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STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS
AND
INDIVIDUAL EFFECTS
OF
PROTEST BEHAVIOR

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ABSTRACT

STRUCTURAL DETERMINANTS AND INDIVIDUAL EFFECTS OF PROTEST BEHAVIOR

By

Peter C. Bishop, S.J.

The late Sixties saw an increase in protest behavior by many groups along with an increase in the number of social scientists attempting to explain this behavior. All types of individual characteristics and structural effects have been employed in these attempts. Though not in any way resolving the discussion surrounding student-initiated collective behavior, this research took advantage of a unique opportunity to further the understanding in this field.

On the evening of November 14, 1969, ten buses pulled away from the campus of Michigan State University on their way to the National Moratorium in Washington, D.C. The students aboard these buses filled out questionnaires designed to investigate their motivations, attitudes, and expectations as they approached this protest activity. Another questionnaire was administered on the return trip to test the effects of the demonstration on the previous variables.

A key variable, entitled "structural blaming," was

used to indicate the politicization of the participant.

It was found that a person's friends had the greatest effect on this attitude before the demonstration.

Increases in this variable, however, were mainly attributed to social isolates who became disillusioned with the vast amount of violence-prone publicity put out by the government before the Moratorium. Structural blaming also had a significant effect on an individual's anticipations of violence and on his desire to participate in future protests.

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AND
INDIVIDUAL EFFECTS
OF
PROTEST BEHAVIOR

By

Peter Craig Bishop, S.J.

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--To those citizens of this country who have overcome
their fears and frustrations in their efforts
to improve it.

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When such a task nears completion, the memory of all those who have helped along the way grows dim. Fellow graduate students in sociology provided the initial impetus and structure to undertake this project while many others, to whom I am deeply indebted, gave the needed encouragement to sustain the effort. The Society of Jesus and the Department of Sociology provided the latitude for me to pursue my education in my own way and my own time. And finally, Dr. Vincent Salvo directed that freedom and supported that initial direction to bring this work to a suitable conclusion. I merely hope that someday I may repay these helpers by helping someone else in his development.

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INTRODUCTION

A time-worn axiom states that attention is drawn to movement and things that move. With the increased quantity of information and education in the sciences, men have been setting their sights on anything that moves and flocking to find out where, when, how, and why. The social sciences are no exception to this phenomenon since they are particularly concerned with such large scale movements as the industrial revolution, modernization, and urbanization. Even on a less grand scale, voting, public opinion, small group dynamics, and individual behavior of all types have generated questions for extensive study.

The stirrings of minority groups, students, Blacks, women, and Chicanos, during the Sixties in contrast to the dormant atmosphere of the Fifties has gathered its own entourage of scientists busily observing, recording, analyzing, and explaining origins and consequences. Revolutions and social movements, however, are not new and modern explanations follow well-worn paths previously trod by observers of society. In addition, each theory tends to reach the same fork in the road of explanation and choose one or the other route as "having perhaps the better claim."

The dilemma that faces the social scientist is the primacy of the social structure or the individual, though no more power is derived from either mode of explanation. The scientist can view the individual through the social structure and explain how his actions are determined by the normative constraints which are functional to that structure. His colleague, on the other hand, can explain equally well how man molds his social atmosphere to maximize his advantage. In the first case, the individual's effect is near zero, and social processes move forward given any combination of unique individual characteristics. Conversely, the structure can be taken as relative and adaptable to individual needs, values, and goals. The easy way out for the researcher is to hold one or the other constant in a given analysis. This strategy, however, tends to lead to less useful conclusions since our objective is to explain a system in which all aspects are varying simultaneously.

THE PROBLEM

Such difficulties in analyzing social behavior become critical when the researcher studies collective behavior. Though most social scientists have gone far beyond the caricature of collective behavior as essentially without form or meaning, relatively low levels of social organization continue to be the major definitional element of these phenomena (Turner, 1964). In contrast to the study of bureaucracies, in which the formal organization largely determines individual behavior, a social movement is organized at a lower level to the extent that the independent actions of individuals and forces unique to that movement take on more importance and tend to obscure a general analysis.

The Washington D.C. Mobilization on November 15, 1969 was a unique event in many ways. It was touted as the culmination, or at least the highest point to date, of the expanding peace movement in the United States. Never before had this country been at war for so long; never before had students ever considered a national movement; never before had such a group congregated in the nation's capitol to protest. The events leading up to this demonstration also seemed unique in the history of social

movements.

In the summer of 1969, a group called the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam was organized in Washington to bring the peace movement together under one roof. The New Mobe was designed as a broad coalition of every peace group in the country, regardless of political ideology. Membership in this organization consisted simply in a desire to end the war through unified national action.

The New Mobe leaders planned to organize protests every 15th of the month throughout the school year 1969-70 to stress the nation-wide support for peace. On October 15th, the date for the first planned demonstrations, many universities and colleges held local rallies and marches. Michigan State University sponsored the Lansing demonstration in which three to four thousand people marched to the capitol building. Parlaying on that success, the New Mobe then planned a national protest in Washington D.C. on November 15 to include all those who had participated locally the month before and others whose interest had been aroused by the October action.

When this researcher and nine other graduate students in the Sociology Department heard that the M.S.U. Student Mobilization Committee was chartering buses to transport students to this event, we saw an opportunity to question students on their way to and from a demonstration, an extremely difficult proposition under normal conditions.

Though the social situation for such a questionnaire was not ideal, we considered that any data generated in such a unique situation would be worth the effort.

The questionnaire which will constitute the substance of this study (Appendix) was constructed by George Walton and Richard Omark. Its purpose was, first of all, to provide demographic information on the students attending the demonstration from Michigan State along with their previous political activity, their reasons for going, and their general political orientation. Secondly, we felt that the study of movement participation could profit from data of this type. Movements grow and decay; participants come and go; leaderships rotate and public interest shifts. The identification of the variables of participation could lead to an understanding of these movements within movements.

We also intended to investigate the effects of pre-demonstration publicity upon the demonstrators themselves. The last week, in particular, saw publicity focused on the possibilities of violence involving such a large number of people. We wished to gauge the effects of these warnings upon the people who decided to participate in spite of or, perhaps, because of them. In other words, what were the participants' expectations the night before the event and how had these expectations affected their decision to participate?

