

AN ATTITUDINAL STUDY
"
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
CONCERNING THE
ALLEGED BASES OF CAMPUS DISSENT

by
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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF DISSENT

There is nothing more difficult to take in hand, more perilous to conduct, or more uncertain of success than to take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things. -- Nicolo Machiavelli¹

Introduction

Addressing the State College Trustees on November 30, 1967, Glenn S. Dumke, Chancellor of the California State Colleges, opened his remarks with the following statement:

Recently there have occurred, on certain State College campuses, episodes of inexcusable violence and lawlessness. These episodes are not unique to us; in fact, considering the size of our educational operation, they have been relatively few. We have been spared much of the agitation that has afflicted the worldwide community. For this phenomenon is truly worldwide. From Berkeley to the newly built corridors of the Free University of West Berlin to the City College of New York to the state university in Wilberforce, Ohio, and now to some of our campuses, this agitation, this challenge to law and order, has spread.²

From Gracchus to Jesus Christ, from Martin Luther to George Washington, dissenters have made names for themselves and for their causes. The specific mode of protest popularly branded as "campus dissent" is, in itself and in historical perspective, not a new phenomenon in the society of the United States; rather, it is the

¹Nicolo Machiavelli. The Prince. Appleton Century-Crofts, Inc., New York, 1963, p.

²Glenn S. Dumke. "Social Dissent," Vital Speeches, 34 (June, 1968) 526.

form which the current student dissent has assumed in the context of American society which is unique. Various strata in the contemporary American social structure which have been shaken roughly by campus dissenters have retreated into an either covert or muted hostility toward these activists, virtually writing their noisy protests off as a "strange mélange concocted by youthful middle-class enragés."³ In ever-increasing numbers, however, individuals and groups, both formally and informally, are beginning to acknowledge that the "Movement"-- i.e. the new radical student movement-- is not a passing disturbance to be ignored or stamped out with force. Speaking before a meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers, Margaret Mead, anthropologist, and J. Irwin Miller, former president of the World Council of Churches, expressed the issue in these terms: "What is the first thing to be done with America's disenchanting and rebellious student leaders? It is to listen to them-- earnestly, thoughtfully, and not defensively."⁴ And such will be the nature of this project-- i.e. an attempt to listen, observe, and to comprehend through a comparison of the attitudes of campus dissenters with those of a sample of the general student body at the University of Kansas.

Historical Perspective on the New Left

A recent development in the United States, the form of protest known as the New Left is not an organization, but rather a scattered, unsynchronized cluster of American students and sympathizers who, unlike their predecessors, the "Old (Marxist) Left," emphatically reject a monadic,

³Will Herberg. "Alienation, 'Dissent,' and the Intellectual," National Review, 20 (July, 1968) 738.

⁴The Kansas City Star. December 10, 1968, p. 29.

doctrinaire view of history, social change, and tactics. As noted in a Newsweek essay, July 10, 1967, they are "rebels with not one cause, but at least a score."⁵ To the New Student Left, such terms as "ideology" carry innuendos of dogmatism, doctrinaire rigidity, lack of responsiveness, and the misuse of intellect; hence, the Movement is fundamentally and consciously non-ideological. Although the New Student Left believes that social justice is vital, it cannot accept the tenet of social justice at the expense of the individual. Rather, in its efforts to support and maximize individual spontaneity and self-expression, the New Student Left regards social justice not as an "abstract entity elevated above mankind," but as an indispensable means of helping the individual.⁶ Kenneth Kenniston views this deliberate avoidance of ideological goals as an emphasis on "process" rather than "program," and states that because the New Student Left turns its back on a doctrinaire interpretation of society and inflexible definitions of the ideal, it is essentially different from the earlier radicalism of the Old Left. Furthermore, the New Student Left loudly condemns the traditional "liberal" approaches to political action. Traditional liberalism, in the estimate of these students, has failed both in the area of foreign policy and, more importantly, in providing the poor and disadvantaged segments of U. S. society with dignity and power.⁷ According to Seymour L. Halleck, a

⁵"Dissenters: Rebels with Many Causes." Newsweek, 70 (July 10, 1967), p. 30.

⁶Gus diZerega. "Focus: the New Radicalism," The University Review, 1 (November, 1968) 2.

⁷Kenneth Kenniston. Young Radicals. Harcourt, Brace, and World, New York, 1968, p. 181, 16.

University of Wisconsin psychiatrist, the New Left students "believe that a system of life has developed in our country which simply absorbs legal efforts to change our society, in a manner which ultimately preserves the status quo."⁸

It is difficult to pinpoint precisely the launching of the New Student Left Movement. During the latter years of the 1950 decade, the "Beat" youth emerged (or rather withdrew) from U. S. society as a type. According to Paul Goodman, although "the withdrawal into voluntary poverty, the community of the Illuminati, kicks On the Road, and finger-painting," did not provide much of a world, there were social issues which Beat youth did take for real, "especially banning the Bomb, thwarting the Fuzz, and supporting Negroes because they were friends and equally out-caste."⁹ Nevertheless, these social dropouts of the 1950's have come to be labeled as the "silent generation": rather than protest actively, Beat youth resorted to silent withdrawal from society. A major reason cited by Kenniston for the youthful silence of the 1950's is the prevailing climate of that decade-- an atmosphere which convinced these young people that protest activities could "rarely" have any meaning or usefulness.¹⁰

In contrast, the students comprising the New Left cannot be thought of as similarly "alienated" in terms of having withdrawn from society; instead, says Goodman, they are "in Marxist or psychiatric

⁸James W. Brann. "Student Activism Called Warning on Unplanned Technology Growth," The Chronicle (March 29, 1968) 10.

⁹Paul Goodman. "Berkeley in February," Journal of Dissent, XII (Spring, 1965) 171.

¹⁰Kenniston. op. cit., p. 314.

terms. . . less alienated than most other people."¹¹ In further description of the New Left students, Goodman states:

. . . Historically, it is better to consider these university-centered politically active communities in terms of a 'withdrawal' from the absurd System and its problems, and a return on more authentic premises.

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Inevitably, in this return to involvement, there was joining with proper political. But the event has been not that the young exiles have been politicalized but that politics have been 'existentialized' and brought into the community, even containing the dreadful sex and hasheesh. And this is . . . because the thoughts and feelings of the young have been more relevant to the underlying realities of modern times, the drive to rationalization, the abuse of high technology, and the hardware Gross National Product, statism and the Bomb. These abuses occur in every modern country and ideology, whether U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China, or even the emergent African states; and Great Society, Neo-Marxism, and even moral Pacifism do not fundamentally address them.¹²

The majority of commentators designate the summer civil rights marches in the South during the early 1960's as the breeding ground of the current Student Left Movement. Coupled with the civil rights issues were the expanding U. S. military commitments to South Vietnam-- commitments which not only morally enraged but physically abducted many students. Stimulated by these two larger emotional issues, some concerned students (most prominently, at first, students at the more selective, "progressive" U. S. colleges and universities, such as the University of California at Berkeley) became militant protesters and began to generate demands for more definite freedom and power of decision on the campuses.

¹¹Goodman. op. cit., p. 171.

¹²Ibid., pp. 171-172.

Looking back on his early protest days, one student activist at Berkeley remarked: "Interest in Civil Rights was simply a part of one's commitment, and it was exactly equivalent to the problem of making a classroom for real."¹³

Describing the development of the New Student Left, Nathan Glazer observes that not only did the Civil Rights Movement introduce the new techniques of civil disobedience (e.g. sit-ins, shop-ins, sleep-ins, and so on) and develop a large body of students committed to these tactics, but it helped create a "substantial body of public opinion sympathetic to them."¹⁴ In commenting specifically upon student protest activities which began in 1960 on the Berkeley campus, Glazer states: "Berkeley was ideally suited to serve the expansion of the radical civil rights movement in the North. It had never been affected to the extent other colleges were by the mood of the 'silent generation' of the 50's."¹⁵ Goodman expresses a view similar to that of Glazer as he says, quite simply: ". . . Leaders who had taken their risks in Mississippi were not afraid to sit in against Clark Kerr."¹⁶

On October 2, 1964, the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley organized itself officially, the immediate issue being a dispute between student dissenters and the Administration over the recent University banning of advocacy, collection, and organization (in regard

¹³Ibid., p. 171.

¹⁴Nathan Glazer. "What Happened at Berkeley," Commentary, 39 (February, 1965) 41.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Goodman. op. cit., p. 170.

to student political activities) on a certain strip of University-owned land, formerly open to said pursuits. Following a Berkeley Faculty Senate decision in favor of the Free Speech Movement demands, participating students began almost immediately to reorganize their protest efforts in a movement for a Free University, the constitution of which included provisions for closer personal contact between students and professors and a greater degree of student self-rule in social, administrative, and curricular matters.

