BLACK FEMINISM AND LOCUS OF CONTROL

by

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INTRODUCTION

While several early investigators (Gore and Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965) found that an internal locus of control was associated with membership in sociopolitical organizations, others found that such involvement was associated with an external locus of control orientation (Lao, 1970; Silvern and Nakamura, 1971; Thomas, 1970). Further, conflicting evidence has been reported relative to the association between participation in such organizations and a social approval motive. It was hypothesized that these inconsistent findings could be explained by changes in the popularity and political philosophies of these sociopolitical causes with the passage of time which bore directly upon the internal-external control (I-E) orientation of the constituencies which they ultimately attracted.

As a demonstration of the converging influence of person and situation variables, the present study examined the influence exerted by individual locus of control orientation, individual need value, movement popularity, and social approval motive upon level of commitment to a sociopolitical organization. As such, the unique contribution of this study lies in its systematic consideration of both person and situation effects in the prediction of social activism behavior.

Locus of Control and Social Learning Theory

According to Rotter (1966), individuals who display a belief in external control fail to perceive a direct contingency between their actions and subsequent reinforcement. Rather, these individuals tend to attribute such occurrences to factors such as luck, chance, fate, the control of powerful others, or the complexity of situations. Those, on the other hand, who display a belief in internal control perceive a direct contingency between their actions or relatively permanent characteristics and subsequent reinforcement. These observations relative to human beliefs are the cornerstones of the locus of control paradigm.

A tremendous body of research on locus of control has been generated since the first study conducted by Phares in 1955. The results of early studies suggested that locus of control was indeed a valid and reliable source of individual differences and led to the development of numerous scales to measure individual standings on the locus of control dimension (Phares, 1976). An important distinction made by Phares (1978) is that locus of control is not a typological concept. Rather, it is a continuum along which people may be ordered, and specific behaviors in specific situations will be a function of many converging factors. Thus, the categorization of individuals as either internal or external is merely employed for convenience sake.

The theoretical underpinnings of locus of control lie in a social learning theory developed by Julian Rotter (1954). Prediction of behavior based on social learning theory involves three variables: (1) The individual's expectancy that a given behavior will lead to reinforcement; (2) the value that the individual places on that reinforcement; and (3) the influence of the particular psychological situation on the value and expectancy of reinforcement. Thus, any examination of the influence of the individual's expectancies relative to contingent reinforcement must necessarily be analyzed in terms of the specific situation to which these expectancies are relevant. For example, the value of a given reinforcement may be diminished as a result of certain punishments which might coincide with its attainment in one situation as opposed to another.

An individual's ultimate expectancy of successfully achieving a particular goal is a function of three different classes of expectancy: (1) expectancies resulting from earlier experience in the same situation; (2) expectancies resulting from generalization from earlier experience in situations that the individual considers similar to the present situation; and (3) generalized expectancies that the individual holds relative to his/her ability to solve problems. It thus follows that locus of control is only one of several factors which exert influences upon behavior.

Locus of Control and Influence, Conformity, and Attitude Change

Much of the research on I-E suggests that an individual's standing on I-E is related to numerous behaviors and motives. Crowne and Liverant (1963) found that internals tested in an Asch-like conformity study were more resistant to group pressure than were externals tested under the same circumstances. Research on attitude change further suggests that externals are more persuasible than internals. Ritchie and Phares (1969) reported that externals were likely to be influenced to change more in response to a high prestige source than a low prestige source, while internals were not differentially influenced by variations in the prestige of the source. Phares (1976) chronicled an impressive list of studies with similar findings. He concluded that:

> One might assert that externals appear readily persuasible, conforming to what they believe is expected of them, and accepting information or other sources of influence. This is not to say that internals never conform or never move their attitudes in the direction of the applied persuasion. But when they do, it appears to be on the basis of a considered analysis of the merits of the message. Majorities, peer

> influence, prestige of communicators, or the social reinforcements available in the situation all affect internals to a much lesser extent than they do externals. (1976, p. 92)

Locus of Control and Civil Rights Activism

Earlier studies of the relationship between locus of control and civil rights activism have produced conflicting results. Gore and Rotter (1963) and Strickland (1965) found that in samples of southern black college students, an internal locus of control was associated with social activism as evidenced by membership and participation in civil rights groups. Later evidence produced by Lao (1970) suggested that external blacks were more likely to be involved in sociopolitical groups. According to Rotter (1954), any examination of the influence of the individual's expectancies relative to contingent reinforcement must necessarily be analyzed in terms of the specific situation to which these expectancies are relevant. It may be pointed out that the plethora of sociopolitical groups which are collectively subsumed under the generic banner of the "civil rights movement" actually represent a less than homogenous array of philosophies, methods, and constituencies. Thus, the tendency to generalize from one such sociopolitical organization to another must be done with extreme care.

A consideration of the development and activities of five of the most prominent civil rights organizations is illustrative of this point.

Perspectives on Major Civil Rights Organizations

In tracing the history of the civil rights movement, the Peoples College Editorial Collective (1979) chronicled the origins of the five major black organizations under the movement's banner. The first such organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), chartered in 1909, resulted from the merger of two independent movements: (1) The first was the Niagara Movement, a collective of militant black intellectuals which was formed in harsh reaction to what they considered the overly conservative leadership of Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee "machine." The Niagara Movement existed independently for four years before the merger, during which time it engaged in a program of militant protest and overt repudiation of racist discrimination, particularly lynching. (2) The second party to the merger was a group of neo-abolitionist white liberals who convened a conference on Lincoln's birthday in 1909 which spawned a document which catalogued acts of discrimination against blacks by the federal government and its citizenry.

According to E. Franklin Frazier (1962), "negroes who became identified with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were known as 'radical'

and thus radicalism came to be associated with 'racial radicalism' or the belief in the equality of negroes and whites in American society" (p. 89). Lobbying for legislation and filing court briefs constitute the major national pursuits of the NAACP.

With the passage of time, the original militant tenor of the NAACP has faded. By 1965, Nathan Hare, a black sociologist, observed a widening gap between the constituency of the NAACP and the black masses: "With the budding bureaucracy of 'protest' leadership, such offices have emerged as prestige slots as well as outlets for much needed social reform. This, among other things, has led the negro masses to dub the NAACP (for example) the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People"
(p. 50).

The second major civil rights organization to emerge was the National Urban League. It was formed in 1911 as the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes in response to a massive migration of black people to northern and southern cities. Among its early ranks were found black middle class and white liberals. On the League's hidden agenda was a subtle, yet obvious, repudiation of the militancy of the NAACP. The League's focus was social service rather than confrontation. It became engaged in advocacy programs for better schools, hospitals, housing, and employment. From its beginnings

to the present, the League has never garnered mass appeal.

Both organizations developed prior to the mass protests which later became a central feature of the civil rights movement. While both groups organized around civil rights issues, they proved to be forerunners of the development in later times of militant and conservative factions within the movement. As mentioned earlier, time has tempered the militancy of the NAACP to the extent that it, too, may be judged to be located at the conservative end of the spectrum.

With the advent of the mass protest movement came three more major civil rights organizations. The first of these was the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) which was formed in 1941. Its founders were middle class idealists (black and white) committed to Gandhian techniques of nonviolent confrontation. Its membership (still middle class) shifted toward militancy and a black majority as a result of violence inflicted on CORE members during the "Freedom Ride" campaign of the 1960s. By the late '60s, however, CORE's leadership had become more conservative and less militant in its advocacy of black capitalism and government-sponsored community development programs.

In the wake of the successful bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was formed. This

organization, led by Martin Luther King, Jr., followed CORE's example in the adoption of tactics of nonviolent confrontation. Its primary activities were voter registration drives and civil disobedience. SCLC was responsible for the Poor People's Campaign, a massive march on Washington, which succeeded more than any other single event in attracting national and worldwide attention for the civil rights movement. The SCLC, upon Martin Luther King's death, lost much of its momentum and efficacy. Its solidarity and influence had started to wane even before King's death. This decline was due to the looming spectre of disappointment. Out of this massive disappointment, the 'black power' movement was born. Black power advocates presented a serious challenge to the SCLC leadership. King thus felt compelled to write Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? in 1967 in response to emerging black power militancy. King articulated the despair felt by many: "When the 1965 Voting Rights Law was signed, it was proclaimed as the dawn of freedom and the open door to opportunity. What was minimally required under the law was the appointment of hundreds of registrars and thousands of federal marshals to inhibit southern terror. Instead, fewer than sixty registrars were appointed and not a single federal law officer capable of making arrests was sent into the south. As a consequence, the old way of life - economic coercion, terrorism, murder

and inhuman contempt - has continuted unabated. This gulf between the laws and their enforcement is one of the basic reasons why Black Power advocates express contempt for the legislative process" (1967, p. 35).