In gathering the information for the second questionnaire, we attempted to measure the effects of individual

motivation and expectation as a result of the 36-hour event. Did such a demonstration strengthen the commitment of the participants? Or, on the other hand, could the indifference of the administration to such a large gathering disillusion the movement's membership? Were the participant's expectations fulfilled by the reality he encountered? Would the complex effect of differential expectation and perception lead to a wide range of future expectations and a different motivation to participate in the next movement sponsored event?

Though the design of this research left something to be desired, nevertheless certain conclusions and answers to these fundamental questions did emerge that may lead to a bit more knowledge about this area. Before outlining the conclusions, though, various attempts to explain the motivations and effects of participation in social movements might be in order.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Unfortunately, this small research cannot hope to resolve the structural-psychological dichotomy presented in the introduction. With an awareness of that problem, however, we should be able to deal with the specific interactions between the individual and the structures around him. We shall, therefore, begin with the individual participant and the student movement as given and attempt to describe how they affected each other during the weeks of November, 1969.

Individual Explanations

The individual-psychological theory of participants deals almost exclusively with individual variables as determinants of behavior. Lasswell (1930), Lipset (1959), and others (Brinton, 1938) have attempted to find psychological consistencies among participants in social movements and thus describe a so-called revolutionary type, the components of a psychological make-up prone to protest. The application of Adorno's F-scale (Rokeach, 1960) to left-wing radicals is likewise an instance of such psychological determination. The need for all-inclusive answers and the incapacity to tolerate ambiguity is posited as the determinant of behavior aimed at building a world consistent

with the individual's preconceptions. More recently, Dollard (1957) hypothesized a critical level of frustration which must be relieved by some type of acting-out behavior, usually aggression.

In sum, these approaches claim to explain protest behavior in terms of its latent functions. Yet they fail to differentiate the types of behavior manifested, different legitimate targets that movements attack, and the tactics they use. In concentrating solely on the reduction of dissonance or frustration, they ignore the manifest functions of protest and, hence, seem to posit a non-rational base for such social behavior.

Many theories of participation, however, account for manifest functions in explaining the reasons for an individual's participation. A paradigm for deviant behavior, developed by Merton (1957:125) and later elaborated by Waisanen (1963), deals explicitly with the goals of an action and the means the individual chooses to effect those goals. The original leaders of the peace movement would have been classified as innovators by Merton since they attempted to implement the expressed goals of the system through extraordinary means. (Cf. Students for a Democratic Society, "Port Huron Statement.") From that point on, groups of participants split off into rebellion by advocating complete societal and institutional restructuring or into a type of ritualism, going through the motions of protest with little hope of successful outcome.

Another group of theorists attempt to explain individual participation by employing a disjunction or strain model. For instance, Smelser's (1963) value-added hypothesis contends that the four elements of the social system (values, norms, forms of organization, and situational factors) must be consistent with the individual variables of commitment (to the values), conformity (to the norms), responsibility (in fulfilling an organizational role), and confidence (in the mastery of situational factors). Should the individual experience a strain on any one of these levels, Smelser predicts behavior designed to reduce the strain, in many cases through collective behavior or a social movement. The complexity of this theory, however, militates against its practical application as a suitable predictor.

Another type of disjunction, that between expectations and fact, forms the core of a number of theories dealing with participation in social movements. Davies (1962) first utilized such a conception in claiming to predict revolution when rising expectations were met with economic or social reversal. On a more individual level, Ted Robert Gurr (1970) has developed the concept of relative deprivation to describe the reaction to a blockage on a dimension of achievement where advancement is legitimately expected. Gurr's thesis attempts to answer the problem that those who attempt a re-arrangement of structural conditions are not the most deprived, but rather those just beginning an expected

career of upward mobility. Blockage on such a career then leads to protest behavior designed to remove the blockage.

Lenski's (1954) thesis of status inconsistency also speaks of strain on a status dimension, but he observes an individual succeeding on an achievement dimension while being clocked on an ascriptive one which produces differential role expectations and reward structures. Inconsistency then motivates him to reduce such strain, though his target would be cultural norms rather than structural arrangements since the latter have allowed sufficient achievement while the former perpetuate low status ascription.

Kenniston (1968) and Flacks (1967) are two disjunction theorists who deal specifically with the student movement. Kenniston's analysis of Vietnam Summer in 1967 produces the evidence that the leaders of the incipient peace movement had strong ties with their families through the value system they acquired at home. His point is that the rebellion from familial values predicted by those concerned with the latent functions of participation, in fact, not the case. On the contrary, Kenniston argues that student activists are trying to implement familial values in a broader structural context. Flacks also speaks of student idealism faced with the disillusioning realities of the educational and occupational orders. Having been brought up in professionally oriented and particularistic environments, the increasing rationalization of education, for instance, produces a strain

which some attempt to resolve through action.

The theorists, then, who propose a rational explanation for activism have attempted to adopt a set of hypotheses that deal with the interaction of the individual and his situation. Though many begin with psychological or cultural factors as pre-conditions, all include some structural characteristic of the society as a precipitant or determinant of the individual's attitudes, values, and motivations. Only through such interaction can a true picture of the social reality be drawn.

Organizational Explanations

Thus far we have been dealing with theorists who focused on individual behavior. A social movement, however, has a definite organizational component, no matter how minimal, which also affects individual participation. In fact, social movements are generally credited with maturing into full-grown formal organizations such as the National Farmer's Organization, the AFL-CIO, or the NAACP (Blumer, 1946; Morrison, 1971). Therefore, increasing organization seems to be a necessary criterion for the movement's survival.

Some theorists will discount any organizational base for social movements, though this approach is becoming rare. Early explanations of collective behavior, for instance, conceived of the interaction and communication among members in a problematic situation as sufficient to

increase the level of motivation for action (Turner, 1964). This conception was developed from early literature on crowd behavior in which it was hypothesized that the social situation increased a participant's suggestibility (Le Bon, 1913; cf. Couch, 1968).

Even granting an organizational base, many theorists will still adopt a non-rational model for its operations and effects. Fishman and Solomon (1964) speak of the organization as providing a value base for the individual distinct from that of his family. Besides being in direct contradiction to Kemniston's findings, such a latent function analysis ignores the intended effect of social movements, that of structural re-arrangement. Arguing from a mass society concept of the social structure, Gusfield (1962) finds that the social movements are comprised of individuals insulated from the mass institutions of the society. Membership, then, functions as a means of reducing such isolation and consequent alienation from society.