Student protest activity (similar to the disturbances which rocked Berkeley as early as 1960) has since spread sporadically and in varying degrees of disruption across the United States. Rejecting the doctrinaire intellectual radicalism of the past, those who generate this activism are, according to Kenniston, faced with the problem of trying to formulate a "new interpretation of American reality, a new set of social and political programs, and a new vision of the desirable future"-- all while they are immersed in full-time Movement work.¹⁷ So stand the committed youth of the New Student Left.

Identification and Description of Dissenters

Protesting new University restrictions on their freedom of speech, more than 1,000 students occupied Sproul Hall on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley on December 2, 1964. In May of 1966, 500 student activists at the University of Chicago sat-in at the main administration building on campus, demanding that the University stop releasing class rankings to the Selective Service. In October, 1967,

¹⁷Kenniston. op. cit., p. 177.

students at Harvard held prisoner a recruiter from Dow Chemical, denouncing both a company which makes napalm and a university which allows that company to recruit employees on its campus. Spearheaded by a small group of New Leftists, Columbia University students in April, 1968, seized five buildings on the campus, in protest of the war in Vietnam and racial injustice in the United States. In the closing months of 1968, dissident students disrupted the operation of San Francisco State College to the point of forcing the President to resign and prompting Governor Reagan to call in the state police.

For many of these youth, the 1963 March on Washington and the gradual triumphs of the Civil Rights Movement are memorable events in their lives. This is a generation of students "trained by mass media to detect flaws in our society"; and with their abundance of energy, enthusiasm, and idealism, they loudly proclaim a desire to bring about change for the better.¹⁸

Who are these young people who say, "You can't trust anyone over thirty."? Not all dissatisfied students specifically identify themselves with the New Left Movement; nevertheless, many profess a sympathetic attitude toward the issues brought to light by the New Leftists, even though they themselves have never been actively involved in any kind of organized protest. According to Richard L. Cutler, Vice-President for Student Affairs at the University of Michigan, many students who are sympathetic toward protest movements or who actively protest have been "brought up in comfortable, indulgent, permissive,

¹⁸Los Angeles Times. May 26, 1968.

upper-middle class homes. They take affluence for granted, so they go from materialistic concerns to 'morality' and 'brotherhood.'"¹⁹ In the words of Al Capp, these students ". . . take their tactics from Gandhi, their idealism from philosophy class, and their money from daddy."²⁰

Kenniston aptly describes the popular mental image of the youthful dissenter:

The 'stereotypical' dissenter as popularly portrayed is both a Bohemian and a political activist. Bearded, be-Levi-ed, long-haired, dirty, and unkempt, he is seen as profoundly disaffected from his society, often influenced by 'radical' (Marxist, Communist, Maoist, or Castroite) ideas, as experimenter in sex and drugs, unconventional in his daily behavior. Frustrated and unhappy, often deeply maladjusted as a person, he is a 'failure' (or as one U. S. Senator put it, a 'reject').²¹

This researcher feels that popular stereotypes which present a unified portrait of campus dissenters are gravely over-simplified. No one description is perfectly applicable to all individuals in a group or to all situations; accordingly, despite popular notions to the contrary, dissenters are confined neither to one lifestyle nor to one set of beliefs. A Harris Poll taken in 1967 indicated that approximately six per cent of the population in the United States could be categorized as "dissenting" with respect to the issue of war in Vietnam. Included in this small fraction of the total population

¹⁹"Why Those Students Are Protesting." Time, 91 (May 3, 1968) 25.

²⁰Ibid., p. 26.

²¹Kenniston. op. cit., p. 299.

were clergymen, professors, doctors, artists, lawyers, students, and congressmen. (In collecting data for this project, however, this researcher has been concerned only with campus dissenters at the University of Kansas.)

Richard Flack, a researcher at the University of Chicago, collected data from interviews with student activists and formed the following hypotheses:

1. Student activists come from secure, upper-middle class homes where the discipline is permissive and the parents stress values other than achievement.
2. Youngsters raised in these homes find it difficult to put up with the authoritarian demands of large organizations (like the multiversity).
3. These youngsters are distressed by the differences they perceive between the values that their parents profess and the way their parents actually live.
4. These young students don't have the usual incentives for conformity-- need for income and status-- because they can afford to be unconventional.²²

Drawing upon his four hypotheses, Flack concludes that activists may be regarded as "irritating, undisciplined, and usually talented students who can and sometimes do turn a university campus upside down."²³ Given these conclusions, however, at least one university professor views the new student protest movement as an acceptable-- even welcome-- turn of events; Edward E. Sampson, a member of the faculty at Berkeley, states:

Speaking quite personally, to face a lecture hall filled with these student activists is both an exhilarating and frightening experience. How different this is from the

²²"Which Students Protest and Why." Trans-Action, 5 (June, 1968) 6.

²³Ibid.

(usual) experience of lecturing to a group of preprofessionals who take in each word as though it were gospel.²⁴

As previously indicated, not all students who are sympathetic toward certain questions and issues raised by the New Left activists are physically involved in the work of the New Left Movement; by the same token, whether a student dissenter classify himself as a sympathizer, an activist, a demonstrator, a protester, a radical, an anarchist, a revolutionary, or an agitator, there is no one set of beliefs which govern the thoughts and actions of all campus dissenters. According to Gus diZerega, editor of the (Kansas) University Review, several currents of thought (including anarchism, Marxism, and syndicalism) can be identified as sources of ideas which influence campus dissenters involved in the New Left Movement; nevertheless, the degree to which these concepts serve as guiding principles of thought and action varies with the individual dissenter. In addition, diZerega takes note of an element of increasing concern to many members of the New Left:

Not all aspects of New Left thought are consistent with their goal of freeing the individual from manipulation and coercion. Their battle with the American Establishment often is looked on as a holy crusade, a jihad in which the Forces of Darkness (read Monopoly Capital) must be routed forever. This moralistic commitment, admirable though it may appear, is the basis of an increasingly totalitarian outlook on the part of many in the Movement.

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Still an undercurrent, this streak of totalitarian thinking will eventually prove to be the most decisive crisis which the Movement must sooner or later come to grips with. How it is determined will determine whether they will become the builders of a new American freedom, or whether, like the Bolsheviks, they will sell their birthright for the heady narcotic of power.²⁵

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵diZerega. op. cit., p. 3.

On most U. S. college and university campuses, organized student protest could be classified as something which happens somewhere else. From the beginning, student activism has been most prevalent within the more "progressive" academic locales. Even at large universities where active dissenters are heavily concentrated, the majority of students-- generally over 95 per cent-- stand as either observers of or opponents to organized protest activities. Hence, any conclusions drawn with respect to today's student dissenters will pertain to only a small minority of the seven million students currently enrolled in U. S. colleges and universities.

Sources of Dissent

In March, 1968, Robert F. Kennedy wrote:

More and more of our children are almost unreachable by the familiar premises and arguments of our adult world. The first task of concerned people is not to castigate or deplore; it is to search out the reason for disillusionment and alienation, the rationale of protest and dissent-- perhaps indeed to learn from it. What are they dissenting from-- and what do they tell us about ourselves?"²⁶

In the United States, a significant facet of the phenomenon of youthful protest is that more students are moving away from alienation and are moving toward highly intensified political activism. While the hippie movement is waning, student power has shifted from passive protest to specific action aimed at accomplishing practical goals.

Throughout this researcher's review of source materials, he has noted three recurring areas or bases of student dissent which,

²⁶Robert F. Kennedy. "What Can the Young Believe?" The New Republic, 156 (March, 1968) 11.

owing to this consistency, can be classified as primary origins:

(1) the war in Vietnam and the draft; (2) the "establishment" and the university; and (3) the oppression of rights of minority groups.

With respect to the Vietnam War, the United States has rarely fought a war without loud protests from some of its citizens:

In the Revolutionary War, only about half of the people supported the war. During the War of 1812, opposition became rampant. The Mexican War was popular initially, but as it dragged on, was most bitterly denounced. The Civil War was even more turbulent in that respect. During World War I, the left was tireless and vocal in its opposition to the involvement of the United States. World War II was the exception: Pearl Harbor united the nation. The Korean War showed the usual pattern: initial enthusiasm followed by reaction, frustration, and criticism.²⁷

Many students in the United States strongly oppose the war in Vietnam because of their rejection of the brutality and horror of all war and because of their rejection of the concept of the United States' attempting to act as a "world policeman." As stated by Robert Kennedy, ". . . This is a war surrounded by rhetoric that young people don't understand. These are the children not of the cold war, but of the thaw."²⁸

Paul Booth, former Vice President of the Students for a Democratic Society and still a New Left leader in Chicago, sums up his feelings about the war in Vietnam as follows:

Simply stated, the war is wrong because Ho Chi Minh is right. Under Ho, I'm sure land would be redistributed, and the government and aristocracy would be out of power. Also, there's no question that Vietnam would be independent. After

²⁷Abe Fortas. Concerning Dissent and Civil Disobedience. The New American Library, New York, 1968, pp. 105-106.

