.

On the answer sheet, for each item, check either a or b but not both. Work as quickly as you can.

Remember check a or b each time according to the way you personally believe.

1. If a teacher passes you to the next grade, would it probably be
 - a. because she liked you, or
 - b. because of the work you did?
2. When you do well on a test at school, it is more likely to be
 - a. because you studied for it, or
 - b. because the test was especially easy?
2. When you have trouble understanding something in school, is it usually
 - a. because the teacher didn't explain it clearly, or
 - b. because you didn't listen carefully?
4. When you read a story and can't remember much of it, is it usually
 - a. because the story wasn't well written, or
 - b. because you weren't interested in the story?
5. Suppose your parents say you are doing well in school. Is this likely to happen
 - a. because your school work is good, or
 - b. Because they are in a good mood?
6. Suppose you did better than usual in a subject at school. Would it probably happen
 - a. because you tried harder, or
 - b. because someone helped you?
7. When you lose at a game of cards or checkers, does it usually happen
 - a. because the other player is good at the game, or
 - b. because you don't play well?
8. Suppose a person doesn't think you are very bright or clever.
 - a. can you make him change his mind if you try to, or
 - b. are there some people who will think you're not very bright no matter what you do?

9. If you solve a puzzle quickly, is it
 - a. because it wasn't a very hard puzzle, or
 - b. because you worked on it carefully?
10. If a boy or girl tells you that you are dumb, is it more likely that they say that
 - a. because they are mad at you, or
 - b. because what you did really wasn't very bright?
11. Suppose you study to become a teacher, scientist, or doctor and you fail. Do you think this would happen
 - a. because you didn't work hard enough, or
 - b. because you needed some help, and other people didn't give it to you?
12. When you learn something quickly in school, is it usually
 - a. because you paid close attention, or
 - b. because the teacher explained it clearly?
13. If a teacher says to you, "Your work is fine," is it
 - a. something teachers usually say to encourage pupils, or
 - b. because you did a good job?
14. When you find it hard to work arithmetic or math problems at school, is it
 - a. because you didn't study well enough before you tried them, or
 - b. because the teacher gave problems that were too hard?
15. When you forget something you heard in class, is it
 - a. because the teacher didn't explain it very well, or
 - b. because you didn't try very hard to remember?
16. Suppose you weren't sure about the answer to a question your teacher asked you, but your answer turned out to be right. Is it likely to happen
 - a. because she wasn't as particular as usual, or
 - b. because you gave the best answer you could think of?

17. When you read a story and remember most of it, is it usually
 - a. because you were interested in the story, or
 - b. because the story was well written?
18. If your parents tell you you're acting silly and not thinking clearly, is it more likely to be
 - a. because of something you did, or
 - b. because they happen to be feeling cranky?
19. When you don't do well on a test at school, is it
 - a. because the test was especially hard, or
 - b. because you didn't study for it?
20. When you win at a game of cards or checkers, does it happen
 - a. because you play real well, or
 - b. because the other person doesn't play well?
21. If people think you're bright or clever, is it
 - a. because they happen to like you, or
 - b. because you usually act that way?
22. If a teacher didn't pass you to the next grade, would it probably be
 - a. because she "had it in for you," or
 - b. because your school work wasn't good enough?
23. Suppose you don't do as well as usual in a subject at school. Would this probably happen
 - a. because you weren't as careful as usual, or
 - b. because somebody bothered you and kept you from working?
24. If a boy or girl tells you that you are bright, is it usually
 - a. because you thought up a good idea, or
 - b. because they like you?
25. Suppose you became a famous teacher, scientist or doctor. Do you think this would happen
 - a. because other people helped you when you needed it, or
 - b. because you worked very hard?

26. Suppose your parents say you aren't doing well in your school work. Is this likely to happen more
- a. because your work isn't very good, or
 - b. because they are feeling cranky?
27. Suppose you are showing a friend how to play a game and he has trouble with it. Would that happen
- a. because he wasn't able to understand how to play, or
 - b. because you couldn't explain it well?
28. When you find it easy to work arithmetic or math problems at school, is it usually
- a. because the teacher gave you especially easy problems, or
 - b. because you studied your book well before you tried them?
29. When you remember something you heard in class, is it usually
- a. because you tried hard to remember, or
 - b. because the teacher explained it well?
30. If you can't work a puzzle, is it more likely to happen
- a. because you are not especially good at working puzzles, or
 - b. because the instructions weren't written clearly enough?
31. If your parents tell you that you are bright or clever, is it more likely
- a. because they are feeling good, or
 - b. because of something you did?
32. Suppose you are explaining how to play a game to a friend and he learns quickly. Would that happen more often
- a. because you explained it well, or
 - b. because he was able to understand it?