Both of these theories may apply to participation-oriented movements as described by Killian (1964) but hardly to predominately power-oriented ones. A social movement that seeks structural re-arrangement must, of necessity, be in search of power to accomplish its ends. Although a latent desire to reduce alienation may be an explanation for some individual behavior, it would hardly be sufficient to sustain the objectives of the movement.

Most theorists dealing specifically with power movements will characterize the organizational role as an amplification or facilitation of the members' grievances. For example, Pinard (1968) supports such a mobilizing effect since the organization provides broader vision and support for the member through increased communication and interaction with others in the same situation.

The common difficulty of all such theories, however, is the inactive role of the organization. Whether oriented to participation or power, the movement merely collects the individual problems under one roof in an additive fashion without providing any new element to the situation. The basis for focusing on the social organization of a collectivity, however, is precisely that the whole is more than the sum of its parts and that the whole can produce effects that none of the parts is capable of in an unorganized fashion. None of these theorists speaks of an active organization, established by individuals, yet assuming an independence that supersedes the actions of its members. Hopefully, the approach used in this research will circumvent these and other problems with existent theories of protest behavior.

THEORY

A power-oriented social movement is that type of collective behavior which consists of a group of individuals organized to restrict or promote structural change. In order to supplement the few theories taking a rational structural approach to social movements, we shall concentrate on the active role of the organization in the recruitment and eventual participation of demonstrators. The main thrust of this paper will be, then, that the social organization of a power-oriented movement communicates a structural perspective to the individual member and, in turn, provides a vehicle for the member to act upon the structure. The structural analysis advocated by the movement makes structural re-arrangement a possible and intended consequence of the individual's action. Such an approach views the individual and the movement's organization in a complex interactive model in which the movement not only mobilizes original individual discontent, but it may also serve to determine and focus that discontent itself.

In the previous sections, we discussed the disjunction model as a possible source of discontent. The difficulty with such a conception, however, is that its utility is weakened by its generality. In other words, it would be

a truism to say that everyone has difficulties.* The point at issue, that which determines whether an individual will participate in protest or not, is how the individual handles the difficulties he has. Furthermore, his response to problems will be determined by the extent of his knowledge about their source and availability of legitimate means to effect their remedy.

In analysing the problems of homicide and suicide, Henry and Short (1954) developed the concepts of self-blame and structural-blame. In one case, one's difficulties may be thought to originate within oneself. In its extreme form, this analysis leads to the destruction of the self in suicide. More common self-blaming explanations, however, refer to the individual as unworthy or unfit to receive the rewards of the society because of race, sex, age, under-achievement and other individual characteristics. The on-going structure of society will always use such a rationale in blaming either the individual or some outside group for difficulties in order to deflect the blame from itself.

On the other pole, Henry and Short speak of an other-directed blame as the basis for homicide. Taken on a societal level, an individual will fault the structure for

*James Davies related a private conversation he had with the Brazilian Secretary of State before the latest coup d'etat in which the Secretary was complaining that wages had increased so much that he could not afford to maintain two cars any longer.

perpetuating or, at least, not alleviating his difficulties. Such structural blaming is an essential element of a power-oriented social movement since the movement's purpose is expressly the re-arrangement of structural conditions as a remedy to social, political, or economic ills.

An individual, then, must identify the source of his difficulty before he can act to alleviate it, but no individual can decide for himself between these two sources. First of all, the data necessary to achieve structural blaming is much beyond the scope of any one person's power to accumulate. More importantly, early childhood is always a period of self-blaming since the child's parents, the structure he is exposed to during that period, can do no wrong. With the downfall of parental stereotypes and the intrusion of a wider structure in his life, the individual moves to some point on the continuum away from self-blame toward some sort of structural blame. During this critical transfer stage, contact with groups which espouse a high degree of structural blaming can influence the individual's level of structural blame regardless of the absolute value of the difficulty or strain he experiences himself.

For such a conversion to take place, however, some type of reality-testing seems to be called for. An illustration from Becker's (1961) Boys in White offers a cogent example of such a conversion process. Because of initial exposure to different groups, freshman medical students acquired a differential understanding of the norms

of medical school. One group adopted a cynical perspective which resulted in work and study designed to "get by" while others retained an idealistic conception of medical education and training. When the idealistic group nearly washed out of school after the first major examination, all students adopted a mode of behavior that was consistent with the cynical group's interpretation of their situation.

A similar hypothesis is employed by the leaders of many social movements and is best articulated in the "liberation hypothesis" of those in movements who advocate violent action. Their recruiting tactics include the involvement of as many individuals as possible in violent action with the intention that the experience of oppression and attack will provide evidence for the structural analysis they preach. The impression of the researchers who went to Washington for this study was that, since Washington contained many potential converts to a radical movement, the attack on the Justice Department was planned, in part, to involve them in a confrontation with the police. Chants of "Who are you with, the people or the pigs?" were sung throughout the early parts of the demonstration for the benefit of the bystanders.

Forsaking self-blame for some degree of structural blame, then, involves adopting the perspective and orientation of another group. Although Pinard argues for the mobilizing function of social movements as opposed to the

reference group function, conversion to a social movement seems to illustrate a classic case of a shift in reference groups since the person now accepts new values (the responsibility for difficulties) and norms (the legitimate means to remedy those difficulties) from a different group (Eisenstadt, 1954). If this analysis is accurate, the individual would not merely join the movement with a pre-determined level of experienced strain which the movement would then articulate and facilitate, but rather the movement may itself determine the level of strain and the blame the individual assigns for that strain.

Hypotheses

Consistent with the analysis presented above, we must deal with structural blaming as a characteristic of those involved in a power-oriented social movement. As might be expected, individuals participated in the Washington Mobilization for a variety of reasons--some, in fact, for purely personal reasons with no reference to the peace movement at all. To determine how important structural blame was to those directly involved in the movement, we shall test the following three hypotheses:

An individual with a high degree of structural blaming would tend to...

- 1.1 judge himself on the liberal-radical end of the political continuum (1/12).*

* (1/12) refers to Questionnaire No. 1, Question No. 12.

1.2 give specifically political reasons for participation (1/17).

1.3 have participated in more previous demonstrations (1/13).

Secondly, we shall look at the conversion process itself. The ideal methodology for determining a shift in reference groups would be to determine the reference groups before and after the demonstration and the relative degrees of structural blaming communicated by each.