²⁸Kennedy. op. cit.

all, Ho has kept China from running North Vietnam; there's no reason why he couldn't keep them out of South Vietnam.²⁹

Although they have proposed many varying plans on specifically how the United States might terminate its commitments to South Vietnam, the majority of student dissenters agree in their demands for an immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops. At several universities there have been protests and demonstrations by the New Left against recruiters from companies which manufacture napalm (e.g. Dow Chemical). Armed Services recruiters have been jeered at and spat upon by these dissenters. Protesters have burned their draft cards and desecrated the American flag. We are opposed to this war and all war, say the dissenters; therefore, we will not consent to fight it. Furthermore, many activists are enraged that the United States should be spending millions of dollars each month on armaments, while poverty and ignorance continue at home. They see the United States as willing to fight a war for freedom in Vietnam, but unwilling to fight with one one-hundredth the money or effort for the improvement of social ills in its own back yard.

A second primary source of dissent for many student protesters is the "establishment" and the bureaucratization of the universities. While most U. S. colleges and universities do not have the situations which have been heavily publicized at schools such as the University of California at Berkeley, Columbia University, Cornell and San Francisco State College, the increasing dissatisfaction of students toward university policy-makers has given considerable impetus and strength to student activist organizations (e.g. Students for a

²⁹Newsweek. op. cit.

Democratic Society). These organizations do not limit their attacks to institutions of learning, but extend their criticisms to include all strata of society. According to Donald Young, student dissenters define the "establishment" as "those institutions which comprise the monolithic structure of power and influence controlled by 'big business' and the military."³⁰

Many students have rejected the traditionally held ideal of gaining an education as a basis for entering the business world. Why? As seen by the dissenters, a large part of the answer is that the business corporations which play so great a role in the "industrial and financial oligarchy" of this country are taking so little initiative in helping to solve its vital problems: poverty, unemployment, health, and education.

The years of World War II are regarded by student activists as having given birth to the accelerated trend in the United States toward big business, big labor, and big government-- a trend which, in their opinion, has turned the American people into depersonalized pawns of political power struggles. As seen by Gus diZerega, "democracy as a realistic means of altering our political system is becoming less and less viable, at least for the short run, and it is with the short run that the student activists are concerned. We will not have time to wait 15 or 20 years."³¹ DiZerega further asserts that U. S. power and financial oligarchies control the mass media; consequently, he says,

³⁰Donald Young. "In Defense of Dissent," Saturday Review, 50 (April 8, 1967) 60.

³¹diZerega. op. cit.

freedom of speech is in the end a meaningless pursuit, unless "extreme measures" are used to attract attention.³²

Seeing the "establishment" reflected in the expanding bureaucratization of colleges and universities, dissident students have devoted great energy to examining the principles of higher education and to seeking changes in the structure of university administration. Charles Frankel, professor at Columbia University, claims that the crucial question brought to light by the activists is not really whether students should be allotted the right to determine for themselves their academic and social needs; rather, it is whether "it would be educationally desirable to create arrangements permitting students to participate more visibly and formally in the making of educational decisions."³³ Nevertheless, Frankel registers his serious doubt that "the capturing of a dean, destruction of buildings, and violation of student and professor rights is the relevant method of physically confronting the 'establishment' and bringing about resolutions to the grievous wrongs such as the unfairness, inequities, and injustices in our society."³⁴

The third primary source of student dissent in the United States is the oppression of the rights of members of minority groups. Glenn S. Dumke, Chancellor of the California State Colleges, has remarked that one of the responsibilities of higher education in regard

³²Ibid.

³³Charles Frankel. "Student Power: The Rhetoric and the Possibilities," Saturday Review, 51 (November 2, 1968) 33.

³⁴Ibid.

to society as a whole is to "study its problems, analyze them, and make recommendations for improvement."³⁵ With the creation of the Peace Corps during the first year of the Kennedy Administration, many university students and graduates responded to the call of the New Frontier. They found in the Peace Corps a means of channeling their desire to help alleviate social injustices. This writer observes a parallel between the efforts of youth in the early 1960's and the efforts of disenchanted youth in the United States today; however, whereas the call to service in the earlier 1960's came, to a large degree, from beyond the borders of the United States, the youth of the late 1960's appear to feel a greater need to serve the cause of social injustice within the United States itself. Aware of the vast expenditures necessitated by the war in Vietnam, dissident students perceive with resentment the glaring contrast of the poverty, deprivation, and social inequities stifling the underprivileged minority groups in this country. On campuses throughout the United States, student activists are making demands for the admission of more members of minority groups (e.g. blacks, Mexican-Americans, and American Indians) and the relaxing or elimination of stringent entrance requirements. National organizations such as S. D. S. are assisting local campus organizations in their efforts to aid members of these minority groups. A report of a student-faculty committee at the University of Kansas in September, 1968, called for unprecedented changes in the student and faculty government; these changes were conceived as possible means for meeting the needs of an expanding

³⁵Dumke. op. cit.

university and for giving students a stronger voice in campus policy. Modelled after reports previously released from other schools (e.g. University of California at Berkeley), this report suggests, in part, that the University should provide tutorial programs for underprivileged students deprived of educational equality by financial or racial discrimination. In addition, the report proposes that a department of African studies be formed, including courses in black history, culture, and languages. It also recommends the hiring of additional personnel from minority backgrounds, including instructors, administrators, and coaches.³⁶

Describing New Leftist attitudes toward minority oppression, former S. D. S. President Tom Hayden has written that the social legislation of the New Deal and the Great Society has enslaved the poor to a bureaucratic welfarism which leaves them worse off than they were to start with:

. . . The reforms gained were illusory or token, serving chiefly to sharpen the capacity of the system for manipulation and oppression. . . . Except for temporarily boosting the income of a few people, this entire reformist trend has weakened the poor under the pretense of helping them and strengthened the elite rule under the slogan of curbing private enterprise.³⁷

Unlike the "silent generation" of the 1950 decade, contemporary student dissenters of the latter 1960's have directed their efforts toward both articulating and acting upon the sources of their discontent. Sensing that during the 1960's, the times have been "right" for protesters, Kenniston analyzes the situation as follows:

Whatever the most plausible explanation of the socio-cultural

³⁶The Kansas City Star. September 20, 1968, p. 8.

³⁷diZerega. op. cit., p. 2.

sources of activism, the importance of prevailing attitudes toward social protest and of the climate of social criticism in America seems clear. In the past five years a conviction has arisen that protest and social action are effective and honorable.³⁸

Student Activist Groups

In order for any organized form of protest, demonstration, or related activity to occur on a university or college campus, certain conditions must prevail; according to Kenniston, there must be sufficient numbers of protest-prone students who possess both the opportunity for interaction and leaders to initiate and mount the protest.³⁹ In November of 1967, the United States National Student Association held a "student power" conference at the University of Minnesota. Representatives from universities and colleges across the country were issued a report encompassing guidelines for demonstrations. In addition, this report deals with such subjects as the politics of reform and the tactics of revolution.⁴⁰

There are many organizations which have been formed on the campuses during the last seven years, devoted specifically to student protest; Kenniston has dubbed these groups "activist subcultures."⁴¹ There are Students for a Democratic Society, People's Voice, Young Socialist Alliance, W.E.B. DuBois clubs, and the Artaud First Romantic Tautological Society, to mention a few. In this particular research project, however, the writer has been concerned with the members and

³⁸Kenniston. op. cit., p. 318.

³⁹Ibid., p. 311.

⁴⁰Ed Schwartz. "On Demonstration: Rules."

⁴¹Kenniston. op. cit., p. 311.

activities of several such groups which are currently active at the University of Kansas-- e.g. S.D.S. and the underground remnants of People's Voice.

The most powerful dissident student national organization at the time of this writing is Students for a Democratic Society or S.D.S. The organization came into existence in 1962 when several young members of the socialist-oriented League for Industrial Democracy decided to quit and set up their own group, S.D.S. The New Left's largest organization, S.D.S. was founded in Port Huron, Michigan, the national office being run by a secretariat located in Chicago. The first president, Tom Hayden, drafted the "Port Huron Statement," a document which explains the purposes of S.D.S. and advocates what is designated as "participatory democracy":

We seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation governed by two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; and that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation.⁴²

According to Ernest Dunbar, senior editor of Look Magazine, the central theme of the S.D.S. "was and is that the present American corporate capitalist system manipulates and oppresses the individual, and is run by a corporate/military elite that profits while the rest of the citizenry are only pawns in the game."⁴³

An individual can join the national S.D.S. organization for a five-dollar fee. Only about 6,000 of the approximately 35,000-

⁴²Ernest Dunbar. "Vanguard of the Campus Revolt," Look Magazine, 32 (October 1, 1968) 25.

⁴³Ibid.