Though the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), (the last major civil rights organization) formally entered the protest arena in 1960, its rise to national prominence came in 1965 under its 'black power' battle cry. SNCC stood for several years at the forefront of a fiercely militant black liberation movement which spurned conservative measures while advocating stronger defensive tactics. The ultra-militants, like the ultra-conservatives, never garnered mass black appeal, though the radicals did leave a legacy of black pride which rapidly filtered to the masses. So complete was this phenomenon that Hare (1965) issued the following commentary:

> It is now fashionable to be Black. African clothing and hair styles are becoming increasingly popular, even among the Black middle class. Many Black people, who only a few years ago boasted of their white ancestors, now disavow those ancestors. This was not the case when the philosophy of Black Power was first being presented. (p. 10)

With the 1970s came the emergence to the movement's forefront of electoral politics as a primary strategy.

With this strategical shift in emphasis came a waning of militancy, a shift away from mass action, and the appearance of such organizations as the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Black Political Assembly, and the National Association of Black Elected Officials. While the appearance of such groups represents significant gains for a few, the overwhelming majority of blacks and other minorities still suffer economic deprivation while the early gains of the civil rights movement are eroded. The 1978 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the Bakke case heralded the dismantling of affirmative action programs and a severe swing of the pendulum toward conservatism and system backlash. In tune with this conservative zeitgeist, the 'movement' in the '80s is more conservative in its tactics and, as always, its diverse constituency defies simple categorization and generalization.

Situational Effects in Studies of Civil Rights Activism and Locus of Control

In light of the diversity of philosophies and methods employed by civil rights organizations, an analysis which considers independently the forces operative in each situation is in order. Strickland (1965) pointed out that the experimental group involved in her study of locus of control were members of the SNCC:

> Many of the students... were everyday in situations of danger and harassment to themselves and their families. A few were field secretaries for SNCC, spending long months in pressure areas engaged in voter registration. Many had participated in demonstrations in Albany, Georgia, and sit-ins throughout the South. It should be noted, also, that the data were collected in the spring of 1963 before a large general onset of protest demonstrations that gained support within Negro communities. The persons tested were pioneers in the movement and were members of an organization that came into being not only as a positive force toward integration but as a protest against early civil rights organizations that were not moving in a sufficiently aggressive manner for the original SNCC members. (pp. 357-358)

Strickland found that these subjects measured high in internal control and low in social approval motive. Her findings are consonant with those of later researchers who found that internals are resistant to majorities, peer influence, prestige or social reinforcements.

When viewed in light of situational constraints, Lao's (1970) results are also consonant with research findings which yield characteristic descriptions of external personalities. Like Gurin, Gurin, Lao, and

Beattie (1969), Lao suggested that black students who indicated a belief in external control at the ideological rather than the personal level may have been simply reacting to systematic reality-based obstacles caused by actual overt discrimination. Thus, she found that measures of personal control rather than ideological control proved more discriminative. She reported that subjects who blamed the system and scored high on a measure of personal control showed no systematic preference for negotiation or protest strategies. However, when system-blamers scored low on personal control measures, they showed a significant preference for protest action, even though they also measured low in their degree of belief in discrimination modifiability or positive system change. This finding is easily interpretable in light of the social climate of the black community at the time. As Hare (1965) pointed out, blackness became fashionable during the mid- to late '60s. By 1969 (when Lao's study was conducted), social protest activism among young blacks was highly valued, not as an instrumental strategy, but rather as a means of gaining certain social reinforcements. Militant leaders like Stokely Carmichael of SNCC had become romantic heroes for some among the black masses, particularly the young. Thus, those youth most susceptible to the influence of prestige sources (those measuring low in

personal control) were most likely to favor social protest.

According to Phares (1976), "majorities, peer influence, prestige of communicators, or the social reinforcements available in the situation affect internals to a much lesser extent than they do externals" (p. 92). In light of these earlier research findings, it is likely that the social approval motive will exert a strong influence in any social activity in which externals are involved. Marx (1967) in his report of the findings of a national survey of black civil rights attitudes and participation conducted in 1964, pointed out that among blacks, social status and militancy were positively correlated. He also found that: "Membership [by blacks] in voluntary organizations [excluding church and civil rights organizations] is positively related to militancy" and "the more frequently an individual visits with friends, the more likely he is to be militant" (Marx, 1967, pp. 70-71). In addition, Marx reported that while, overall, the majority of his sample was moderate in their civil rights views (only a third of the black community was consistently militant in outlook), conventional civil rights groups and leaders enjoyed overwhelming popularity. These findings suggest that perhaps the changing face of the movement and its organizations may be partially responsible for the

changing locus of control orientation of the constituencies of these organizations.

Social learning theory presents an alternative way of interpreting these data. According to Rotter, Chance, and Phares (1972), when an individual's freedom of movement (mean expectancy of obtaining reinforcement from a set of functionally related behaviors) in a particular situation is low, while need value (mean preference value of a set of functionally related reinforcements) is high, a conflict situation exists. The way in which an individual resolves such a conflict may be directly related to his or her generalized expectancies relative to his/her ability to solve problems. Rotter, et al. (1972) pointed out that "when a behavior directed toward a goal is blocked, or fails to achieve the goal, the failure itself may be regarded as a property of a new situation involving a problem to be solved. A generalized expectancy that problems can be solved by a technique of looking for alternatives may also be developed regardless of the specific need or reinforcement involved" (p. 40). As a source of individual differences, this generalized problem-solving expectancy reliably discriminates between internals and externals, with the former group displaying positive expectancies and resolving the conflict by exploring alternative techniques subsequent to initial failure. Those individuals with a negative generalized problem-

solving expectancy (externals) are more likely to resolve the conflict caused by low expectancy of achieving highly valued reinforcement by adopting various avoidant, symbolic, or defensive behaviors which protect them against the risk of failure (Rotter, et al., 1972).

By 1969, the effectiveness of social protest as an instrumental strategy for eradicating discrimination was in question. Thus, persistence in the preference and use of this type of strategy may indicate its utility as an expressive vehicle for those (externals) expecting no positive system change. Thus, one would expect Lao's low personal control, low discrimination-modifiability subjects to prefer protest activities to negotiation.

Behavioral Prediction in Situations of Varying Social Reinforcement

As the foregoing analyses reveal, a case may be made for the interaction of situational variables, expectancies, and values in the determination of actual behavior. Thus, it may be expected that participation in an activist movement will be influenced by the following:

(1) An individual's belief or expectancy that certain actions will be effective in producing system change. (Freedom of movement or expectancy that reinforcement will be forthcoming as a result of certain functionally related behaviors.)

(2) The value that the individual places on system change in a particular direction. If the individual feels that he or she has been discriminated against because of membership in a particular minority group, he or she may value system change in the direction of the eradication of discrimination for all members of his/her minority group. If the individual belongs to more than one minority group (e.g. a woman who is also black), his/her most highly valued domain for system change will most likely be the eradication of discrimination directed toward what the individual perceives to be the most disadvantaged of the minority groups in which he/she holds membership. For example, if a particular black woman felt that anti-feminist oppression was more crippling than racist oppression, her highly valued domain of system change would be the eradication of discrimination against women. It follows that an individual with dual minority status will most highly value system change in a domain of system change which has had the most profound personal negative effect (e.g. whether the individual feels that she was passed over for promotion primarily because she is black or primarily because she is a woman).

(3) The influence of the particular psychologial situation. As the foregoing analyses suggest, the presence or absence of valued social reinforcements (or the popularity or unpopularity of a movement) may result

in differential patterns of participation by internals and externals. While group participation generally provides a modicum of social reinforcement as a result of intragroup camaraderie, it is expected that the social reinforcement either afforded or withheld by an individual's larger reference group (outside the organization) will be more influential upon participation than intragroup camaderie. This is due to the fact that social reinforcement from the larger reference group always predates any anticipated intragroup reinforcement. Thus, an individual is likely to take popularity into account when deciding to join a particular organization, if that individual is particularly susceptible to social approval or disapproval.