Certain variables that usually correlate with an individual's reference group are contained in the questionnaire, such as past political participation, type of magazines and newspapers read, and amount of overall media contact. The causal direction of the relationship, however, is indeterminate. Although reference groups usually endorse certain activities and certain sources of information, the converse is also possible: an individual could trust certain sources of information and participate in certain activities independent of any group. Thus, these indicators seem insufficient to establish a definite reference group orientation because there is no necessary relationship between the concept and the behavior.

In lieu of differential group participation, then, we must fall back on the fact that everyone in this study had contact with the peace movement itself. Most of those who were traveling to Washington for political reasons had presumably been in contact with the peace movement before.

For those with primarily personal motivation, however, that weekend could have produced a significant increase in such contact. This latter group, therefore, would constitute potential candidates for conversion. Increased structural blame was used as an indication for this conversion in constructing the following hypothesis:

- 1.4 Those individuals who participated for predominately personal reasons should show more increase in structural blame than those with predominately political motivation.

It should be noted that, were this hypothesis borne out, it would establish only a sufficient connection between reference groups and structural blaming. The necessary connection could only be established by denying the hypothesis that an individual could arrive at a structural explanation for difficulties independent of his reference group. Unfortunately, this questionnaire does not contain the data necessary to test this latter hypothesis.

Finally, in order to study the conversion process more precisely, we shall make use of a quasi-experimental situation that arose on the return trip of one of the buses, referred to here as Bus 10. The students on this bus did not take the follow-up questionnaire until after they had made their first stop. During the rest period, a Black woman was refused service in the restaurant. The owner was quite belligerent; the students reacted; and the owner called the police after a fight broke out. The students in Bus 10 filled out the questionnaire immediately

after leaving the restaurant.

Three hypotheses were constructed to test the effects of this incident as an example of the reality-testing dimension of the conversion process.

An individual, after engaging in confrontation or violence, will...

- 2.1 be more ready to participate next time (2/28).
- 2.2 anticipate more arrests and injuries at the next demonstration (1/33,34; 2/30,31).
- 2.3 tend to rank the police, the instruments of the felt repression, higher on the scale of restricting institutions (1/23; 2/33).

RESULTS

Demographic Information

Certain demographic data were collected about the participants who traveled to Washington by bus along with the attitude questions included in the questionnaire. The distributions of the questions relating to sex, age, marital status, and educational level were compared with the whole University population (Michigan State University, 1969) and all were found to be non-representative ($p < .005$), yet the absolute values of the differences were slight. Generally the sample had a larger proportion of males (60% vs. 58.2%); they were slightly older (20.68 vs. 20.25 yrs.); and there was a small proportion of married students than are found in the whole University (11.8% vs. 17.1%). The distribution of respondents on educational level also showed a significantly lower educational attainment ($\chi^2 = 27.933$, $df = 5$, $p < .005$). This fact is reflected in the finding that over half the student demonstrators (55.6%) were freshmen or sophomores whereas the University as a whole has only 42.4% of its students registered at these levels. All of these differences, however, are subject to the criticism that the bus population may not be representative of all demonstrators since many journeyed to Washington by car that weekend.

The family incomes of the demonstrators assumed a bimodal distribution with the two medians falling in the \$10,000-12,499 and \$20,000 or more categories. Unfortunately, statistics are not available for the whole University, but we can say with certainty that most students would not be considered lower class (16.9% less than \$7500). The response to father's occupation seemed to uphold Kenniston's (1968) and Flacks' (1967) contention that demonstrators usually come from professionally oriented homes since 36.4% of our sample were found to lie in this category. The next highest group was 22.2% whose father's were white collar workers. Although these groups are probably over-represented in the University, the proportions still seem quite large.

The data on the respondents themselves showed 49.6% considering themselves liberal on the self-estimation scale (1/12), 40.1% with no religious preference (1/24), and only 6.2% having served in the Armed Forces (1/25). Another question which supported the theory that participation arose out of the disjunction between familial and educational value systems was "Would (or do) your parents agree with your decision to go?" (1/31). The results from this question are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Percent of Parents Approving

Yes (1)	yes (2)	? (3)	no (4)	NO (5)
20.4%	25.5%	22.0%	17.5%	14.6%

mean = 2.803, $p=.01$

In view of the theories concerning the latent functions of the protest movement with regard to the generation gap (Fishman, 1964), even this slight agreement seems to be a significant finding.

Tests of Hypotheses

Before listing the results of the various tests of hypotheses, one of the crucial measures in this study must be explained. The structural perspective which leads a person to blame the institutions in the society for his difficulties is central to the theory presented above. In order to measure this degree of structural blaming for each individual, identical questions were asked on the first and second questionnaires: "Which of the following place the greatest restrictions on people's lives?" (1/23; 2/33). Following this question was a list of nine institutions (family, police, church, federal government, schools, employers, defense industry, one's friends, and military obligations) which the respondent was asked to rank from most to least restrictive. These responses were then factor analyzed on one dimension to determine any pattern among these institutions. Table 2 shows the factor loadings of these nine items for both questionnaires respectively.

The positive loadings on this dimension indicated micro-institutions which directly affected the individual while the national institutions loaded negatively. Each individual's rank for the macro-structural institutions

Table 2: Factor Loadings for Restricting Institutions

Institution	Questionnaire #1	Questionnaire #2
Family	.6452	.6398
Friends	.6373	.6168
Schools	.3872	.4178
Church	.2394	.3622
Employers	.2410	.0652
Police	-.4909	-.6033
Military Obligation	-.6556	-.6244
Federal Government	-.7672	-.8436
Defense Industry	-.7936	-.7290

was then summed. The resulting sum was used as an index of structural blaming with a low positive score indicating a structural perspective since the smaller numerical scores (1, 2, 3, etc.), scores of most restriction, would have led to a low overall score. Likewise, should an individual consider the structural elements of the society least restrictive, he would have received a high positive score.

The advisability of factor analyzing rank data are definitely open to question. For instance, when all institutions are ranked, only eight degrees of freedom remain since the last is determined by the previous choices. The advantage, however, is being able to characterize each institution with respect to one dimension, i.e. structural blame. The factor scores may be viewed as the projection of individual vectors on a one-dimensional coordinate system. Those that loaded on the negative end of this dimension were taken as the most important for this research.