40,000 members (on 300 campuses) are national members. S.D.S. has been described as hating almost every aspect of American life and as pursuing a program of obstruction and disruption of all authority. Its members are against the war in Vietnam, the draft, and all organizations related to the two. They oppose the "hierarchy" which controls higher education and believe in the reform of university administrative structure and curriculum. J. Edgar Hoover has described S.D.S. as "a militant youth group which receives support from the Communist Party and which in turn supports Communist objectives and tactics." In the 1968 Fiscal Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Hoover has charged that S.D.S. is "at the core of student unrest, held together by a bitter hatred of . . . the institutions of democratic society." In addition, Hoover accuses the Students for a Democratic Society of "sponsoring workshops to teach sabotage and how to manufacture explosives for possible use against some government facilities."⁴⁴

Speaking at a joint meeting of the American Association of State Universities and Colleges and the National Association of Land Grant Colleges and State Universities, Sidney Hook asserted that anyone who is familiar with the objectives and program of S.D.S. relative to American universities knows that this group is "a threat to peace and continued education on the nation's campuses."⁴⁵

The S.D.S. chapter at the University of Kansas has an active membership of approximately twenty students. This researcher attended

⁴⁴The Kansas City Star. November 21, 1968, p. 14.

⁴⁵Sidney Hook. "Trojan Horse in American Education," (November, 1968) p. 1.

the initial S.D.S. meeting of the 1968-1969 school year and was one of an audience of approximately 100. At that time, certain views and objectives of S.D.S. (on a national basis) were related by four leaders of the University of Kansas chapter. These views were outlined as follows:

1. S.D.S. is working toward the creation on a national level of alternatives to the present economic and social environment of the United States-- environments which (in the opinion of S.D.S.) are oppressive and exploitative.
2. The United States has lost interest in social justice, and thus the number of persons able to participate in the national prosperity is constantly narrowing.
3. Although S.D.S. has socialist leanings in that it desires the restructuring of American life from top to bottom, S.D.S. is actually of a non-ideological nature and, if anything, is anarchistic in disposition.
4. In reality, S.D.S. desires a return to the one-time "American dream."

As stated by David Bailey, co-chairman of the University of Kansas chapter of S.D.S., the S.D.S. membership must know what it is "bitching about" before essaying a clash with the establishment; in order to be at all effective, S.D.S. must be at least as well (and hopefully more intelligently) organized than the powers it must confront. The most important objective, therefore, is to develop a way to move from study and self-education to confrontation. Bailey further argued that in order to be a member of S.D.S., one must first of all agree with the radical analysis of the U. S. situation; given this basic agreement, one must be willing to become an active participant-- to actually become the organization. What the S.D.S. wants, said Bailey, is a membership dedicated to change.

In May, 1968, a group of student activists at the University of Kansas formed Voice, an organization dedicated to reform in

student-faculty government. The organization has since changed its name to People's Voice and has split into at least two factions, one of which advocates more stringent measures to gain a stronger student hand in university policy-making. The change in name was necessitated not only to encompass student rights but also to align the organization with the struggle of minority groups in the United States. People's Voice regards itself as a liberating force for those oppressed by imperialists, racists, administrators, and government policy-makers. Several participating students feel that the name was changed in order to allow for the exposure of injustices and grievous wrongs in the community outside of the campus.

In the latter part of November, 1968, the entire Voice coordinating committee resigned, thus leaving the group without leadership. Discussion concerning the future of People's Voice centered around what the purpose of the organization should be-- i.e. whether it should be radical or reformist. Radicals had argued for immediate confrontation with the administration, while reformists wanted to use the educational approach (i.e. education of the student body). The organization has not completely disbanded, and those who remain as active members will continue to enlighten University of Kansas students by means of a newspaper entitled Reconstruction.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

In Kenniston's view, the American public should not castigate youthful dissenters in their search for the answers to dilemmas which are the products of U. S. society, both past and present. He further states:

They are right when they argue that our problems lie deeper than a particular war in Southeast Asia or a particular election. They are asking the basic questions, making the mistakes, and our survival may rest on their search for the answers we desperately need.⁴⁶

Many observers believe that campus dissent is growing proportionately throughout the United States with every confrontation involving greater risks of violence. The majority of these protests continue to entail passive resistance on the part of the participants. However, in regard to student emotions, there might be said to exist a very thin line between passive and active resistance. According to Will Herberg, "dissent" has lost its former relative significance as "diverse opinions within the limits of an underlying national unity; it has become an absolute, without fixed content. . . . It has become both the mask and the instrument of revolution in our society."⁴⁷

In considering alternatives to campus violence, Abe Fortas advocates "freedom's instruments: the rights to speak, to publish, to protest, to assemble peacefully, and to participate in the electoral process."⁴⁸

The general aim of this study is to investigate and compare the attitudes of identifiable campus dissenters at the University of Kansas with the attitudes of a selected sample of the general student body. In developing an appropriate research instrument, this writer has attempted to designate issues of major concern and to ascertain the degree

⁴⁶Kenniston. op. cit., p. 290.

⁴⁷Herberg. op. cit., p. 739.

⁴⁸Fortas. op. cit., p. 42.

of importance of these problem areas by investigating the following research questions:

- 1) What are the attitudes of campus dissenters toward the alleged bases of dissent?
- 2) How do the dissenters' attitudes toward the alleged bases of dissent compare with those of a sample of the student populace?

Operational Definitions

The writer will be concerned with operationally defining three terms fundamental to the objectives of this research project: attitude, dissent, and campus dissenter.

The concept of "attitude" is a fairly old one in the literature of modern social psychology. However, no agreement has been reached concerning a single best definition of attitude. The position taken has ordinarily depended upon a researcher's interests, his particular conceptual orientation, or on his formal training and background. Nevertheless, there are some underlying characteristics of all approaches to attitudes which are innate to the very nature of the subject matter.

Milton Rokeach defines an attitude as "a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in a preferential manner."⁴⁹

This researcher has elected to operationally define an attitude as "the individual structuring of opinions, perceptions, and beliefs regarding dissent, allowing one to respond either passively or actively toward a particular stimulus."

As previously indicated, campus dissenters are motivated by a variety of concepts which serve as guidelines for their thoughts and actions; and it is their thoughts and actions, passive or active in nature, which determine the degree or intensity of their dissent. Kenniston remarks that the distinctiveness about student dissent in recent years is "the unexpected emergence of a vocal minority of politically and socially active students (student activism)." He subsequently narrowly defines an "activist" as a student who: (1) acts together with others in a group; (2) is concerned with some ethical, social, ideological or political issue; and (3) holds liberal or radical views."⁵⁰

This investigator narrowly defines dissent as "any activity at the University of Kansas concerned with an ethical, social, ideological, or political issue, involving an individual or group which holds liberal or radical views toward those issues and is protesting or demonstrating for or against them through active or passive resistance."

A campus dissenter is defined as "an individual at the University of Kansas who: (1) is concerned with ethical, social, ideological, or political issues; (2) holds liberal or radical views toward these issues; and (3) protests for or against these issues through passive or active resistance." For the purposes of this study, passive resistance will be defined as "opposition by

⁴⁹Milton Rokeach. Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values. Jossey-Bass, Inc., San Francisco (1968) p. 112.

⁵⁰Kenniston. op. cit., p. 305.

an individual or group toward the U. S. Government or any other authoritative institution (e.g. a university administration), this opposition being characterized by acts of nonconformity in place of violence and/or forceful means of dissent." Active resistance will be defined as "opposition by an individual or group toward the U. S. Government or any other authoritative institution (e.g. a university administration), this opposition being characterized by vigorous measures of dissent (e.g. acts of force and/or violence)."

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Utilizing a Likert-type Summated Rating Scale, this researcher intends to answer the following two questions, as posed in Chapter I:

- 1) What are the attitudes of the dissenters toward the alleged bases of dissent?
- 2) How do the campus dissenters' attitudes toward the alleged bases of dissent compare with those of a sample of the student population?

These target areas will allow for a general exploration of the attitudes of campus dissenters as well as those of a selected sample of five Speech 1-B sections at the University.

Likert Method of Summated Ratings

The Likert Method of Summated Ratings is a technique of attitude scaling based on the sum score of all the responses an individual makes to a given questionnaire. This researcher's attitude scale is designed to elicit attitudes toward the three alleged bases of dissent discussed in Chapter I:

- 1) the war in Vietnam and the draft;
- 2) the "establishment" and the university; and
- 3) the oppression of rights of minority group members.

Each statement in the scale may be generally classified as either favorable or unfavorable (i.e. to the campus dissenter, regarding the alleged bases of protest), depending upon the anticipated response

of the individual to whom the scale is administered. The participant reacts to each statement in terms of the five categories which follow: Strongly Agree, Agree, Undecided, Disagree, Strongly Disagree (SA, A, U, D, SD). These response categories are credited with values ranging from (1) to (5), and as this researcher's attitude scale focuses upon dissent and campus dissenters, items perceived as bringing out negative responses from a campus activist are scored "high" (5-4-3-2-1); those perceived as eliciting positive responses are scored "low" (1-2-3-4-5). For example, a response of "Strongly Agree" to a favorable statement (positive item) receives a score of (1), as does a response of "Strongly Disagree" to an unfavorable statement (negative item). The sum of the item responses represents the individual's total score.