When the influence of these three factors is considered along with individual generalized problem-solving expectancies, the following set of simplistic predictions may be made. For a given individual, each of these predictions may be modified by particular influences in a specific situation and by idiosyncracies of the individual which are not systematically related to their generalized problem solving expectancies:

Figure 1. Prediction of Social Activism in Situations of Varying Movement Popularity

POPULAR MOVEMENT (Maximum social reinforcement or prestige)

	High Need Value	Low Need Value
High Generalized Problem Solving Expectancies (Internals)	Inequities in a highly valued domain lead to low freedom of movement and conflict. Result: INSTRUMENTAL PARTICIPATION	Inequities in a domain of little or no value. High freedom of movement is not threatened. Result: INDIFFERENCE; NO PARTICIPATION
Low Generalized Problem Solving Expectancies (Externals)	Inequities in a highly valued domain lead to low freedom of movement and conflict. Result: EXPRESSIVE HIGH LEVEL PARTICIPATION (caused by High need value + movement popularity)	Inequities in a domain of little or no value. No effect on freedom of movement. Result: MEDIUM TO LOW LEVEL PARTICIPATION (depending on strength of need for social approval)

UNPOPULAR MOVEMENT (Minimum social reinforcement or stigma)

	High Need Value	Low Need Value
High Generalized Problem Solving Expectancies (Internals)	Inequities in a highly valued domain lead to low freedom of movement and conflict. Result: INSTRUMENTAL PARTICIPATION	Inequities in a domain of little or no value. High freedom of movement is not threatened. Result: INDIFFERENCE: NO PARTICIPATION
Low Generalized Problem Solving Expectancies (Externals)	Inequities in a highly valued domain lead to low freedom of movement and conflict. Result: EXPRESSIVE MEDIUM TO LOW LEVEL PARTICIPATION (depending on need for social approval and strength of need value in domain of inequity)	Inequities in a domain of little or no value. No effect on freedom of movement. Result: INDIFFERENCE: NO PARTICIPATION (due to lack of need and fear of reprisal)

It may be noted that internals with high generalized problem solving expectancies are expected to act instrumentally in accordance with their need values. It may also be noted that externals with low generalized problem solving expectancies are expected to engage in behavior which can only be labelled expressive since these individuals harbor low expectancies for success. When need value in a particular domain of inequities is high and the movement is popular,

externals may engage in high levels of activity. When the domain of inequities has litte value and the movement or organization is popular, the external may be found at medium to low levels of participation, depending on the strength of his or her need for social approval and the amount of social reinforcement present in the situation. It may also be expected that externals will participate in unpopular political movements or organizations only when the particular domain of inequities is valued highly. In this case, level of participation should vary between medium and low as a result of competition between two opposing needs: (1) a strong need for equity in a particular domain which has been systematically withheld; and (2) a need for social approval which may be frustrated by reprisals or loss of status resulting from participation in an unpopular movement.

The present study is designed to measure the effects of situational variables upon the behavior of internals and externals. Variations in the amount of social reinforcement in the situation as mediated by a movement's popularity or unpopularity among members of a larger reference group will be examined.

Perspectives on Black Women and Organized Feminism

An analysis of the participation of black women in the feminist movement provides fertile ground for testing these predictions. This is due primarily to the fact

that among black women, the feminist movement has not gained in popularity. According to Deckard (1983), the composition of the women's liberation movement has always been predominantly white and middle class. She points out that many black and other third world women were repelled by the movement's racial and class composition. "Especially during the early years, they [third world women] felt that they had little in common with movement women and that the movement did not attack problems of central concern to them. In class and color movement women looked too much like 'Miss Ann,' the employer and oppressor of the black woman domestic" (Deckard, 1983, pp. 343-344). These negative attitudes have undergone little, if any, widespread change in the black community at large. In fact, the current upswing in political conservatism in the society at large renders questionable the movement's popularity with the general populace.

The paucity of black women involved in the feminist movement has been noted by feminists and others. When one takes into account the fact that the majority of black and other third world women suffer triple oppression due to race, sex, and lower socioeconomic status, their widespread lack of participation presents something of a paradox. One would think that they had the most to gain from the eradication of sexist oppression. Several commentaries on this state of affairs have been published in recent years which seek to

ferret out the causes for this lack of participation. Joseph and Lewis (1981) presented a thorough and thoughtful analysis of this phenomenon. A careful reading of their book and others suggests that there are several factors which make organized feminism an unattractive and unpopular alternative for black women. First and foremost, many black women feel that white feminists are racist. This factor, thus curtails their desire for participation in white feminist organizations. However, other factors contribute to the widespread unpopularity of black feminism. Some of the factors may be enumerated as follows:

(1) The "helpless female" stereotype which white feminists seek to eradicate has little meaning for the majority of black women who have never been characterized as such.

(2) Many black women feel that feminists want to alienate themselves from men. This is an unattractive stance for black women who have had to share with black men the legacy of racism. This does not mean that black women are indifferent to sexism. On the contrary, though many will not identify themselves as feminists, these same individuals are in favor of women's rights.

(3) Given the nature of racism in this country, the black woman is more likely to see black liberation as her first priority.

(4) Strong homophobic sentiments in the black community.

The above points may be capsulized in a number of myths about feminism which are perpetuated and which appear to be accepted by many black women. Smith (1983) enumerates these myths as follows: (a) "The black woman is already liberated." (b) "Racism is the primary (or only) oppression black women have to confront." (c) "Feminism is nothing but man-hating." (d) "Women's issues are narrow, apolitical concerns. People of color need to deal with the 'larger' struggle." (pp. xxvi-xxix)

Thus, many converging factors lead to the unpopularity of organized feminism for large numbers of black women. Nevertheless, black feminism does exist, though such organizations are rare.

The Present Study

Overview

Inasmuch as the predictions mentioned earlier are based on the converging influence of generalized locus of control expectancies (I-E), popular status of a particular sociopolitical movement (the psychological situation), need value of the reinforcement being sought (in this case, the eradication of system inequalities which discriminate against women), and social approval motive, the present study was designed to investigate the effects of the psychological situation upon the behavior of internals and externals. The behaviors under study were differential levels of commitment to an unpopular

sociopolitical (feminist) organization, as a function of individual need value, generalized locus of control expectancies, and social approval motive. A three factor analysis of variance was employed in which the independent variables under study were Feminist Need Value, Social Approval Motive, and Internal-External Control Expectancies (I-E). The dependent variable was the level of participation to which subjects would commit themselves to a feminist organization. For the purposes of the analysis of variance, subjects were grouped into High and Low Categories of Feminist Need Value based on their scores on the FEM Scale (Smith, Ferree & Miller, 1975). They were grouped into High and Low categories of Social Approval Motive based on their scores on the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). They were categorized as internals or externals based on their scores on the Rotter I-E Scale (Rotter, 1966). Median splits were employed and the median scores for each of the independent variables in the analysis of variance were eliminated from that particular analysis. Pearson product moment correlation and hierarchical multiple regression analyses were also employed on the four variables above using the entire data set.

Hypothesis I: Internal Control and Need Value

It was hypothesized that subjects measuring high in internal locus of control would commit themselves to participation in a feminist organization when they value the eradication of system discrimination against women. It was expected that there would be a positive relationship between the level of participation to which these subjects commit themselves and the strength of their feminist need value. It was thus expected that there would be a main effect of need value.

Hypothesis II: External Control, Need Value, and Social Approval Motive

It was also hypothesized that the level of feminist activity selected by externals would be influenced by the need for social approval. It was expected that while externals (like internals) would commit themselves to participation in movements which they value highly, their activity level patterns would vary with social approval motive. It was expected that externals who measured high in social approval motive would commit to lower levels of feminist participation across both levels of need value than externals who measured low in social approval motive. These subjects (high social approval motive externals) were expected to select less visible commitments because of the fear of reprisals and/or a loss of status within the black community at large.

It was thus expected that externals who measured low in social approval motive would be influenced less by an organization's popular status. They were expected to select a higher level of commitment (than high social approval motive externals) when feminist need value was high and a lower level commitment when feminist need value was low.

Internals, on the other hand, were expected to be relatively uninfluenced by a social approval motive. It was expected that the most influential determinant of their commitment level would be need value. Thus, a two-way interaction of I-E and Social Approval Motive was expected.

Rationale

According to social learning theory (SLT), the potentiality of the occurrence of a particular behavior in a particular situation is a function of an individual's expectancy that his/her behavior will lead to a particular reinforcement, along with the value that the individual attaches to that reinforcement (Rotter, et al., 1972). SLT further proposes that expectancy is actually a composite of (1) expectancies generalized from past experiences in a particular situation, (2) expectancies generalized from similar past situations, and (3) generalized problem-solving expectancies. Application of the social learning framework to the

aforementioned hypotheses provides a rationale for their logic as follows:

Hypothesis I

It is logical to expect that internal subjects would have higher expectancies for the success of the efforts that they direct toward system change, since these individuals have characteristically demonstrated higher generalized expectancies for success. This reasoning is based on the assumption that they have not had past negative experiences in similar situations, and it is expected that, overall, their expectancy of success would be positive (most of these subjects are too young to have accumulated a great deal of negative experience in sociopolitical organizations). Thus, according to SLT, these internals should be more likely to commit themselves to activity levels commensurate with the strength of need value in organizations whose goals they value.

Hypothesis II

As mentioned earlier, SLT postulates that reinforcement value or need value is one of several factors which influences behavior. It is thus expected that even when overall expectancy of success is low, as is often the case with external subjects, behaviors related to the failure to receive valuable reinforcement would occur. However, in cases where expectancy of success is low, these behaviors are assumed to be

expressive (reactionary) rather than instrumental (goal-directed). It is thus assumed that while both internals and externals would commit themselves to participation in a sociopolitical organization, their motives, like their expectancies for success, would differ.

Prior research has shown that externals are susceptible to peer influence and social reinforcements (Phares, 1976). It was thus expected that movement popularity would exert a strong influence on their behavior, augmenting participation in a popular movement and diminishing participation in an unpopular movement. Thus, the anticipation of loss of prestige was expected to inhibit commitment level in a feminist (unpopular) organization.