Table 3: Structural Blaming Index

	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Questionnaire #1	10	30	17.3	5.90
Questionnaire #2	10	30	17.5	6.12
Change in S.B.	-14	17	0.38	2.87

The positive shift for the change in structural blaming ($p < .1$) is difficult to explain since it would contradict the hypothesis that the demonstration should lead to a greater degree of structural blaming. Though the opposite proved to be the case, we shall see that one group experienced the expected effect.

The first three hypotheses stated were constructed to study the correlates of structural blaming. They were as follows:

An individual with a high degree of structural blaming would tend to...

- 1.1 judge himself on the liberal-radical end of the political continuum (1/12).
- 1.2 give specifically political reasons for participation (1/17).
- 1.3 have participated in more previous demonstrations (1/13).

Table 4: Correlation Matrix for Hypotheses 1.1, 1.2, 1.3.

Self-Est.	-			
Reasons	.107	-		
Past Part.	.217	.072	-	
Struc. Bl.	.111	.015	.052	-
	Self-Est.	Reasons	Past Part.	Struc. Bl.

The first part of these hypotheses proved to bear out the connection between structural blaming and political orientation, though the correlation was weak ($p < .1$). The other two hypotheses, however, failed to prove significant. With regard to Hypothesis 1.2, the reasons for participation was asked as an open-ended question and was coded as follows:

Table 5: Coding for Question 1/17

Category	Examples
1. Specifically Personal	"To get out of East Lansing"
	"To see Washington"
2. Personal-Moral	"To fulfill my obligation as a citizen"
3. Events Impinging on one's life	"My son is in Vietnam"
4. Generally Political	"To stop war"
	"To put an end to killing"
5. Specifically Political	"To force the Nixon Administration to leave Vietnam now"
	"To communicate to the people of the country how bad the war is"
6. Radical	"To fight pigs"

Because of the quantity of data, the responses were coded by a team of six raters with little assurance of reliability. Thus on this analysis and other analyses where personal motivation should have been important, the reasons for participation failed to show significance. I would suspect that this question was poorly worded and coded.

Those showing a high degree of structural blaming should also have participated in many previous demonstrations,

but the correlation failed to show this relation. The correlation of the attitudes and behaviors of an individual oftentimes shows less than ideal consistency (Fairweather, 1964). Such may be the case in this relation. The difficulties in obtaining the structural blaming index, however, might also have reduced what may have been a sharp agreement.

Hypothesis 1.4 was stated as follows:

- 1.4 Those individuals who participated for predominately personal reasons should show more increase in structural blame than those with predominately political motivation.

The data used to test the differences between these two groups is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Structural Blame for Different Groups

	Mean	Std. Dev.	Unmatched	Signif.
Structural Blame #1				
Group A	16.60	6.24	0.07	-
Group B	16.67	5.54		
Structural Blame #2				
Group A	17.81	6.42	-0.72	-
Group B	16.97	6.14		
Change in Struc. Bl.				
Group A	0.86	3.11	-0.58	-
Group B	0.53	2.83		
Group A = Personally Motivated		Group B = Politically Motivated		

Again the weakness of Question 1/17 (reasons for participation) may be the cause for the lack of a significant difference between the means. The intent of this

hypothesis, however, was to show the reference group mediating the structural conditions which could lead to more structural blame. Other results reported in the next section may partially confirm this notion.

Three hypotheses were constructed to study the effects of the incident on the return trip involving Bus 10.

An individual, after engaging in confrontation or violence will...

2.1 be more ready to participate next time (2/28).

2.2 anticipate more arrests and injuries at the next demonstration (1/33,34; 2/30,31).

2.3 tend to rank the police, the instruments of the felt repression, higher on the scale of restricting institutions (1/23;2/33).

Only Hypothesis 2.2 (anticipation of future violence) showed a significant difference between the means from the first to the second questionnaire on these variables for the two groups.

Table 7: Differential Effects of Confrontation

	Mean Change	T of Mean	Sign. of Mean
Ant. of Arrests			
Group A	-0.272*	-3.65	<.001
Group B	0.333	1.32	<.1
Ant. of Injuries			
Group A	-0.171	-2.13	<.025
Group B	0.560	2.28	<.025
Diff. in Mean			
Arrests	0.605	2.65	<.005
Injuries	0.731	3.04	<.005

A = Control Group
B = Experimental Group

*Negative scores indicate less anticipation

The mean difference for ranking police in the control group was 0.078 and for the experimental group, -0.083, indicating a direction toward perceiving the police as more restrictive, yet this difference did not achieve significance at the .1 level. The intention to participate, however, showed a slight negative tendency, but was judged essentially unchanged by the t-test ($t=0.292$).

Though not included in the hypotheses, the overall structural blaming for the experimental group did rise while the control group experienced the same decrease on that index.

Table 8: Differential Effects of Confrontation

	Mean Change	T of Mean	Sign. of Mean	Unmatched t-stat.	Sign.
Group A	0.597	2.27	.025	2.15	4.02
Group B	-0.417	-0.57	-		

The interpretation of these figures, however, is actually something less than ideal. The experimental group did not have a significant shift in the absolute value of their structural blaming index, but rather they simply do not demonstrate the decrease that the rest of the participants did. Relative to the control group, the confrontation did increase the structural blame through the reality testing process; yet no clear conclusions can be drawn since the results are mixed.

Non-hypothesized Results

One of the purposes for this study was to examine the effects of the pre-demonstration publicity concerning the possibilities of violence that weekend. To this end, we included two questions to determine the sources of information from which the demonstrators formed their expectations. Question 1/22 asked the respondents to rate the importance of television, radio, and friends in providing information about the demonstration. Television and radio were generally rated "somewhat important" while friends seemed significantly closer to "very important." Though we have no way of determining the kind of information that was communicated by these friends, I think it safe to assume that the respondent's friends acted as the reference groups we have been discussing, namely encouraging participation and communicating their perspective as motivation. Had an individual's friends been salient and yet held the opposite position, his participation would have been inconsistent. The importance placed on friends over other forms of communication is our first indication of the centrality of the reference group for this type of behavior.