Once the necessary total scores have been obtained, a frequency distribution is arranged. The 25 percent of the subjects with the highest total scores and the 25 percent with the lowest total scores are taken out, thus establishing criterion groups within which the individual statements may be evaluated.

The method of t-test item analysis suggested by Edwards (1957, p. 153) is then employed. The resulting t-value for each statement is a measure of the extent to which a given statement differentiates between the high and low groups.

The reliability of the Likert method can be determined through the application of a split-half reliability check, corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula. Edwards (1957) indicates that the reliability of the scores on the scale can be obtained by correlating scores on the odd-numbered statements with those on the even-numbered statements.

Reliability coefficients for summated rating scales are typically above .85 (p. 156).

Procedure

Development of Summated Rating Scale

The development of a Likert-type Summated Rating Scale began with the formulation of a pool of 100 statements directly related to the literature on dissent. These statements centered around the three alleged bases of campus dissent outlined in the preceding section and were grouped in the following manner:

- 1) War in Vietnam: Draft;
- 2) Establishment: Bureaucracy of the University;
- 3) Oppression of the Rights of Minority Group Members.

All repetitious items were then deleted from the groups, thus reducing the original 100 items to a pool of 60. Subsequently, these 60 items were examined in a pilot study: enlisting the aid of four judges (including Dr. Kim Giffin, Dr. Calvin Downs, Douglas Vogel, and Barbara Groginsky), the researcher requested pertinent comments and suggestions; as a result of this study, the item scale was revised to a total of 44 statements adequate for use in a pre-test.

The pre-test was administered to two sections of Speech 141. After completing the scale, the 25 students comprising the two Speech 141 classes were interviewed and asked to respond to any statements which they considered unclear and/or ambiguous. The pre-test and interviews resulted in the elimination of three items and the re-wording of 21 statements. (see Appendix A). Seven new items were then added to the revised scale. The final attitude scale (see Appendix B) thus contains 48 items focusing on the three alleged bases of dissent. On

the basis of anticipated responses from the dissenter sample group, thirty-two of the items were classified as positive (i.e. favorable to the dissenters) and sixteen as negative (i.e. unfavorable to the dissenters). As those items which were perceived as eliciting positive responses from the dissenter sample group were to be scored "low" (1-2-3-4-5), and as the scale contains twice as many positive items as negative items, the total scores obtained by the dissenter sample group would be expected to be lower than those obtained by the general student population sample.

The Sample Groups

Five sections of Speech 1-B (N=100) were chosen as a sample group on the basis of their being representative of a majority of the student body at the University of Kansas: as Speech 1-B is presently a required course within the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, all students must therein enroll before becoming eligible for graduation. The average age of the 100 students participating in this phase of the study was 19.4 years; the male-female ratio was 63 (male) to 37 (female). (The aforesaid ratio is nearly identical to that which applied to the undergraduate population of the University during the Spring Semester of 1969, the semester during which the attitude scale was administered.) With respect to class ranking, the students comprising the five sections of Speech 1-B were grouped as follows: freshmen- 40; sophomores- 24; juniors- 20; and seniors- 16. According to figures obtained from the Office of the Registrar at the University of Kansas, the freshman class during the 1969 Spring Semester consisted of 3,251 students, approximately 27 percent of the total undergraduate population

of 12,194; the sophomore class, 2,934 (24 percent); the junior class, 2,719 (22 percent); and the senior class, 3,290 (27 percent). While the percentage of the Speech 1-B students in each of the grade-level classifications does not correspond exactly to the breakdown of the University of Kansas undergraduate population as a whole (Spring Semester, 1969), each of the four classes was adequately represented by the 100 students to whom the attitude scale was administered. For purposes of clarification, this researcher read the instructions for the scale to each of the five Speech 1-B classes prior to presentation of the scale. Each subject was provided with a separate answer sheet (see Appendix C).

Identification and selection of individuals who comprise the campus dissenter sample group proceeded as follows: this researcher (1) sought introductions to designated leaders of Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) and the former People's Voice organization; (2) requested the aid of instructors who are knowledgeable in regard to these groups (i.e. those who have members of said groups in their classes); and (3) procured information by "word of mouth" (i.e. through contacts who obtained names via the campus "grapevine"). The task of reaching the dissenters was greatly facilitated through the assistance of David Bailey, former Co-Chairman of the University of Kansas S.D.S. Chapter. A deeply-committed member of the New Left Movement, Bailey agreed to contact thirty campus dissenters and administer the questionnaire to them personally.

The attitude scale presented to the campus dissenter sample (N=30) was identical to that given to the Speech 1-B sample group

(N=100) with the exception of three open-end questions (no.'s 49, 50 and 51) which were added in the case of the former group (see Appendix B). The open-end questions were appended in order to allow for the collection of additional information relevant to the first question posed at the beginning of Chapter II. Separate answer sheets were again provided.

Statistical Analysis Procedure

The attitude scales administered to the Speech 1-B sample group were rated and the total scores arranged in a frequency distribution. The 25 percent low quartile scores and the 25 percent high quartile scores for the 48 items were then determined. A t-test item analysis was programmed for an Olivetti Programma 101 computer. The item analysis was performed in order to determine which items differentiated significantly between the scores of the low and high quartiles (i.e. the discriminating power of each item). In this research study, a "t" value of 2.58 or more is significant at the .01 level of confidence; a "t" value of 1.96 is significant at the .05 level.

After the campus dissenter sample group questionnaires were collected, four individual t-tests were applied to the scores of both sample groups according to the procedure outlined below:

- 1) t-test on concept of "War: Draft" (13 items);
- 2) t-test on concept of "Establishment: University" (24 items);
- 3) t-test on concept of "Oppression of Minority Groups" (11) items;
- 4) t-test on total scores for these three concepts (48 items).

T-tests are applied to the total individual scores in each sample group in order to determine whether or not the differences between the means of the two groups are significant (Edwards, 1957, p. 152).

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Item Analysis Results

The five sections of Speech 1-B comprising the student population sample provided 100 complete questionnaires for analysis, the campus dissenter sample providing 30. A t-test item analysis was applied to the data in order to determine which of the items discriminated significantly between the 25 highest scoring questionnaires and the 25 lowest scoring. This analysis yielded a t-score for each of the 48 items. With respect to this data, a t-score significant at the .01 level of confidence is 2.58; a t-score significant at the .05 level is 1.96. Significance levels refer to the risk of error one is willing to take in drawing conclusions from his data. For example, if a correlation is said to be significant at the .05 level, the probability of error is five out of 100; similarly, if a correlation is found to be significant at the .01 level of confidence, the probability of error is one out of 100.

Of the 48 items comprising this researcher's attitude scale, all were significant at the .05 level of confidence; forty-five of the 48 were significant at the .01 level. All 48 items and the t-score for each are listed within their respective subgroups in Table 1.

The Reliability Check

The internal consistency of the items was checked by a split-half reliability estimate. The odd items were compared with the even

TABLE I

T-SCORES OF THE FORTY-EIGHT ITEMS
CONTAINED IN THE ATTITUDE SCALE

Item No.	Item	T-Score
I. <u>THE WAR IN VIETNAM: THE DRAFT.</u>		
+ 35.	I approve of military deserters	14.0000
- 45.	The R.O.T.C. program is a necessary part of the university structure.	10.7517
- 25.	Student dissenters who desecrate the American flag in opposition to the war in Vietnam are exhibiting acts of treason.	9.0874
- 10.	The United States has an obligation to act as a "world policeman."	8.4068
+ 33.	People who oppose the military draft should burn their draft cards in protest.	7.9734
+ 42.	The United States has no chance of winning a military victory in Vietnam.	7.7851
- 37.	Students who break the law in showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam should be drafted ahead of others.	7.3200
+ 17.	The U. S. Government should acknowledge moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status.	6.4244
+ 1.	The United States is waging a war in Vietnam against a "world Communist threat" which does not exist.	6.3808
+ 14.	The present draft laws should be abolished in favor of voluntary military service.	6.3278
+ 29.	University federal grants involving research in chemical and biological warfare are unnecessary to a university's overall research program.	5.6356

TABLE 1 (continued)

Item No.	Item	T-Score
- 47.	Military recruiters should be permitted to come to the university campuses.	4.8004
- 9.	Persons who oppose the war in Vietnam should keep their opinions to themselves.	3.7071
<u>II. ESTABLISHMENT: THE UNIVERSITY</u>		
- 28.	Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) should be banned from all colleges and universities.	9.5454
- 18.	Most university officials have been too gentle in dealing with student protests on campus.	8.8347
- 41.	Student activists want to change society, but they offer few constructive alternatives.	8.2722
- 16.	Student protests have no place on a college or university campus.	7.7369
- 8.	These days you hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of the majority.	7.4223
+ 26.	It is right to break the law in order to exemplify the injustice of that law.	7.2298
- 24.	Students who disrupt the functioning of a university or college should be expelled.	7.1910
+ 20.	Administration building take-overs are an appropriate means of student dissent.	6.8049
- 44.	Campus security guards should carry firearms.	6.5553
+ 7.	Students should be more militant in defending their interests.	6.2218
+ 48.	Preventing students from assuming positions of shared leadership with the university administration legitimates student protests.	5.6537
+ 21.	Student demonstrations should involve the risk of violence.	5.6231