33. Suppose you're not sure about the answer to a question your teacher asks you and the answer you give turns out to be wrong. Is it likely to happen
- a. because she was more particular than usual, or
 - b. because you answered too quickly?
34. If a teacher says to you, "Try to do better," would it be
- a. because this is something she might say to get pupils to try harder, or
 - b. because your work wasn't as good as usual?

Answer Sheet

Name _____

School _____

Grade _____

1. a _____
b _____2. a _____
b _____3. a _____
b _____4. a _____
b _____5. a _____
b _____6. a _____
b _____7. a _____
b _____8. a _____
b _____9. a _____
b _____10. a _____
b _____11. a _____
b _____12. a _____
b _____13. a _____
b _____14. a _____
b _____15. a _____
b _____16. a _____
b _____17. a _____
b _____18. a _____
b _____19. a _____
b _____20. a _____
b _____21. a _____
b _____22. a _____
b _____23. a _____
b _____24. a _____
b _____25. a _____
b _____26. a _____
b _____27. a _____
b _____28. a _____
b _____29. a _____
b _____30. a _____
b _____31. a _____
b _____32. a _____
b _____33. a _____
b _____34. a _____
b _____

Sample 2

Name _____

School _____

Sex _____

Grade _____

Test 1 _____

Test 2 _____

Name _____

Sample 3

Name _____

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Sample 4

Name _____

1. Father's name _____
2. Mother's name _____
3. Teacher's name: 1st. _____
2nd. _____
3rd. _____
4th. _____
5th. _____
6th. _____
4. Have you always lived in New Mexico? Yes _____ No _____
5. If not, where else have you lived? _____
6. If you moved to New Mexico, how long have you been
here? _____
7. How long have you been coming to this school? _____
8. What other schools have you gone to in New Mexico? _____
9. What kind of work does your father do? _____
10. What kind of work does your mother do? _____
11. How far in school did your father go? _____

Sample 5

QUESTIONNAIRE

DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME

Code no. _____

This is a true-false test, so I want you to write true or false for each question.

SAMPLE QUESTION:

_____ A. I like to take tests.

- _____ 1. The picture tests were too long.
- _____ 2. I was tired when I took the test.
- _____ 3. The Spanish instructor was more understanding than the Anglo one.
- _____ 4. There was no way to really find the hidden thing in the picture.
- _____ 5. I can usually do well on tests, but this one was hard.
- _____ 6. I thought the Spanish instructor was nice.
- _____ 7. There was enough time to take the tests.
- _____ 8. I consider myself to be good in drawing.
- _____ 9. The Anglo instructor was more understanding than the Spanish one.
- _____ 10. The room was stuffy.
- _____ 11. I was worried about taking the tests.
- _____ 12. I thought the Anglo instructor was nice.
- _____ 13. The room was warm enough.
- _____ 14. I did listen carefully to the test instructions.

- _____ 15. Most teachers are interested in their students.
- _____ 16. The students nearby bothered me while I was taking the test.
- _____ 17. I had other things on my mind, like playing, so I did not do as well as I can.
- _____ 18. I think I could have done better if only the Spanish instructor had given the tests.
- _____ 19. Anglo teachers are fair in grading tests.
- _____ 20. The room was comfortable for taking a test.
- _____ 21. I did understand the tests.
- _____ 22. Most Anglo teachers are prejudiced against Spanish students.
- _____ 23. I was ready to take the tests.
- _____ 24. Spanish teachers are fair in grading tests.
- _____ 25. I was feeling well today.
- _____ 26. I think I could have done better if only the Anglo instructor had given the tests.
- _____ 27. The Spanish instructor knew what she was talking about.
- _____ 28. There was enough light to take the tests.
- _____ 29. I always do better when I have an Anglo teacher.
- _____ 30. I did not mind the first instructor leaving the classroom.
- _____ 31. The Spanish instructor was not as patient as the Anglo instructor.
- _____ 32. I did not do well on the tests because they were made for Anglo students.
- _____ 33. I always do better when I have a Spanish teacher.
- _____ 34. I had to go to the restroom while I was taking the tests.