Everyone did not derive their information from the group, however. Another question (1/20) asked how many stories or news articles about the demonstration had been read the previous week. The negative correlation between

these two sources of information, friends vs. reading materials ($r=-0.118$, $p<.1$), seems to indicate that either one or the other was held to be most important by some. Those who indicated a large amount of newspaper reading also expected more arrests ($r=0.263$, $p<.01$) and more injuries ($r=0.187$, $p<.1$) during the demonstration. Finally, the amount read produced the strongest correlation with the shift toward structural blame ($r=0.161$, $p<.05$). Let us investigate these relationships and attempt to put them into some meaningful context in conjunction with the theory presented above.

The articles from most papers and magazines the week preceding the Mobilization contained accounts of the troop build-up in Washington, the bargaining over the parade route, and the warnings from government officials about the possibility of violence. The reality which the group anticipating violence was confronted with, however, was vastly different. During the peace march and rally, this odd assortment of 300,000 people were decidedly non-violent. Incidents of marchers obeying the marshalls' orders unquestioningly and policemen flashing peace buttons from under lapels were by far the order of the day. Uppermost in everyone's mind was the avoidance of anything that even approximated a confrontation, though the temptation of marching within a few hundred yards of the White House was significant for some. Violence did spring up in

Washington that weekend, as has been mentioned, but the first battle was early the previous evening before the Michigan buses arrived and the attack on the Justice Department after the rally was witnessed by only seven respondents to our survey.

The reality-testing that this experience represented seemed to alter the perspective of many. The newspaper predictions the week before had been the respondent's contact with the political structure of the society. From these accounts, the respondent had been led to anticipate arrests and injuries that weekend. Though showing no relation with any degree of structural blame on the trip down, the individual tended to alter his perspective after this large, peaceful demonstration. Having seen that the actual situation was best predicted by the spokesmen for the movement the week before, the movement and its perspectives in other areas took on more salience.

The relationship between the variables just discussed and Question 2/28 concerning future participation presents an interesting picture of the socialization process (Figure 1). Using an individual's intention for future behavior as an indication of what he will actually do is tenuous at best since many other variables may intervene to change that intention. Likewise, the other relationships indicated were derived from this research, but they are stated as one of many alternative paths found in the

Figure 1: Determinants of Future Participation

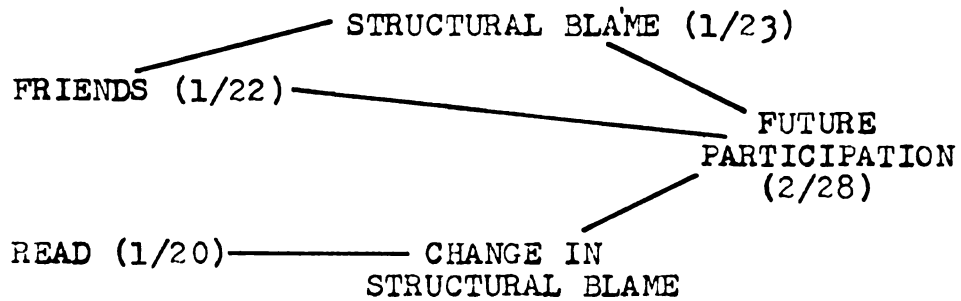


Table 9: Correlation Matrix for Determinants in Figure 1

Structural Blame	0.222	.	-	
Read	-0.118	-0.007	-	
Change in S.B.	-0.003	-	0.161	-
Future Partic.	0.140	0.176	0.076	0.138
	Friends	Struc. Bl.	Read	Change in S.B.

literature that lead to participation. A follow-up study, though impractical in these circumstances, could have led to more rigorous conclusions.

Figure 1 shows that future participation is directly related only to the importance the individual places on his friends' opinions and his degree of structural blaming. Those, however, who relied on what they read about the Mobilization were also indirectly influenced to want to participate again since the reality-testing explained above increased their degree of structural blame. Such results support the working hypothesis of the peace movement that, aside from whatever political effect a demonstration may have, involving as many people as possible in the action increases their chances for recruitment.

The motivation that encouraged those without a political reference group to participate in the first place is difficult to determine. It has been mentioned, however, that those who relied on newspapers for their information did anticipate more arrests and more injuries. Therefore, the fears of the administration were heard through the media that week; yet if their strategy was to dissuade students from participating in the demonstration, they seemed to have failed in that, not only did 300,000 eventually attend, but also their predictions of increased violence made those expecting such behavior more distrustful of the official position and more prone to accept the movement's perspective as valid. In finding themselves more in agreement with

the movement on this item, those without the movement as a reference group became converted to an overall structural perspective and to a significant increase in structural blame.

CONCLUSION

We began this analysis with a brief discussion of the central problem for social science, the individual-structural dichotomy. Restricting our vision in order to explicate something more understandable, we asked specific questions about the roles of individual and organization in the playing out of a specific social event. The thinking about these questions has been accomplished, the data has been analyzed and the conclusions drawn. The result of this whole process? As usual, a mixed bag of hypotheses confirmed and rejected, unanticipated findings emerging, and, most of all, a whole new set of questions to be asked.

Generally, and I trust not over optimistically, many of the lines of development that were hypothesized from the theory surrounding this research were upheld. Structural blaming did prove to be a significant characteristic of those who viewed themselves as part of this social movement. Those who tested this perspective in a confrontation with police held or slightly increased their view that the macro-institutions in our society are restrictive to people's lives. Another group, those who were surprised that the atmosphere and events that took place were not as advertised, also tended to blame the discrepancies on the establishment

sources of information.

As was said, individuals participated in this demonstration for a multitude of reasons. Some anticipated high levels of violence, and wanted to part of this historic occasion. Others felt that their presence would lead to a speedier conclusion to an unwanted war. As in most cases, however, the effects were unanticipated. The system was not repressive nor were the demonstrators belligerent. The peace movement seemed to flow through that weekend as easily as did the hundreds of thousands down Pennsylvania Avenue.

The dire predictions of the administration were in sharp contrast to the peacefulness of the day. Those for whom the predictions were intended and who participated despite them returned with a new cynicism regarding the establishment and a desire to participate again. The core participants, on the other hand, had preached peacefulness; and for them, the day held no surprises. They returned without having learned or developed, and somewhat disappointed that the enemy could not be found on a cold winter day.

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APPENDIX

November 12, 1969

To: Participants in the Washington Peace Moratorium

From: William A. Faunce, Chairman, Department of Sociology,
Michigan State University

Subject: Peace Moratorium Research Project

Research dealing with mass social movements provides important insights regarding the nature of contemporary American society and events like the Peace Moratorium offer a unique opportunity to do research in this area. Under a grant from the James R. Hundley Memorial Research Fund, graduate students in the Department of Sociology are conducting a study of the November 15 Moratorium. They are interested particularly in patterns of student involvement in this social movement.