Hence, it was expected that a subject's standing on each of the independent variables under study would be relevant in predicting her level of commitment to participation in a feminist organization.

Method

Subjects

The Rotter I-E Scale, Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale, and a Demographic Information Questionnaire especially designed for this study were administered to approximately 183 black female students at Kansas State University and Lincoln University (Jefferson City, MO). Later, these subjects were

presented with a printed flier which, in effect, solicited their interest and participation in a (hypothetical) feminist organization which might locate on campus. Subjects were then asked to respond to an Activity Commitment Level Questionnaire which requested that they indicate their willingness to participate in a number of activities should the chapter be established. After completion of the Activity Commitment Level Questionnaire, subjects were then asked to complete the FEM Scale. (See Appendix VII for experimental script.)

Procedure

One hundred eighty-three black female undergraduates were offered one hour of experimental credit for their participation in this study. The subjects were run in groups which ranged in size between three and thirty. After giving informed consent and completing experimental credit cards, they were asked to complete a Demographic Information Questionnaire (Appendix I), the Rotter I-E Scale (Appendix IV), and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Appendix V). They were then given a membership solicitation flier which they were asked to read carefully. After allowing ten minutes for this task, the experimenter presented the subjects with an Activity Commitment Level Questionnaire for their completion.

Subsequent to their completion of the Activity Level Commitment Questionnaire, the Smith, Ferree, and Miller

FEM Scale was administered to all subjects. Upon completion of this scale, subjects were debriefed, thanked for their participation, and excused. Data collected on 24 of the 183 subjects who participated was eliminated because these subjects failed to complete one or more of the questionnaires.

Materials

Demographic Information Questionnaire (Appendix I)

This questionnaire had one purpose. It was designed primarily for the accumulation of demographic information and information relative to whether a subject's peer or reference group was primarily black or white. Although this data was not under systematic study, it was included to assist in interpreting results and/or guiding future research.

Membership Solicitation Flier (Appendix II)

This flier was designed to present a hypothetical feminist organization in a positive light. The organization was portrayed as follows: (1) Its purpose was described as the eradication of sexist discrimination. (2) Its strategy was described as three-pronged (economic, political, and legal).

Activity Commitment Level Questionnaire (Appendix III)

This questionnaire was designed to assess the subjects' activity commitment level in the feminist organization described in the Membership Solicitation

Flier. Each item was designed so that responses were graded on a scale from 0 (which indicated total unwillingness to engage in an activity) to 5 (which indicated complete willingness to participate). The items were then weighted based on a subjective assessment of how strong a commitment they represented. The following relative weights were assigned:

(1) Responses to items c and f were weighted at 4 times their absolute values. These items were highly weighted because the activities they depicted would have placed the subjects in situations of higher visibility and thus greater potential criticism from their reference groups. The remaining three groups of items were designed to represent a gradually decreasing continuum of such risks and were weighted as follows:

(2) Responses to items b and e were weighted at 3 times their absolute values.

(3) Responses to items a and h were weighted at 2 times their absolute values.

(4) Responses to items d and g were scored at their absolute values.

Individual Difference Measures (Appendices IV, V, and VI)

The Rotter I-E Scale was used to assess the subjects' generalized problem-solving expectancies (Appendix IV). The Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale was used to assess social approval motive (Appendix

V), and the FEM Scale was used to assess feminist need value (Appendix VI).

Results

A Pearson product moment correlation performed on the three independent variables (I-E, social approval motive,

and feminist need value) and the dependent variable (feminist activity commitment level) resulted in one significant correlation: A positive relationship between feminist need value (M = 75.04) and feminist activity commitment level (M = 58.96) was found, r (159) = .1486, $p < .05$. (See Table 1.)

The data were then subjected to an analysis of variance, general linear model. The general linear model procedure was used to compensate for the unequal cell frequencies. As mentioned earlier, subjects were grouped into high and low categories of I-E, social approval motive and feminist need value (the independent variables under study) by eliminating the median scores on each of these variables from the analysis. This process resulted in a diminished sample (n = 122). (See Table 2 for mean and median scores on each independent variable.) This analysis resulted in no significant main effects or interactions.

In order to compensate for any loss of power that may have resulted from the elimination of data in the

Table 1. Pearson Correlations of Variables Under Study

Variables	1	2	3	4
1. Social Approval Motive	___			
2. Internal/External Control Expectancies	-.0796	___		
3. Feminist Need Value	-.0474	.0693	___	
4. Feminist Activity Commitment Level	.0671	-.0642	.1486*	___

* $p < .05$

Table 2. Mean and Median Scores on ANOVA Independent Variables

Internal/External Control Expectancies

n = 159, Range: 3-21 (Highest possible score = 23)

Mean: 10.35
Median: 10
Standard Deviation: 3.79

Median Split Yielded:

Externals: n = 63
Mean: 14
Range: 11-21

Internals: n = 59
Mean: 6.89
Range: 3-9

Feminist Need Value

n = 159, Range: 55-94 (Highest possible score = 100)

Mean: 75.03
Median: 75
Standard Deviation: 8.17

Median Split Yielded:

High Feminist Need Value:
n = 61
Mean: 81.88
Range: 55-74

Low Feminist Need Value:
n = 61
Mean: 68.08
Range: 76-94

Social Approval Motive

n = 159, Range: 6-30 (Highest possible score = 33)

Mean: 16.91
Median: 17
Standard Deviation: 5.02

Median Split Yielded:

High Social Approval Motive:
n = 56
Mean: 21.63
Range: 18-30

Low Social Approval Motive:
n = 66
Mean: 12.60
Range: 6-16

Internal, Low Feminist Need Value, Low Social Approval Motive

n = 18

Mean I-E Score: 7.16
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 68.11
Mean Social Approval Score: 12.94

Table 2., cont'd.

Internal, Low Feminist Need Value, High Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 7.11 n = 17
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 68.53
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 21.47

Internal, High Feminist Need Value, Low Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 6.77 n = 13
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 80
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 13.15

Internal, High Feminist Need Value, High Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 6.27 n = 11
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 84
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 22.18

External, High Feminist Need Value, High Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 13.6 n = 15
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 79.86
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 20.86

External, High Feminist Need Value, Low Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 14.45 n = 22
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 83.32
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 12

External, Low Feminist Need Value, High Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 14 n = 13
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 68.23
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 22.23

External, Low Feminist Need Value, Low Social Approval Motive

Mean I-E Score: 13.69 n = 13
Mean Feminist Need Value Score: 67.30
Mean Social Approval Motive Score: 12.61

median split process used to obtain groupings for the analysis of variance (general linear model), a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was also conducted on the entire sample (n = 159). This analysis revealed that the predictive capacity of the feminist need value variable was not enhanced by the inclusion of either I-E and/or social approval motive variables into the equation. This analysis also essentially confirmed the negative findings of the analysis of variance procedure. (See Table 3.)

The existence of a positive relationship between feminist need value and feminist activity commitment level was hypothesized. This hypothesis was confirmed, though it should be noted that the relationship between the two variables was weak. It was also hypothesized that there would be a main effect of feminist need value, with both internals and externals who measured high in feminist need value ($\underline{M}$ = 61.95) committing to significantly higher levels of commitment in a feminist organization than internals and externals who measured low in feminist need value ($\underline{M}$ = 57.13). Although the significant, but modest, Pearson product moment correlation between feminist need value and feminist activity commitment level suggests the existence of a slight trend in this direction, the analysis of variance resulted in a disconfirmation of the hypothesis relative to a main effect of feminist need value. (See Table 4.)

Table 3. Hierarchical Multiple Regression Analysis Using Feminist Need Value, Social Approval Motive, and Internal-External Control Expectancies as Predictors of Feminist Activity Commitment Level

Dependent Measure	Step	Indep. Variable	Multiple R	R^2	Adjusted R^2	F
Feminist Activity Commitment Level	1	Feminist Need Value	.1486	.0221	.0158	3.54
	2	Social Approval Motive	.1661	.0276	.0151	2.21
	3	Internal-External Control Expectancies	.1799	.0323	.0136	1.72

It was also hypothesized that social approval motive would exert an influence upon the level of commitment selected by externals while no such influence upon the feminist activity commitment level scores of internals was expected. That is, it was expected that social approval motive would interact with I-E; externals who measured high in social approval motive (M = 58.96) were expected to systematically commit themselves to lower (less visible) levels of commitment than externals who measured low in social approval motive (M = 59.46) irrespective of their feminist need value. The absence of a significant interaction resulted in the disconfirmation of this hypothesis. (See Table 4.)

As mentioned earlier, the Demographic Information Questionnaire was included to assist in the interpretation of results and/or the guidance of future research. As such, this information was not subjected to a formal analysis.