TABLE 1 (continued)

Item No.	Item	T-Score
+ 32.	People should organize themselves in large groups to take what they need.	5.0089
- 36.	A small segment of the student population must not be allowed to interfere with the majority of students who want to receive their education.	4.8825
+ 30.	Tactics of revolution should be used to bring about changes in society.	4.6511
+ 2.	An ideal existence for the youth of today would be total freedom from the dictates of authority.	4.5368
- 38.	Organizations such as S.D.S. receive financial support from communists.	4.2059
+ 11.	Changes for the betterment of the university should be instituted by force.	4.0057
+ 34.	Students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives.	3.7647
+ 5.	Changes in society must be instantaneous in order to be significant.	3.1160
+ 6.	The university is the brain center for the military-industrial complex.	2.7568
+ 22.	Social change influences other values, including society's attitude toward change itself.	2.7459
- 40.	The majority of the student body will not allow the student radicals to shut down this university.	2.5589
+ 13.	Student dissent will move from the isolation of the university to the masses in society.	2.1447
<u>III. OPPRESSION OF THE RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS.</u>		
+ 43.	Meaningful social change cannot be achieved through traditional American politics.	8.8495
+ 3.	The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society.	7.8694

TABLE 1 (continued)

Item No.	Item	T-Score
+ 12.	University black student protest is symbolic of that of the black community in U. S. society.	6.0876
+ 39.	The major cause of Negro riots in the cities is white racism.	5.4612
+ 15.	Most American universities are racist.	5.4221
+ 46.	Any university with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies.	5.0373
+ 31.	The university entrance requirements for undergraduates should be relaxed for members of minority groups.	4.3404
+ 27.	The needs of members of minority groups should be the first consideration of all governmental bodies in the U. S. -- federal, state, and local.	4.3336
+ 19.	Attacking the Establishment will eliminate certain oppressions.	3.1939
+ 4.	The university should assume the leadership role in developing assistance programs for members of minority groups.	2.8668
+ 23.	The youth of today are prepared to sacrifice personal comforts to help their fellow men.	2.2636

Positive Item = (+) (i.e. favorable to dissenter sample group)

Negative Item = (-) (i.e. unfavorable to dissenter sample group)

items and corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula in each of the conceptual categories of the attitude scale:

- 1) War in Vietnam: Draft. (reliability coefficient: .9033)
- 2) Establishment: University. (reliability coefficient: .8866)
- 3) Oppression of Minority Groups. (reliability coefficient: .8567)

A split-half reliability estimate was applied to the attitude scale in its entirety, resulting in a reliability coefficient of .9466.

t-test for Differences in Means

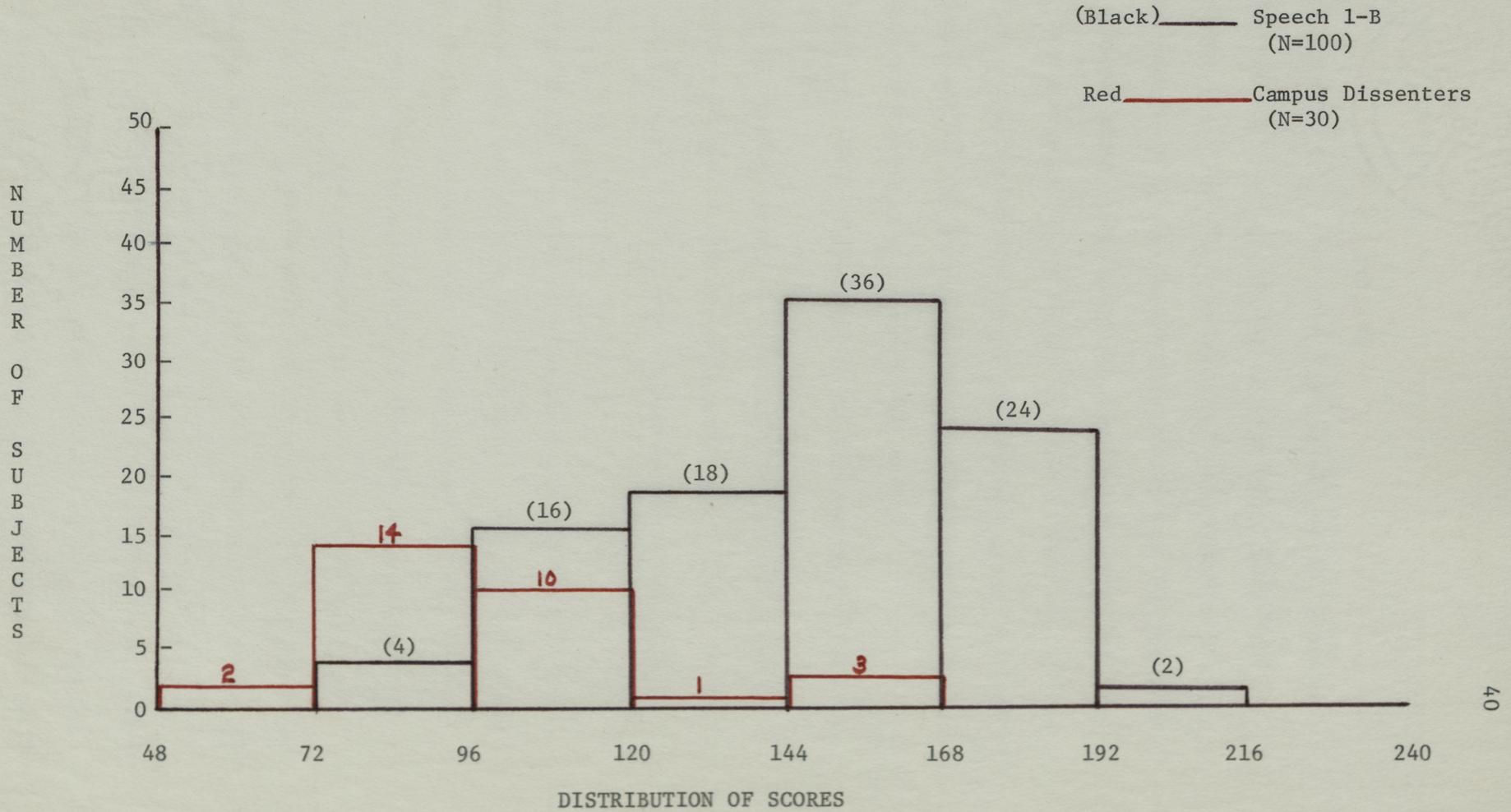
The final statistical analysis procedure consisted of the application of t-tests to the individual scores within the two sample groups in order to determine whether or not the differences between the means of the groups were significant. The t-tests were administered to each of the three conceptual categories as well as to the total scores of the sample groups. The results are noted below:

- 1) War in Vietnam: Draft. (mean difference: 16.0567;
t-score: 10.0827)
- 2) Establishment: University. (mean difference: 23.4800;
t-score: 8.7621)
- 3) Oppression of Minority Groups. (mean difference: 9.3100;
t-score 6.9410)
- 4) Total scores for test. (mean difference: 48.8467;
t-score: 9.3318)

Within each of the categories as well as for the test as a whole, the mean of the Speech 1-B group was significantly different from that of the campus dissenter group (.01 level of confidence). A graphic representation of the total score distribution is given in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

TOTAL RESPONSE SCORES OF ATTITUDE SCALE FOR SAMPLE GROUPS



Open-End Questions

As indicated in Chapter II, the questionnaires administered to the two sample groups were identical with the exception of three open-end questions (no.'s 49, 50, and 51) which were added to the attitude scales completed by the campus dissenter group (see Appendix B). This researcher added these questions in order to allow for the collection of information relevant to the question, "What are the attitudes of the campus dissenters toward the alleged bases of dissent?"

The responses to the three open-end questions appended to the campus dissenter questionnaires are summarized below.

49. What are the shortcomings of the present administration at K.U.?

Most of the campus dissenters feel that the shortcomings of the present administration at the University of Kansas are not unique; rather, they are the same problems and "inadequacies" found in most state universities (i.e. regulated control by the state legislature and Board of Regents and the need to expedite matters involving the monies of governmental and private contributors). The dissenters see the university in which students are the "producers" and the faculty the "processing machines" as a parallel to the huge corporation with its financial benefits. They perceive the administrative mechanism of the American university as being geared to satisfy the requirements of the American social and economic system (i.e. the military-industrial complex).