You are the only persons who have the information needed to conduct this study. Your cooperation is essential for the success of the research project and will be greatly appreciated.

William A. Faunce

William A. Faunce
Chairman

Endorsed by:

Walter Adams

Walter Adams
Acting President

IDENTIFICATION CODE

In order to preserve complete anonymity, we are asking you to construct a personal code from information which cannot be traced.

The procedure for constructing this code is as follows:

1. Write the first two letters of your mother's maiden name: _____ _____ (1)
2. Write the second and third letters of your last name: _____ _____ (2)
3. Write the day of the month of your birth (example: the _____ _____ (3)
 code for January 23 is '23' -- DO NOT write a number
 for the month, only the day):

Your code is then: _____(1)____ / _____(2)____ / _____(3)____

For instance: If your mother's maiden name is Baker, your last name is Phillips, and your birthday is April 1, then your code would be:

 B A / H I / 0 1

Now we ask you to put your code on each page of the questionnaire in the event that they become unattached.

Thank you.

Your code _____ / _____ / _____

MSU MOBILIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Your sex: ☐ male ☐ female
2. Your age at last birthday: _____
3. Marital status: ☐ single ☐ married ☐ separated, divorced, widowed
4. Educational level: ☐ high school (specify class: _____)
☐ freshman ☐ senior
☐ sophomore ☐ M.A.
☐ junior ☐ Ph.D.
☐ Not a student
5. Grade point average, if applicable: _____
6. American citizen: ☐ yes ☐ no
7. What would you say your nationality is? _____
8. Race: _____
9. Your father's usual political preference or tendency:
- ☐ Democrat ☐ other (specify: _____)
☐ Republican ☐ don't know
☐ Independent
10. Your usual political preference (answer even if you haven't voted):
- ☐ Democrat ☐ other (specify: _____)
☐ Republican ☐ don't know
☐ Independent
11. Approximate family income last year (if married, income of you and your spouse; if not married, your father's income):
- ☐ under \$2500 ☐ \$12,500 to \$14,999
☐ \$2500 to \$4999 ☐ \$15,000 to \$17,499
☐ \$5000 to \$7499 ☐ \$17,500 to \$19,999
☐ \$7500 to \$9999 ☐ \$20,000 or more
☐ \$10,000 to \$12,499 ☐ don't know; doesn't apply
12. Regarding political beliefs, do you view yourself as:
- ☐ very conservative ☐ somewhat liberal
☐ somewhat conservative ☐ very liberal
☐ middle-of-the-road ☐ radical

13. Have you attended any sort of protest rally (CHECK ALL ATTENDED):

<u>Issue or Orientation</u>	<u>Number of Times</u>
() Academic Freedom	_____
() Free Speech	_____
() Civil Rights	_____
() Anti-War	_____
() Grape Boycott	_____
() Anti-ROTC	_____
() Other (specify: _____)	_____

14. List the groups (protest organizations) you belong to (include positions held, if any):

a. _____	d. _____
b. _____	e. _____
c. _____	f. _____

15. Have you participated in any protest demonstration which became a violent form of protest? ____ yes ____ no

If yes, please specify Issue involved and nature of violence: _____

16. Have you been arrested or detained by the police for your protest activities?
____ yes ____ no

If yes, specify nature of alleged offense and number of times: _____

17. Briefly state your reasons, in order of importance, for participating in this Mobilization:

a. (most important reason): _____

b. _____

c. _____

18. When did you decide to go to Washington, D.C., for the Mobilization:

____ less than a week ago	____ one month to two months ago
____ one to two weeks ago	____ more than two months ago
____ three weeks to a month ago	

19. What events had the greatest impact in your deciding to go to Washington, D.C., for the Mobilization:

a. _____	c. _____
b. _____	d. _____

27. Father's occupation (be as specific as possible): _____

28. Are you employed during the school year:
a. part time ____ no ____ yes (specify job: _____)
b. full time ____ no ____ yes (specify job: _____)
29. Do your parents know that you will be at the Mobilization?
____ yes ____ no ____ don't know
30. Would your parents agree with the purpose of the march?
____ yes ____ no ____ don't know
31. Would (or do) your parents agree with your decision to go?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
32. Do you feel that your presence at the Mobilization will have an effect on what Nixon will do about the war?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
33. Do you think that there is a likelihood that there will be arrests of people taking part in the Mobilization in Washington on November 15?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
34. Do you think that there will be people injured by the police in Washington during the Mobilization?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
35. Do you feel that the demonstrators at the Mobilization would take action (other than retreat) to defend themselves from attack by the police?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
36. Do you think that there will be counterdemonstrators during the Mobilization?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
37. Do you think that, if there are demonstrators and counterdemonstrators in the same general area, that violence between the two will occur?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
38. If you were struck by counterdemonstrators during the Mobilization, would you strike back?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
39. If you were struck by a policeman would you strike back (assuming this is possible)?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO
40. Do you think that the Marshals employed by the Mobilization will be able to control the activities of the demonstrators?
____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

41. Would you make any effort to control the activities of another marcher if you felt that what he was doing might precipitate a conflict between the police and demonstrators?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

42. If the police or counterdemonstrators resorted to violence do you feel that the demonstrators would be justified in responding in kind?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

43. If the demonstrators resorted to verbal abuse of the police or counter-demonstrators, would they (the police or counterdemonstrators) be justified in responding in kind?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

44. Do you think that verbal abuse and physical violence are equivalent?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

45. If you were verbally abused, would you respond by striking out at the antagonist (physically)?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

46. The Nixon Administration acted to prevent the Mobilization from marching past the White House. Do you think this might increase the amount of confrontation?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

47. Some people say that the effort made by the Nixon Administration to characterize the Mobilization as being 'violent' has dissuaded other people from participating in the Mobilization? Do you think this is true?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

48. Do you think that more people will go to Washington for the Mobilization because of the actions taken by the Administration in attempting to limit the size and objectives of the demonstrators?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

49. If people generally expected violence during the Mobilization in Washington, do you think that people who are only slightly committed to the anti-war movement would not go to the Mobilization.