- _____ 35. The instructions were clear.
- _____ 36. The Anglo instructor was not as patient as the Spanish instructor.
- _____ 37. The Anglo instructor knew what she was talking about.

PLEASE ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Having conducted the majority of the research off-campus, I would like to thank all the people who helped me complete this thesis. More specifically, Eileen Lujan and Ann Reiner who served as experimenters; Clifford Madrid, vice principal, who arranged for and helped with the testing in the rural schools; Bro. Francis Vessel, Ph.D., Santa Fe, who spent much time helping me with the testing; Dr. Allen Nash, Professor of Psychology, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, who served as my off-campus statistical consultant, and all the school administrators and teachers who allowed me to test their pupils.

In addition, I would like to thank Dr. William Griffitt and Dr. Leon Rappoport for serving on my advisory committee. I would especially like to thank Dr. E. Jerry Phares for his patience and insight which has continued through two and a half years of unending correspondence. Above all, I would like to thank my husband, John, who encouraged and supported me throughout this research project.

EXPECTATION OF SUCCESS, LOCUS OF CONTROL,
AND ATTRIBUTION OF BLAME IN
SPANISH-AMERICAN STUDENTS

by

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B.A., New Mexico Highlands University, 1972

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Psychology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY
Manhattan, Kansas

1976

This investigation studied Spanish-Americans and Whites (Anglos) in various environments and under different conditions. Experiment I, a pilot study, was concerned with examining how Whites and Spanish-Americans differ in their internal-external locus of control scores when in the majority as opposed to being in the minority. Previous studies have suggested that Whites are more internal than Spanish-Americans (Joe, 1971). However, in most previous studies, Spanish-Americans were in the minority (Jessor, Graves, Hanson, and Jessor, 1968). Our own pilot work found Spanish-Americans and Whites to be equally internal when they enjoyed the majority status.

The present study was concerned with Spanish-Americans in two environments and focused upon how they differ in expectation of success, attribution of blame, and internal-external locus of control. An additional independent variable involved two experimenters of different race, Spanish or Anglo.

The first hypothesis predicted expectation of success scores elicited by the different experimenters from majority Spanish groups would not differ since subjects lacked both experience with and prejudice from Anglos. However, it was thought the minority Spanish groups, having experienced some prejudice, would differ in their expectation of success scores, with the Anglo experimenter eliciting lower scores.

Following failure, it was hypothesized that externals would blame outside forces more readily than would internals. This

was based on previous findings reported by Phares, Wilson, and Klyver (1971). In addition, it was predicted that external Spanish students in the minority would more readily blame the Anglo experimenter than would Spanish students in the majority.

The third hypothesis stated that Spanish students in the majority would manifest higher internal scores than Spanish students in the minority. Since the pilot study had provided data to support this, the present experiment was to be a replication.

Sixth graders of both sexes and of Spanish descent from three schools in New Mexico served as the subjects. Two rural schools provided 70 Spanish subjects in a majority environment. An urban school contained a mixture of Anglos and Spanish pupils thereby providing 42 subjects in a minority environment.

Three tests were administered to measure subjects' internal-external belief system, expectation of success, and attribution of blame. Subjects were tested in groups by one of two female experimenters, either Spanish or Anglo.

The first hypothesis regarding expectation of success scores was not supported by the data. Both Spanish groups showed significantly different expectation of success scores, with the Spanish experimenter always producing the lower scores. It was felt her strong authoritarian personality may have obscured any ethnic effects.

Though not all attribution of blame subscores produced significant results, all scores followed a logically consistent

pattern that supported Hypothesis II, at least in part. The following generalized statements can be made: internals displayed attribution behavior appropriate for their belief system. They blamed outside forces and instructors significantly less than did externals.

The data did not support Hypothesis III, which stated that Spanish students in the majority would manifest higher internal scores than Spanish students in the minority. Since the pilot study had provided strong support for this hypothesis, it is felt that selection procedures required by the urban school may have biased the samples used in the present study.

Though not all hypotheses were supported, the results were, nonetheless, of interest. Specifically, they serve to emphasize that ethnic group studies should systematically examine situational variables (such as minority-majority status) and not attribute all behavioral differences to ethnicity itself. Social learning theory argues that several factors contribute to behavioral differences and to emphasize only one factor as the cause is an oversimplification.