Discussion

As mentioned earlier, several early investigators (Gore & Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965) found that an internal locus of control was associated with membership in sociopolitical organizations, while others found that such involvement was associated with an external locus of control (Lao, 1970; Silvern & Nakamura, 1971; Thomas, 1970). Conflicting evidence relative to the association between participation in such organizations and a social

Table 4. ANOVA (General Linear Model) Group Criterion Means and Summary Table

Internals

Criterion Mean: 59.88
n = 59

High Feminist Need Value

Criterion Mean: 61.95
n = 61

High Social Approval Motive

Criterion Mean: 61.19
n = 56

Externals

Criterion Mean: 59.24
n = 63

Low Feminist Need Value

Criterion Mean: 57.14
n = 61

Low Social Approval Motive

Criterion Mean: 58.15
n = 66

INTERNALS

Social Approval Motive	Feminist Need Value: High	Feminist Need Value: Low
High	62.63 n = 11	63.94 n = 17
Low	55.31 n = 13	57.66 n = 18

EXTERNALS

Social Approval Motive	Feminist Need Value: High	Feminist Need Value: Low
High	61.13 n = 15	56.46 n = 13
Low	66.09 n = 22	48.23 n = 13

Entire Sample

n = 159
Criterion Mean: 58.96
Standard Deviation: 25.89

SOURCE	DF	SS	F
Internal-External Control Exp.	1	106.35	.17
Feminist Need Value	1	649.44	1.04
Social Approval Motive	1	519.56	.83
I-E x Feminist Need Value	1	1251.81	2.00
I-E x Social Approval Motive	1	194.66	.31
Feminist Need Value x Social Approval Motive	1	268.60	.43
I-E x Feminist Need Value x Social Approval Motive	1	370.04	.59
Error	114	71,349.34	

approval motive was also reported. It was hypothesized in the context of this study that these inconsistent findings could be explained by changes in the popularity and political philosophies of these sociopolitical organizations with the passage of time which had a direct bearing upon the I-E orientation of the constituencies which they ultimately attracted. In an attempt to capture a climate somewhat similar to the climate found during the early development of the civil rights movement (before many civil rights organizations became popular and acceptable), this study focused on black women's responses to feminist organizations. It was anticipated that an analysis of the participation of black women in the feminist movement would provide fertile ground for a study of this type because, according to feminists and others (Deckard, 1983; Joseph & Lewis, 1981; Smith, 1983), the feminist movement is somewhat unpopular among black women. Since the present study was designed as a partial replication of the Gore & Rotter (1963) study, it was anticipated that the responses of the black females presented with the opportunity to commit themselves to a feminist organization would be similar to those found in the Gore & Rotter study and others done early in the development of the civil rights movement when civil rights organizing was not particularly popular. However, while it may be the case that a certain degree of similarity between conditions in the Gore & Rotter (1963)

study and the present study exists, it may also be the case that other changes in the political climate may have disrupted the anticipated results. The first section of the discussion which follows is a consideration of those potentially disruptive factors.

A number of political commentators (Schlesinger, 1975; Peoples College Editorial Collective, 1979; Burnham, 1982) have suggested that the era of mass radical confrontational politics has ended. With respect to civil rights organizing, Peoples College Editorial Collective (1979) chronicled the major shift in emphasis toward electoral politics as a primary strategy during the 1970s. This strategical shift manifested itself in the rise of organizations like the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Black Political Assembly, and the National Association of Black Elected Officials.

According to Schlesinger (1975), the major thrust toward social reform which began in the 1970s may be found in the hands of what he calls "the new reformers... [who] believe fundamental political change can be achieved within the accepted legal constraints set out by the Constitution..., through the contemporary party structure, and by dint of the vision and intelligence of present-day political leaders" (p. xi). These 'new reformers' differ vastly from the masses found in early civil rights efforts. For the most part, they represent a politically active elite who may be found in

organizations like those listed above. To that list may be added the National Women's Political Caucus, the Caucus of Progressive Unions, the New Democratic Coalitions and a number of other special interest groups.

Furthermore, Burnham (1982) reports that the level of participation among the lower classes in America has declined steadily since the decade of the sixties and is significantly lower than the levels of lower class participation in all other western nations.

Events like the Vietnam war, the Watergate incident with its subsequent congressional proceedings and presidential resignation, the 1978 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in the Bakke case, the failure of the ERA effort, the dismantling of social programs and affirmative action programs initiated in the 60s, and the serious attack on civil rights legislation may have had far-reaching effects on the sociopolitical climate which may be felt at every level of society. When these events are viewed in concert with conditions such as high unemployment rates, inflation, the threat of nuclear war and the shift away from expressive forms of political dissent afforded to the masses in the past, one might argue that the present psychological situation (i.e. the current social and political milieu or zeitgeist) is not supportive of the same genre of political organization which abounded throughout the decade of the sixties and well into the decade of the seventies.

Thus, it may be the case that sociopolitical organizing of any type, when conducted at the grass roots level, no longer carries with it the same type of popular appeal that such efforts garnered during the late sixties and early seventies period when the early studies by Lao (1970); Silvern & Nakamura (1971) and Thomas (1970) were conducted. If such is the case, any attempt to distinguish between a 'popular' and an 'unpopular' movement or organization at this level may be fruitless. With the failure of such a distinction would necessarily come the failure of the effects hypothesized in the context of the present study.

With respect to hypothesis I, in which a main effect of feminist need value was predicted, the following explanation may be offered. In a climate which is unsupportive of the activities targeted in the experimental format, the predictive capacity which might otherwise be afforded through the analysis of feminist need value would be extensively diluted. The significant, but weak, relationship displayed between feminist need value and feminist activity commitment level seems to suggest just such a dilution, while the failure to achieve significant main effects is not surprising when viewed in light of the putative change in the sociopolitical and cultural milieu.

Likewise, in a situation in which political organizing is no longer considered among a number of

plausible, acceptable alternative behaviors by a large undifferentiated contingent of the population under study, social approval motive and I-E would not interact to predict behavior as was also hypothesized.

A SLT analysis may be invoked to understand the dynamics which may have been operative in this situation. The putative changes in the political climate suggested above may have been precipitated, at least in part, by changes in expectancy relative to the outcome of sociopolitical activities in the current social and political arena. According to Rotter (1954), the individual's expectancy that a given behavior will lead to reinforcement is one of three crucial factors to be analyzed in the prediction of behavior. To that assessment may be added the qualifier that "...it is necessary in order to make an actual prediction, to measure not only the expectancy for one reinforcement and the value of that reinforcement but to measure the expectancy for many reinforcements and the values of all of the reinforcements" (Rotter, 1972, p. 338).

The most obvious means of reinforcement in this particular situation was assumed to be the eradication of institutionalized sexist oppression or social change. Rotter (1972) has included social change among a number of other potential reinforcers which may be involved in the prediction of social action. These reinforcers, along with a number of specific and generalized

expectancies have been included in a hierarchically arranged list of what Rotter (1972) specified as major sources of variance in the decision to take part in social action. The following formula is illustrative of the relationship hypothesized in the context of Rotter's theory:

$$B.P.yes,s1 = f(E's1 \ \& \ G.E.) \ \& \ R.V.xi$$

The above formula may be read as follows: The behavior potential of a yes response to a particular request for social action in a particular situation is a function of specific expectancies operative in the particular situation and generalized expectancies (which include I-E generalized expectancies, generalized expectancies relative to the efficacy of civil disobedience and/or other activities, and generalized expectancies relative to the investment of trust in leaders) and the reinforcment value of a number of reinforcers. The potential reinforcers in Rotter's (1972, p. 345) hierarchically arranged list are: (1) social approval, (2) social change, (3) loss of other satisfactions (negative reinforcement value), (4) consistency with public statements, and (5) consistency with private beliefs. When the present experimental situation is analyzed in the framework of Rotter's formula, the following explanations for the failure of the experimental hypotheses may be enumerated:

(1) Specific Expectancies:

The subjects may have questioned the experimenter's credibility. If the experimental scenario was unconvincing, the hypothesized effects would not have been established because the subjects would not have responded as they would have under other more credible circumstances. This should be considered as a plausible explanation since the experimenter was required in debriefing to inform the subjects that the feminist organization which they responded to was not a real organization; rather that the organization had been created solely for the purposes of the experiment. Although the experimenter then requested that they keep this information in confidence so that future respondents might not have access to this information prior to their participation in the study, there was no effective means of controlling this factor since the experimenter was unable to collect all of the data in one session.

(2) Generalized Expectancies:

Of the three generalized expectancies specified by Rotter (1972), I-E was assessed in the experimental design. The other two (efficacy of civil disobedience and trust of leaders) were not. The generalized expectancies relative to the efficacy of civil disobedience and/or other strategies included on the feminist activity commitment level questionnaire may have been an important source of variance whose influence may have contributed considerably to the failure to confirm

the experimental hypotheses. As mentioned earlier, it is possible that the type of political organizing commonly employed during the decade of the sixties may not be considered an effective means of social change in the present day. A negative generalized expectancy relative to the efficacy of the activities offered as alternatives would disrupt the establishment of the hypothesized effects, particularly for those subjects whose primary source of positive reinforcement would have been social change rather than social approval.