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

50. Do you think that the Mobilization will be well organized?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

51. Do you think that the police will be well organized?

___ YES ___ yes ___ ? ___ no ___ NO

52. Do you think that the counterdemonstrators will be well organized?

____ YES ____ Yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

53. Do you think that there will be leaders representing the Mobilization who will direct the actions of the demonstrators?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

54. Do you think that you might have to lead some type of demonstrator action (such as prevent police from striking women and children)?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

55. Can you conceive of a situation in which you could lead an 'attack' on the police or counterdemonstrators?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

56. Do you think that you will be well enough aware of the situation at the Mobilization to make a judgment of the proper course of action to take?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

57. Would you trust the judgment of someone who called himself (or acted like) a leader if you might get clubbed or arrested in the process of following his orders?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

FROM: Department of Sociology
Michigan State University

TO: Participants in the Washington Moratorium, November 15, 1969

RE: Supplementary questionnaire to be filled out on the return trip

This questionnaire is the completion of the interview which began on the bus trip to Washington. We want to record your impressions of what happened in Washington while they are still new and vivid in your mind.

Again, to insure anonymity, do not put your name on this questionnaire. Instead, on each page, write the same identification code you used on the first questionnaire. The instructions for that code are again given on the next page. Do not discuss the questions with others until all questionnaires have been returned to the person who distributed them.

Please accept, once more, our most sincere gratitude for your assistance in this research project.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "William A. Faunce".

William A. Faunce, Chairman
Department of Sociology

IDENTIFICATION CODE

In order to preserve complete anonymity, we are asking you to construct a personal code from information which cannot be traced.

The procedure for constructing this code is as follows:

1. Write the first two letters of your mother's maiden name: _____ (1)
2. Write the second and third letters of your last name: _____ (2)
3. Write the day of the month of your birth (example: the code for January 23 is "23" -- DO NOT write a number for the month, only the day): _____ (3)

Your code is then: _____ (1) / _____ (2) / _____ (3)

For instance: If your mother's maiden name is Baker, your last name is Phillips, and your birthday is April 1, then your code would be:

B A / H I / 0 1

Now we ask you to put your code on each page of the questionnaire in the event that they become unattached.

Thank you.

Your code ____ / ____ / ____

MSU MOBILIZATION QUESTIONNAIRE #2

1. How many arrests do you believe occurred of people taking part in the Mobilization in Washington, D.C., on November 15? (CHECK ONE BLANK)

(very many) ____ (some) ____ (none) ____

2. How many people do you believe were injured by the police during the Mobilization in Washington? (CHECK ONE BLANK)

(very many) ____ (some) ____ (none) ____

3. Did the demonstrators at the Mobilization take action (other than retreat) to defend themselves from attack by the police?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

4. Did you take action (other than retreat) to defend yourself from police attack?

____ yes, strong action ____ yes, moderate action ____ uncertain
____ no ____ does not apply

5. Did you see any counterdemonstrators during the Mobilization?

____ yes, many ____ yes, a few ____ uncertain ____ no

6. If counterdemonstrators were present, did they engage in violence?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

7. Did you engage in any violent confrontations with counterdemonstrators?

____ yes, many times ____ yes, sometimes ____ uncertain ____ no

8. Do you think that the Marshals employed by the Mobilization were able to control the activities of the demonstrators?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

9. Did you participate in a counter-attack on counterdemonstrators? ____ yes ____ no

10. Did you see a counter-attack on the police? ____ yes ____ no

11. Did you make any effort to control the activities of another demonstrator(s) who might have precipitated a conflict between the police (or counterdemonstrators) and the demonstrators? ____ yes ____ no

12. Did you participate in a counter-attack on police? ____ yes ____ no

13. Did you see the demonstrators make a counter-attack on the counterdemonstrators?

____ yes ____ no

14. Do you think that verbal abuse and physical violence are equivalent?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

15. Were you at any time verbally abused?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

16. If you were verbally abused, did you respond by striking out at the antagonist (physically)?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

17. The Nixon Administration acted to prevent the Mobilization from marching past the White House. Do you think that this increased the amount of confrontation?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

18. Some people say that the effort made by the Nixon Administration to characterize the Mobilization as being 'violent' did dissuade other people from participating in the Mobilization. Do you think this is true?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

19. Do you think that the Mobilization was well organized?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

20. Do you think that the police were well organized?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

21. Do you think that the counterdemonstrators were well organized?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

22. Did you see leaders present representing the Mobilization who did direct the actions of the demonstrators?

____ yes, many times ____ yes, few times ____ uncertain ____ no

23. Did you at any time become a leader for some type of action?

____ yes, many times ____ yes, few times ____ uncertain ____ no

24. If you did act as a leader at any time, please specify the type of action:

25. Were you well enough aware of the situation around you at the demonstration to make a judgment about the proper course of action to be taken?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

If not, please describe: _____

26. Were you well enough prepared for the types of situations you were confronted with

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

If not, please describe: _____

27. Did you suffer any injuries during the mobilization? ____ yes ____ no

If yes, specify injury and circumstances:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

28. Will you participate in activities (such as the Mobilization) scheduled for December?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

29. Do you think that this Mobilization was successful?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

Specify why: _____

30. Do you think that there will be arrests at the next major anti-war demonstration if it is held in Washington, D.C.?

____ yes, many ____ yes, few ____ uncertain ____ no

31. Do you think that there will be people injured by the police at the next major anti-war demonstration if it is held in Washington, D.C.?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

32. Do you think that violence will be the result of the next major anti-war demonstration if it is held in Washington, D.C.?

____ YES ____ yes ____ ? ____ no ____ NO

33. Which of the following places the greatest restriction on people's lives (Place a "1" to indicate greatest restriction, a "2" with the next greatest restriction, and so on through "9" indicating the least restriction):

☐ family	☐ Federal government	☐ defense industry
☐ police	☐ schools	☐ one's friends
☐ church	☐ employers	☐ military obligation

34. Is your country as important, more important, or less important than you are?

☐ less than me ☐ equal to me ☐ more than me

35. Do you usually try to keep your political beliefs to yourself?

☐ YES ☐ yes ☐ ? ☐ no ☐ NO

36. Do you feel that your presence at the Mobilization will have an effect on what Nixon will do about the war?

☐ YES ☐ yes ☐ ? ☐ no ☐ NO

37. List ten or more things you did in Washington, D.C., this weekend -- things that you regard as particularly relevant and important to the issue of peace.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____
8. _____
9. _____
10. _____

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