Several of the radicals commend the University of Kansas administration for its record of liberal tendencies but condemn it for its "inability to recognize basic inconsistencies in society and to organize

itself to correct these problems." While the American university occasionally "apologizes for certain injustices and incongruencies existing within contemporary society," it refuses to take "substantial corrective action, and thereby perpetuates that which it purports to reject." The University of Kansas, say the dissenters, follows this pattern.

Many campus dissenters contend that the University of Kansas administration is not "in tune" with the realities of social change abounding in the United States today. Its methods of communication are perceived as "condescending" and "archaic." The dissenters recognize that many of the shortcomings can be attributed to the fact that the administration is made up of human beings and is therefore fallible, but one dissenter attributes the administrative problems at K. U. to what might be termed a "regional weakness": "The administration overreacts to campus protest, but this is understandable of a university in the 'Bible-Belt' where apathy runs high and activism low."

Listed below are the specific "shortcomings" of the present administration at the University of Kansas, as identified by the thirty campus dissenters comprising this researcher's sample group:

- 1) Irrelevant curriculum and required courses (e.g. Western Civilization, foreign languages, Speech 1);
- 2) Minimal student participation in decision-making practices;
- 3) Emphasis on research first and education second;
- 4) Allowing military research; giving credit for R.O.T.C.;
- 5) Unresponsive to student and community "needs";
- 6) Antiquated teaching methods;

- 7) No housing inspection off campus;
- 8) Insensitive to needs of campus minority groups;
- 9) A "generation gap."
50. Do you advocate changes in school policy affecting members of minority groups at K.U.? If so, what are they?

Several campus dissenters advocate the relaxing of admission standards for minority group members from out of state. Upon admission to the University of Kansas, the minority group members would be individually assigned to a counselor of the same background. These counselors would help each student in becoming oriented to the new environment and in making the necessary personal and academic adjustments.

Some dissenters view present university policies relating to minority groups as irrelevant and ineffective, for these groups now "refuse to accept the myths of authority on which the university bases its right to create enforceable policy." The dissenters holding this conviction advocate the initiation of university-sponsored programs whereby assistance would be provided for disadvantaged high school students. A program directed toward aiding the culturally deprived, say these dissenters, would "allow members of minority groups to enter the mainstream of university academia by enrolling in courses relevant to their situation and aspirations in terms of future occupation."

Additional changes in school policy affecting members of minority groups (proposed by the dissenter sample group) are listed below:

- 1) Expanded black studies program;
- 2) More active recruitment of minority group members;
- 3) Tutorial and counselor programs;

- 4) Establishment of Afro-American and African studies programs;
 - 5) Establishment of a Minority Studies College;
 - 6) More black professors, coaches, and administrators;
 - 7) A Dean of Black Students;
 - 8) Scholarships for minority group members who need and request them;
 - 9) A larger role for the university in bettering minority group relations in the community.
51. What methods of dissent do you advocate in order to bring about change at K. U.?

The remarks which follow are representative of the dissenters' general response concerning methods of dissent necessary to induce change at the University of Kansas:

The question of advocating methods of dissent relates to tactics. From that perspective, I recommend a progressively escalated strategic scale. The methods must be appropriate to the 'change' being sought. Bringing pressure to bear on existing channels should be exhausted first-- if this is effective, change comes easy. Should such action prove fruitless in such a way as to indicate the unresponsiveness of these channels per se (as opposed to the channels responding but rejecting your viewpoint with good reason), the next procedure would be demonstrations and non-violent tactics (against property, as human rights vastly outweigh property rights) should be considered on a limited scale, with an outlook to accomplishing specifiable objectives. Should all these methods miscarry, then it would, presupposing the legitimacy of your demands, be reasonable to conclude that you do not live in a democracy, and should give consideration to becoming a revolutionary.

A small number of the radicals in the sample group are convinced that violent tactics are the only strategy appropriate at the University of Kansas. The majority of the dissenters, however, feel that this method of protest would definitely alienate the majority of the student body, whom they perceive as being "moderately conservative." Most of

the activists believe that the most effective way to change any "system" is to work from the inside (as opposed to battering down its wall from without). "The administration is human and humans have that unique gift of reason; the hierarchy at K. U. will listen to reason."

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

As stated in Chapter II, the questions which this researcher intended to answer through the use of a Likert-type Summated Rating Scale and three open-end questions are as follows:

- 1) What are the attitudes of the dissenters toward the alleged bases of dissent?
- 2) How do the campus dissenters' attitudes toward the alleged bases of dissent compare with those of a sample of the student populace?

Discussion

Attitudes of Dissenter Sample Toward the Alleged Bases of Dissent

In the first chapter of this thesis (see pages 9 and 11), it was emphasized that the designation "campus dissenter" does not carry with it the implication of a uniform set of convictions regarding either the true sources and nature of various governmental, social, and economic problems found within the United States or the "proper" solutions to these matters: having rejected a monadic, doctrinaire view of history, socio-political change, and the tactics necessary to induce change, the New Left Movement (as described by Kenniston, 1968, p. 181) continues to emphasize "process" rather than "program."

In partial consequence of this unwillingness on the part of the New Left to formulate a specific "program" with respect to questions such as the real causes of political, social, and economic ills in the United States and the remedial measures which will provide both

swift and stable recovery, one of the most active New Left organizations, Students for a Democratic Society, has publicly split into two competing factions-- the "national office" or "regular" S.D.S. membership vs. the Maoist-oriented Progressive Labor Party faction. Each side has condemned the other as being "anti-Communist," and each claims to be the more truly revolutionary. While the Progressive Labor Party labels campus protest activities as "adventurist, diversionary, and alienating to the working people," the national office S.D.S. faction has denounced the P.L.P. for its "inability to relate to the black struggle in America."¹

Although the University of Kansas chapter of S.D.S. has not at the time of this writing encountered a violent split in membership, it has experienced a certain amount of confusion regarding the most effective means of protest at the University. On the evening of May 8, 1969, for example, the organization convened for the stated purpose of deciding upon the tactics to be employed in making known its opposition to the presence of the Reserve Officers Training Corps as a part of the curriculum at Kansas University. Ultimately, the demonstration planned for Friday, May 9, was to constitute an "expression of our feelings toward the war and the kind of military investments that are carried on in this country"; in attempting to reach a decision regarding specifically how the demonstration would be carried out, however, the S.D.S. membership was unable to come to an agreement.

¹"Striking Back." Newsweek, 70 (July 7, 1969) 79.

In attendance at this meeting, the researcher noted that while several participants wished to handle the protest in the guerrilla theater fashion of fake guns and props, a larger portion of the membership felt that regardless of possible confrontation with "athletes and cops," the show of resistance should be conducted in a serious manner. According to one of the leading spokesmen at the meeting, "We want to make it apparent to the University administration that there are persons on campus who are seriously against R.O.T.C., that we want it off campus, and now!" Still others (a very few--approximately four) felt that physical confrontation was inevitable if the demonstration were to be "of any significance at all."

Although no serious disputes developed in the course of the meeting, the only decision which finally evolved was that S.D.S. and sympathizers would meet at Strong Hall the following afternoon to decide what would be done.

In analyzing the data collected from the dissenter sample group participating in this study, the researcher likewise observed in the subjects' responses to the attitude scale as well as the three open-end questions variations in attitudes toward the war in Vietnam, the "establishment," and the oppression of minority groups-- i.e. the three alleged bases of dissent. It will be recalled that the attitude scale constructed by this researcher contains 32 items perceived as eliciting positive responses from the dissenter group and 16 perceived as eliciting negative responses. As the positive items were scored "low" (1-2-3-4-5), it was anticipated that the mean of the total scores obtained by the dissenter group would be lower than that of

the total scores obtained by the student sample population. The application of t-tests to the total scores of the two groups yielded a t-score of 9.3318, thereby showing the difference between the means of the two groups to be significant at the .01 level of confidence. Hence, as a group, the dissenters selected responses to the attitude scale which consistently varied from those chosen by the 100 Speech 1-B students herein serving as representatives of the University of Kansas general student body. On an individual basis, however, the dissenters revealed diversification in their structuring of opinions and beliefs with respect to the three alleged bases of dissent. And while individual differences in attitudes occurred within each of the three conceptual categories of the attitude scale, that in which the greatest variance was present (i.e. in terms of number of items) was "Establishment: University"-- the category corresponding to the alleged basis of dissent previously defined in terms of the "establishment" and the bureaucratization of universities. In the discussion below, individual statements within the three conceptual categories of the scale will be referred to in the following order: (1) item(s) which evoked notably diverse responses from the dissenter sample group; and (2) items which elicited from the dissenter sample group the most homogeneous responses.

"War in Vietnam: Draft"

Within the conceptual category designated as "War in Vietnam: Draft," only one item elicited widely varying responses from the dissenter sample group. In reacting to statement #33, "People who oppose the military draft should burn their draft cards in protest.,"

four members of the dissenter group selected the response category "Strongly Agree" (SA); eight dissenters chose "Agree" (A); fourteen chose "Undecided" (U); two "Disagree" (D); and two "Strongly Disagree" (SD). Thus, as a group, the dissenter sample is predominantly uncertain regarding the prospect of destroying draft cards as a means of protesting the war. However, those who believe such a measure to be an appropriate means of dissent outnumber persons holding the opposite view three-to-one.