Likewise, generalized expectancies relative to trust of leaders may have exerted a disruptive effect upon the hypothesized effects. If the major emphasis of social reform in the seventies and eighties has shifted into the hands of a cadre of politically active elite, it would not be surprising to find an underlying thread of distrust in the minds of individuals outside that elite cadre. This distrust may be a wide scale manifestation of what Hare (1965) observed with respect to the eventual change in popular sentiment toward the NAACP: "Within the budding bureaucracy of 'protest' leadership, such offices have emerged as prestige slots as well as outlets for much needed social reform. This, among other things, has led the negro masses to dub the NAACP (for example) the National Association for the Advancement of Certain People" (p. 50).

(3) Reinforcement Value

The first two reinforcers on Rotter's (1972) list (social approval and social change) were assessed in the present study. Social approval reinforcement value was measured via the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale while social change reinforcement value was measured via the FEM Scale. Loss of other satisfactions, consistency with public statements, and consistency with private beliefs were not assessed. It is possible that the weight of influence exerted by these three factors in concert may have interfered with the establishment of the hypothesized effects. It should be noted that a large number of the subjects reported (on the Demographic Information Quesionnaire) that they held membership in one or more extracurricular social organizations on campus. Participation in a new sociopolitical organization might place constraints on an individual's schedule that would precipitate the need to relinquish some of the individual's cherished social activities or membership in the aforementioned social organizations. Thus, it may be the case that for these subjects the negative reinforcement value associated with the loss of other satisfactions may have outweighted the positive reinforcement value associated with social change.

With respect to consistency with public statements and consistency with private beliefs, there was nothing apparent within this particular situation which would support the notion that these factors may have exerted

substantial influence, although such influence is entirely plausible.

A possible flaw in the data analysis may also be considered as a probable cause for the failure of the experimental hypotheses. The grouping of subjects into high and low categories for the analysis of variance through the elimination of median scores may have resulted in a crucial loss of power. However, the hierarchical multiple regression analysis, which involved the entire data set, also yielded negative results.

Conclusions

According to Renshon (1979) there are three basic factors which contribute to the individual's need for personal control in political life: (1) A basic inborn need for influence over the events, people, and institutions which exert a substantial effect over ones cherished pursuits and general well being. This need is assumed to result from the interaction of somatically based needs and socially acquired preferences; (2) participatory norms generated within democratic political societies along with the political myths which accompany them; and (3) the often overwhelming personal impact of public policy decisions.

Yet for the majority of the populace, objective experience is likely to be centered in a thwarting of the need for personal control in political life. Olsen

(1982) points toward a curious paradox which ultimately presents a challenge to individuals in modern society:

> Although the amount of influence any individual can exert on the national government is severely limited under even the best conditions, political democracy nevertheless rests on the assumption that citizens can collectively, if not individually, ultimately control the government... Even if people are politically competent and concerned, however, the political party system is usually quite effective in severely limiting the amount of influence they can exercise at the polls. First of all, this system allows them to vote only for the candidates, not on specific substantive issues; nor is the winning candidate obliged to support the position that he or she espoused in the campaign. Second, a two-party system forces both parties (if they wish to win the election) to pick candidates who stand as near the political center as possible, in order to attract the large mass of undecided and unconcerned voters (pp. 4-6).

The behavioral consequences of this state of affairs has been, and will continue to be, a fruitful arena for social scientific inquiry. The present study was designed to demonstrate the converging influence of person and situation variables in the prediction of sociopolitical behavior among a population of individuals

who were presented with a number of alternative forms of political participation. It was argued that no single person factor (such as Internal-External control expectancy) was capable of predicting participation in a sociopolitical organization. Rather, that in order to understand the motivations which underlie social activism behaviors, it is necessary to examine the effects exerted by a number of person and situation factors in concert. This study examined the influence exerted by individual locus of control orientation, feminist need value, social approval motive, and the popular status of a particular type of sociopolitical organization.

It was hypothesized that the most influential of these factors would be feminist need value coupled with the interacting effects of I-E and social approval motive. These hypotheses were not confirmed, though the weak association found between feminist need value and feminist activity commitment level suggests that with some refinement this particular hypothesis may be capable of bearing fruit.

An analysis of the particular experimental situation yielded a number of possible sources of uncontrolled error variance which may account for the failure to confirm the experimental hypotheses:

(1) The experimental scenario may have been unconvincing. This may have been precipitated by the leakage of

information relevant to the actual nature of the study during inter-session time intervals.

(2) Generalized expectancies relative to the efficacy of civil disobedience and the other activities presented as behavioral alternatives was an uncontrolled source of error that may have been particularly influential.

(3) Likewise, unexamined generalized expectancies relative to trust of leaders may have been an influential factor.

(4) The reinforcement values associated with the loss of other satisfactions, consistency with public statements and consistency with private beliefs were not examined. An analysis of these factors may have enhanced the predictive utility of the study as well.

It was also argued that the putative distinction between a 'popular' and an 'unpopular' movement or organization may hold little functional meaning considered against the backdrop of a sociopolitial milieu which is unsupportive of the grass roots political activism suggested in the context of this study. In such an environment, few causes would generate the type of support necessary to establish cohesive and functional organizations.

Future research should be directed toward exploring a number of experimental refinements which might control the sources of undifferentiated error variance. Running all of the subjects in a single session or in a number of

simultaneous sessions with several experimenters and asking them to indicate at the end of the session whether the scenario was credible would serve to eliminate one potential problem source.

The administration of an additional scale which measures the subjects' generalized expectancies relative to the efficacy of civil disobedience and similar activities would remove this potential source of variance from the experimental error while shedding light on the usefulness of a 'popular/unpopular' organization distinction in the current social/political climate.

Likewise, the assessment of generalized expectancies relative to trust of leaders and the reinforcement values associated with loss of other satisfactions, consistency with public statements and consistency with private beliefs should be initiated in order to isolate these potential sources of error variance.

As mentioned earlier, Renson (1979) argued for the existence of a basic need for personal control in political life. It is conceivable that such a conceptualization may be useful for the generation of a new genre of research which may prove enlightening relative to the dynamics of human social activism. The research proposed herein would perhaps provide the emphasis for answering a number of important questions which may be framed within a theoretical paradigm which

is based primarily in the need for personal control in political life and its impact on public policy.

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APPENDIX I: Demographic Information Questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age (please check one):

   ___ 18-24 yrs.
   ___ 25-35 yrs.
   ___ 36-50 yrs.
   ___ 51 or over.

2. Place of birth _____

3. City(ies) of residence until age 12 (please list below):

   _____

   _____

   _____

4. Please estimate the percentage of the population that was black in neighborhoods in which you lived until age 12 _____.

5. Please estimate the percentage of black students in attendance at school(s) you attended until age 12 _____.

6. Please estimate the percentage of the congregation that was black in church(es) you attended until age 12 _____.

7. Please estimate the percentage of black persons living in your immediate household until you were 12 years old _____.

8. Please describes any changes in the percentages of blacks occurring in the institutions listed in questions 4-7 which occurred between the ages of 12 and 17:

   (a) Neighborhood _____ (c) Church(es) _____

   (b) School(s) _____ (d) Household _____

9. Please estimate the percentage of blacks which actively participate in the social organizations in which you hold membership on this campus at present:

Name(s) of Organization(s):	Percentages of Black Active Participants
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Please use the back of this questionnaire if more space is needed to complete this item. Thank you.

APPENDIX II: Membership Solicitation Flier

The COOPERATIVE COALITION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS is a nationally organized community of black women which has committed itself to work toward the establishment of equal rights and economic opportunities for women.

Solving the problem of sex discrimination requires direct political, legislative, and judicial action. Laws must be conceived. Laws must be proposed. Laws must be passed. Laws must be enforced. However, politicians don't always listen even when the vast majority of citizens speak. They do listen when they think an organized group of citizens can help elect or defeat them. Just look at the National Rifle Association, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, and Jesse Helm's Congressional Club. These right-wing groups have succeeded in intimidating the politicians because of the power of their money and the clout of their massive memberships.

The COOPERATIVE COALITION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS is doing more than building our membership. We've launched a three-pronged attack on sex discrimination which involves the following strategies:

1. Economic: CCWR is taking direct economic action. It's using boycotts, media campaigns, and other effective tools against those corporations and individuals who profit from sex discrimination.

   On the local level, CCWR has been involved in the initiation and maintenance of programs designed to provide emergency services to community women in need of services such as temporary emergency shelter and counseling.

2. Political: CCWR's Political Action Committees have demonstrated their capacity to raise and effectively employ the money necessary to defend our friends and defeat those who oppose women's rights.

   On the local level, CCWR has been involved in consciousness-raising activities directed toward both women and men which seek to expose the severe conditions of psychological and economic deprivation in which many women in this society exist.

3. Legal: CCWR's attorneys are now in court on a series of cases against those who profit from sex discrimination, and there will be more and more lawsuits until the discriminators learn there is no money in discrimination.

When you become a member of the COOPERATIVE COALITION FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS you will have an opportunity to participate in the exciting, uplifting activities described above.

The right wing politicians all thought that "the ladies" would go away after the ERA deadline expired. Were they ever wrong! The fact is that the battle against discrimination has no deadline. It will continue until victory is ours.

YOU can help win this fight for equality by joining the rapidly growing ranks of CCWR.

APPENDIX III: Activity Commitment Level Questionnaire

Please indicate below whether you would be willing to participate in the following activities of CCWR if a chapter was located in your area. Please circle the number which best approximates your willingness to participate in each activity (0 = unwilling to participate, 5 = very willing to participate).

Name _____

☐ Please check here if you do not wish to be contacted by CCWR.

☐ Please check here if you want CCWR to contact you. If you desire to be contacted, write your address below your name.

___(a) I would attend public rallies in support of the cause.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(b) I would write letters to other black women in my hometown and campus community encouraging their participation in the cause.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(c) I would talk to black women's social groups in my hometown and college community to enlist their support of the cause.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(d) I would sign a petition to be sent to local (or higher) government officials and/or news media which makes demands for equal rights.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(e) I would participate in a televised public demonstration against a commercial establishment with discriminatory practices.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(f) I would participate in televised interviews describing my organization which implicitly or explicitly solicited support from other black women in my hometown and/or college community.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(g) I would attend most or all of the organization's twice monthly meetings.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

___(h) I would commit money if it were needed for the furtherance of the cause or the organization; or if financially restricted, I would perform necessary maintenance duties in lieu of financial commitments.

I am unwilling to participate 0 1 2 3 4 5 I am very willing to participate

APPENDIX IV: Rotter Internal-External Control Scale

SOCIAL REACTION INVENTORY

This is a questionnaire to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (and only one) which you more strongly believe to be the case as far as you're concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually believe to be more true than the one you think you should choose or the one you would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief: obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Your answer, either a or b to each question on this inventory, is to be reported on the answer card according to the Examiner's instructions.

I more strongly believe that:

1. a. Children get into trouble because their parents punish them too much.
   b. The trouble with most children is that their parents are too easy with them.

2. a. Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck.
   b. People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

3. a. One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
   b. There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them.

4. a. In the long run people get the respect they deserve in this world.
   b. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

5. a. The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
   b. Most students don't realize the extent to which their grades are influenced by accidental happenings.

6. a. Without the right breaks one cannot be an effective leader.
   b. Capable people who fail to become leaders have not taken advantage of their opportunities.

7. a. No matter how hard you try some people just don't like you.
   b. People who can't get others to like them don't understand how to get along with others.

8. a. Heredity plays the major role in determining one's personality.
   b. It is one's experiences in life which determine what he is like.

9. a. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.
   b. Trusting to fate has never turned out as well for me as making a decision to take a definite course of action.

(OVER, PLEASE)

I more strongly believe that:

10. a. In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.

    b. Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work, that studying is useless.

11. a. Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little to do with it.

    b. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.

12. a. The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.

    b. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it.

13. a. When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can make them work.

    b. It is not always wise to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow.

14. a. There are certain people who are just no good.

    b. There is some good in everybody.

15. a. In my case getting what I want has little or nothing to do with luck.

    b. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

16. a. Who gets to be the boss often depends on who was lucky enough to be in the right place first.

    b. Getting people to do the right thing depends upon ability, luck has little or nothing to do with it.

17. a. As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control.

    b. By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

18. a. Most people don't realize the extent to which their lives are controlled by accidental happenings.

    b. There really is no such thing as "luck."

19. a. One should always be willing to admit his mistakes.

    b. It is usually best to cover up one's mistakes.

20. a. It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you.

    b. How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

21. a. In the long run the bad things that happen to us are balanced by the good ones.

    b. Most misfortunes are the result of lack of ability, ignorance, laziness, or all three.

22. a. With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.

    b. It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office.

I more strongly believe that:

23. a. Sometimes I can't understand how teachers arrive at the grades they give.
    b. There is a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.

24. a. A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do.
    b. A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

25. a. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me.
    b. It is impossible for me to believe that chance or luck plays an important role in my life.

26. a. People are lonely because they don't try to be friendly.
    b. There's not much use in trying too hard to please people, if they like you, they like you.

27. a. There is too much emphasis on athletics in high school.
    b. Team sports are an excellent way to build character.

28. a. What happens to me is my own doing.
    b. Sometimes I feel that I don't have enough control over the direction my life is taking.

29. a. Most of the time I can't understand why politicans behave the way they do.
    b. In the long run the people are responsible for bad government on a national as well as on a local level.

APPENDIX V: Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale

Listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you personally. If you feel that a statement is true, please circle T. If you feel that a statement is false, please circle F.

T F 1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.

T F 2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.

T F 3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.

T F 4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.

T F 5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.

T F 6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.

T F 7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.

T F 8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.

T F 9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen I would probably do it.

T F 10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.

T F 11. I like to gossip at times.

T F 12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.

T F 13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.

T F 14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.

T F 15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.

T F 16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.

T F 17. I always try to practice what I preach.

(OVER, PLEASE)

T F 18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.

T F 19. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.

T F 20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.

T F 21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

T F 22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.

T F 23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.

T F 24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.

T F 25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.

T F 26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.

T F 27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.

T F 28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

T F 29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.

T F 30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.

T F 31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.

T F 32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.

T F 33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

APPENDIX VI: FEM Scale

Directions: Below are listed 20 statements that describe attitudes toward men and women. You are asked to express your feelings about each statement by indicating whether you (1) strongly agree, (2) agree, (3) neither agree nor disagree, (4) disagree, (5) strongly disagree. Please place a check on the line above that word which best describes your own feelings. Remember: There are no right or wrong answers, only opinions.

1. Women have the right to compete with men in every sphere of activity.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

2. As head of the household, the father should have final authority over his children.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

3. The unmarried mother is morally a greater failure than the unmarried father.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

4. A woman who refuses to give up her job to move with her husband would be to blame if the marriage broke up.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

5. A woman who refuses to bear children has failed in her duty to her husband.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

6. Women should not be permitted to hold political offices that involve great responsibility.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

7. A women should be expected to change her name when she marries.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

8. Whether or not they realized it, most women are exploited by men.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

9. Women who join the Women's Movement are typically frustrated and unattractive people who feel they lose out by the current rules of society.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

10. A working woman who sends her six month old baby to a daycare center is a bad mother.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor agree	disagree	strongly disagree	

11. A woman to be truly womanly should gracefully accept chivalrous attentions from men.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

12. It is absurd to regard obedience as a wifely virtue.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

13. The "clinging vine" wife is justified provided she clings sweetly enough to please her husband.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

14. Realistically speaking, most progress so far has been made by men and we can expect it to continue that way.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

15. One should never trust a woman's account of another woman.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor agree	disagree	strongly disagree	

16. It is desirable that women be appointed to police forces with the same duties as men.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

17. Women are basically more unpredictable than men.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

18. It is all right for women to work but men will always be the basic breadwinners.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

19. A woman should not expect to go to the same places or have the same freedom of action as a man.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	

20. Profanity sounds worse generally coming from a woman.

:	:	:	:	:	:
strongly agree	agree	neither agree nor disagree	disagree/	strongly disagree	

APPENDIX VII: Experimental Script

BLACK FEMINISM AND LOCUS OF CONTROL

SCRIPT

Experimenter: First of all, I'd like to thank all of you for participating in my research project. I have two purposes in mind. First of all, we need to collect data to establish norms for responses to a number of attitude measures. These scales have been used widely with white populations, however, norms for black women have not been established. Your responses to these brief questionnaires will help to establish these norms. The information you give me will be totally confidential. In fact, you will remain anonymous.

My second purpose involves an unrelated matter. I received a flyer and other materials from a sociopolitical organization interested in establishing a chapter in this area. However, the national body would like an indication of how interested local people might be in advance. They have asked me to circulate their flyer and a brief survey questionnaire to provide them with this information. The flyer is a brief overview of the organization's goals and the kinds of activities it sponsors. The survey questionnaire contains a number of activities and asks that you indicate, by circling a number between 0 and 5, how willing you would be to participate in each of these activities. This will help this group decide whether there would be enough interest and participation to warrant the establishment of a chapter in this community. If you are interested in learning more about the organization, you may check the appropriate box near your name on their survey questionnaire and write your address under your name. If you are not interested in this organization and do not wish to be contacted by them, you should check the appropriate box near your name on the survey questionnaire and, of course, you shouldn't write your address on the form if you don't want them to contact you. The organization would like for all of you to complete the survey questionnaire whether you're interested in the organization or not because they are interested in what you think. They would also like for you to reply to an anonymous questionnaire relative to attitudes about certain social issues. I'll give you that questionnaire last.

Now, the first thing I'll need for you to do is to sign these informed consent forms. This form reiterates that your records will be kept

confidential. It also points out that your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without penalty. Please read the informed consent form carefully before signing and dating it.

The next thing you'll need to do is write your name and student ID number on the index cards I'll pass out. You'll also need to write my last name and "1 hour" on the card. These cards will be used to record your participation and ensure that you get credit for participating in the experiment.

(Subjects complete the informed consent forms and index cards and experimenter collects them.)

Experimenter: Now I'll pass out the attitude scales first and allow you about 15 or 20 minutes to complete them. I'll then collect them from you and pass out the materials sent for the social organization.

(Subjects complete the materials in part I, pass them in and receive materials for part II.)

Experimenter: As I mentioned before, the flyer I will now pass out to you describes a sociopolitical organization called the Cooperative Coalition for Women's Rights. Please read the flyer carefully and answer the questions in each of the questionnaires I'll give you after you finish reading.

As I stated earlier, if you are interested in learning more about the organization, you may check the appropriate box near your name on the activity level survey questionnaire and write your address under your name. If you are not interested in the organization and do not wish to be contacted by them, you should check that particular box near your name, and of course, you won't want to write your address on the form if you don't want the group to contact you. The organization would like for all of you to complete the questionnaire whether your're interested in the organization or not, because they are interested in what you think. They would also like for you to reply to an anonymous questionnaire relative to attitudes toward women's issues. I'll give you that questionnaire last.

(Experimenter presents separately flier, activity level questionnaire, and FEM Scale.)

Revised Debriefing Statement

BLACK FEMINISM AND LOCUS OF CONTROL

Experimenter: I'd again like to thank all of you for participating in my research project. I'd also like to let you know the purpose of my research and how you've assisted me in this endeavor.

Many feminists (black and white) have commented on the fact that few black women participate in feminist organizations. This is considered noteworthy in light of the fact that the majority of black women suffer from triple oppression which is based on race, sex and lower socioeconomic status. Factors such as a lack of identification with the particular goals of white feminists, racism among the ranks of white feminists, and the placement of a higher priority on black liberation are among the alternatives offered in explanation of this phenomenon. As a black woman, I feel that it is important to understand the psychological and social dynamics which underlie this state of affairs. In an attempt to do so, I designed this research project which examines the relationship between black women's attitudes toward feminism, beliefs about how much they control their own consequences, and their degree of commitment to a hypothetical feminist organization.

The issue of the individual's beliefs relative to how much he or she controls his or her own consequences has been addressed in the psychological literature through a concept called locus of control. One of the questionnaires you responded to was designed to measure your beliefs about locus of control. This particular locus of control scale was designed by Julian Rotter. According to Rotter, individuals who display a belief in external control fail to perceive a direct contingency between their actions and subsequent reinforcement. Rather, these individuals tend to believe that positive or negative outcomes are the result of luck, chance, fate, or the control of powerful others. Those individuals, on the other hand, who display a belief in internal control perceive a direct relationship between their own actions or personal characteristcs and positive or negative outcomes.

While several early investigators (Gore and Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965) found that an internal locus of control was associated with membership in sociopolitical organizations, others found that such involvement was associated with an external locus of control orientation (Lao, 1970; Silvern and Nakamura, 1971; Thomas, 1970). Further, conflicting evidence has been reported relative to the

relationship between participation in such organizations and the degree to which an individual displays a need for social approval. That is, while some researchers found that individuals who display a strong desire for social approval are more prevalent in sociopolitical organizations, others found that individuals who display a weaker desire for social approval are more prevalent in such organizations. Another of the questionnaires you responded to was designed to measure your desire for social approval.

My research thesis is based on a social learning theory developed by Rotter. The theory predicts that participation in an activist movement will be influenced by three factors:

(1) The individual's belief or expectancy that certain actions will be effective in producing system change.

(2) The value that the individual places on system change in a particular direction.

(3) The influence of the particular psychological situation.

I have used the Rotter I-E Scale to measure your general beliefs about how effective your actions are in achieving certain outcomes. I have used a scale called the FEM Scale to measure how highly you value feminist issues. In an attempt to gauge the effect of the psychological situation, I used the social desirability scale developed by Marlowe and Crowne to measure your susceptibility to social pressure (i.e. your need for social approval).

My hypotheses are as follows:

(1) Individuals who measure high in internal control are more likely to commit themselves to more visible levels of activity in a feminist organization when they highly value feminist issues. Internals are more likely to have higher expectancies for the success of the efforts that they direct toward system change, since these individuals have higher generalized expectancies for success.

(2) Individuals who measure high in external control are likely to display the following behavior pattern:

(a) When they highly value feminist issues, externals will commit themselves to activities of medium visibility when they show a lesser desire for social approval and activities of low visibility when they show a greater desire for social approval. This prediction is based on the fact that black and white feminists report that feminist organizations are not particularly popular among black

women. It would thus follow that an individual who (1) has little faith in the success of her actions, and (2) displays a need or desire for the approval of her peers would involve herself in an unpopular activity only if she highly valued the goal. Her visibility in the organization would then probably be dictated by how strong her need for social approval was. That is, those with a strong desire for social approval would try to be less visible in an unpopular organization in order to avoid reprisals from their peers. Those with a weaker desire for social approval would perhaps be a bit more visible in that unpopular movement since they would be a little less susceptible to the opinions of others.

(b) When externals do not value feminist issues, they are unlikely to participate in organizations which are unpopular. Thus, it is expected that externals who do not value feminist issues will not commit themselves to participation in this hypothetical feminist organization. (Neither will internals who do not value feminist issues.)

The feminist organization depicted in this study does not exist and was created solely for the purposes of this research. It was necessary to create this fictitious organization in order to elicit your authentic responses. I do have the name and address of the contact person for the local chapter of the National Organization for Women, a national feminist organization, for those of you who may actually be interested in getting involved in the activities of such an organization. Those of you who are interested should approach me at the end of this presentation.

I will again reiterate that your anonymity will be protected. It will first be protected by the fact that all of the questionnaires, with the exception of the activity level commitment survey questionnaire, do not contain your names. The information gained from the activity level commitment survey questionnaire (which does contain your names) will be held strictly confidential and will not be reproduced or used for any other purpose.

Once again, thanks for your time and your participation.

BLACK FEMINISM AND LOCUS OF CONTROL

by

Betty J. Turner Royster

B.S., Kansas State University, 1983

AN ABSTRACT OF A MASTER'S THESIS

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requirements for the degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

Department of Psychology

KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

Manhattan, Kansas

1985

Abstract

Black Feminism and Locus of Control

While several early investigators (Gore and Rotter, 1963; Strickland, 1965) found that an internal locus of control was associated with membership in sociopolitical organizations, others found that such involvement was associated with an external locus of control orientation (Lao, 1970; Silvern and Nakamura, 1971; Thomas, 1970). Further, conflicting evidence has been reported relative to the association between participation in such organizations and a social approval motive. It was hypothesized that these inconsistent findings could be explained by changes in the popularity and political philosophies of these sociopolitical organizations with the passage of time which had a direct bearing upon the I-E orientation of the constituencies which they ultimately attracted. In an attempt to capture a climate somewhat similar to the climate found during the early development of the civil rights movement (before many civil rights organizations became popular and socially acceptable), this study focused on black women's responses to feminist organizations. It was anticipated that an analysis of the participation of black women in the feminist movement would provide fertile ground for a study of this type because, according to feminists and others (Deckard, 1983;

Joseph and Lewis, 1981; Smith, 1983), the feminist movement is somewhat unpopular among black women.

Since the present study was designed as a partial replication of the Gore and Rotter (1963) study, it was anticipated that the responses of the black females presented with the opportunity to commit themselves to a feminist organization would be similar to those found in that early study and others conducted during the early development of the civil rights movement prior to significant gains in movement popularity. The specific behaviors under study were differential levels of commitment to an unpopular sociopolitical (feminist) organization, as a function of individual need value, generalized locus of control expectancies, and social approval motive.

A three factor analysis of variance was employed in which the independent variables examined were feminist need value, social approval motive, and internal-external control expectancies (I-E). The dependent variable was the level of participation to which subjects would commit themselves to a feminist organization (feminist activity commitment level). Pearson correlation and hierarchical multiple regression analyses were also employed.

It was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between the level of participation in a feminist organization to which subjects committed themselves and the strength of their feminist need value. The Pearson correlation provided confirmation of this hypothesis.

It was also hypothesized that there would be a main effect of need value and a two-way interaction of I-E and social approval motive (it was expected that externals who measured high in social approval motive would commit to lower levels of feminist participation than externals who measured low in social approval motive, while social approval motive would show no systematic effect upon the behavior of internals.

The analysis of variance resulted in the failure to confirm these hypotheses. The hierarchical multiple regression revealed that the mild predictive capacity of the feminist need value variable was not enhanced by the inclusion of either I-E and/or social approval motive into the equation.

A number of possible causes for the failure to confirm the experimental hypotheses were discussed: (1) a possible decline in the popular appeal and efficacy of mass political movements, accompanied by changes in generalized and specific expectancies, (2) a possible failure to convince the subjects of the credibility of the experimental scenario, and (3) possible competition from other powerful reinforcers which were not scrutinized in this study. Future research refinements were suggested to deal with the aforementioned problem factors.