Of the thirteen statements comprising the first conceptual category of the scale, three drew from the dissenter sample group highly homogeneous responses in terms of two categories-- "Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree." To item #9, "Persons who oppose the war in Vietnam should keep their opinions to themselves.," the dissenters responded almost unanimously in selecting "Strongly Disagree." (The exact distribution of reactions to #9 was as follows: (D)= 3; (SD)= 27.) Both statement #10, "The United States has an obligation to act as a 'world policeman.'," and statement #37, "Students who break the law in showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam should be drafted ahead of others.," received the following responses: (D)= 5; (SD)= 25.

"Establishment: University"

Within the second conceptual category, six statements elicited from the dissenter group responses which range over at least four of the five possible choices. Of these six items, the three which revealed the greatest variance in attitudes are listed below.

#2. "An ideal existence for the youth of today would be total freedom from the dictates of authority."

(SA)= 7; (A)= 7; (U)= 6; (D)= 8; (SD)= 2

#21. "Student demonstrations should involve the risk of violence."

(SA)= 3; (A)= 6; (U)= 9; (D)= 10; (SD)= 2

#36. "A small segment of the student population must not be allowed to interfere with the majority of students who want to receive their education."

(SA)= 0; (A)= 8; (U)= 8; (D)= 9; (SD)= 5

Of particular interest are the distributions of responses for statements #21 and #36: as was true for item #33 in the first conceptual category (i.e. the statement pertaining to the destruction of draft cards), it would appear that the dissenter group is similarly divided regarding both the question of violent confrontation in the course of protest activity and that of a forced shutdown of the entire university. Furthermore, a pattern of response resembling those evoked by items #21 and #36 emerged for statement #20, "Administration building take-overs are an appropriate means of dissent." While five dissenters chose "Strongly Agree" and nine "Agree," of the remaining members of the group, seven were undecided, seven disagreed, and two strongly disagreed. With reference to items #36 and #20, those in the dissenter sample group who feel that closing of the campus and building take-overs are appropriate and/or necessary means of dissent outnumber in both instances persons who hold the opposite view; however, within each distribution of responses, it would appear that a sufficient number of dissenters remain "Undecided" to render the group divided-- i.e. should a "showdown" ever occur.

Two additional statements which drew from the dissenter sample group notably variant responses were #6, "The university is the brain center for the military-industrial complex.," and #13, "Student dissent will move from the isolation of the university to the masses in society." The distribution of reactions to these items was as follows:

#6. (SA)= 7; (A)= 11; (U)= 5; (D)= 6; (SD)= 1

#13. (SA)= 7; (A)= 13; (U)= 4; (D)= 6; (SD)= 0

Though more congruent than the responses to the four items previously discussed, these reactions again indicate a lack of total harmony within the dissenter group with respect to the present role of the university and the future course and scope of protest activity in the United States.

In their responses to five items in the second category, however, members of the dissenter sample group did achieve a high degree of unity. Listed below are the five statements as well as the reactions of the dissenters to each item.

#8. "These days you hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of the majority."

(D)= 13; (SD)= 17

#16. "Student protests have no place on a college or university campus."

(D)= 5; (SD)= 25

#28. "Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) should be banned from all colleges and universities."

(D)= 5; (SD)= 25

- #34. "Students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives."

(SA)= 22; (A)= 8

- #48. "Preventing students from assuming positions of shared leadership with the university administration legitimates student protests."

(SA)= 16; (A)= 12; (U)= 2

Hence, despite their differences regarding the most appropriate means of dissent, members of the sample group appear to be convinced that a vocal minority is rightfully a part of the academic community and that campus protests are duly justified should students be denied the opportunity to participate in the decision-making processes of the university administration.

"Oppression of Minority Groups"

Of the eleven statements comprising the third conceptual category of the scale, only one evoked widely varying responses from the dissenter sample group. In reacting to item #27, "The needs of members of minority groups should be the first consideration of all governmental bodies in the United States-- federal, state, and local.," the dissenters were nearly evenly divided in their views: (SA)= 4; (A)= 10; (U)= 5; (D)= 10; (SD)= 1. And unfortunately, the items in this category upon which the dissenter sample group attained the highest degree of intra-group coherence shed little light on the reasons behind the diversification in responses to #27. The statements which elicited from the dissenter group the most homogeneous responses are listed below:

- #3. "The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society."

(SA)= 23; (A)= 7

#39. "The major cause of Negro riots in the cities is white racism."

(SA)= 20; (A)= 7; (U)= 3

#46. "Any university with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies."

(SA)= 24; (A)= 6

Interestingly enough, though the dissenters (a minority group) perceive the "establishment" and white racism as sources of oppression for members of minority groups, they fail to concur in the view that minority needs are the primary responsibility of U. S. government.

Open-End Questions

In the spring of 1969, Editorial Projects for Education, Inc. (a non-profit organization associated with the American Alumni Council) published a sixteen-page special report entitled Who's In Charge?-- a study pertaining to the administration of American colleges and universities under the "chaotic" conditions of the latter 1960's. In discussing the issues which incited protest activities on numerous campuses during the academic year 1968-1969, the editors of the report state that a nationwide survey conducted by Educational Testing Service found the war in Vietnam to be the "Number 1" cause of student unrest: ". . . it caused protests at 34 per cent of the 859 four-year colleges and universities studied." The second most frequent cause of campus demonstrations was specific college and university regulations to which the students strongly objected. The third primary cause of protest activity on the nation's campuses is designated by the editors as "civil rights." In their subsequent commentary on student demonstrations, however, the editors of this report carefully differentiate

between what they perceive as two "kinds" of campus activism:

In many instances, the stated issues were the real causes of student protest. In others, they provided excuses to radical students whose aims were less the correction of specific ills or the reform of their colleges and universities than the destruction of the political and social system as a whole.

Therein it is further alleged that "extreme leftist" student leaders "often use the issue of university reform to mobilize support from their fellow students and to 'radicalize' them. Their major concern is not with colleges and universities per se, but with American society as a whole."²

In an editorial written subsequent to the disruption of the Chancellor's Review of R.O.T.C. on May 9, 1969, at Kansas University, Will Hardesty, a member of The University Daily Kansan staff, expresses (in more subjective terms) a view similar to that found in Who's In Charge?:

Friday afternoon definitely showed there are two groups of left-wingers at K. U.-- the radicals and the responsables. The responsible group stayed in the stands ready to show their disagreement with R.O.T.C. and R.O.T.C.-on-campus in whatever way they peacefully could within the legal methods. . . . It is time for responsible leftist persons to step forward and show K. U. and the nation that not all leftists are violent fanatics.³

As has been indicated previously, in reacting to the attitude scale constructed by this researcher, the dissenter sample group selected responses which consistently varied from those chosen by the 100 Speech 1-B students representing the University of Kansas

²Editorial Projects for Education, Inc. Who's In Charge? p. 9.

³The University Daily Kansan. May 14, 1969. p. 5.

general student populace; on an individual basis, however, the dissenters revealed definite variations in their attitudes toward the three alleged bases of dissent. Further, as noted in Chapter II, three open-end questions were appended to the attitude scales administered to the dissenter sample group. The purpose of these questions was to allow for the collection of additional information relevant to the alleged bases of dissent as well as problems specific to the University of Kansas.

While it is not the purpose of this study to make value judgments concerning the "right" and "wrong" or the "responsible" and "irresponsible" aspects of campus protest activity, the researcher has discerned in the responses given by dissenters at the University of Kansas to the three open-end questions certain statements which tend to lend credence to the views expressed in both the Editorial Project for Education report and the Kansan editorial in regard to the "double" nature of campus activism-- i.e. such as it exists at the University of Kansas. Just as those present at the S.D.S. meeting of May 8, 1969, held different views with respect to the tactics appropriate for the demonstration the following afternoon, and just as individual members of the dissenter sample group expressed in their reactions to the attitude scale varying perspectives on the alleged bases of dissent, so did individual members of the dissenter group communicate what might be termed different "philosophies" of dissent in their responses to the three open-end questions. In the discussion which follows, the researcher will attempt to distinguish these philosophies as they emerged in the replies to each of the three questions.

"What are the shortcomings of the present administration at K.U.?"

As stated in Chapter III (see pages 41 and 42), the majority of the dissenter sample claimed that the shortcomings of the University of Kansas under the Wescoe administration were not greatly different from those found in most state-controlled educational institutions. Thereupon most of the dissenters proceeded to list specific complaints, foremost among which were the following:

- 1) irrelevant curriculum and required courses;
- 2) not enough student participation in decision-making process;
- 3) emphasis on research first and education second;
- 4) permitting military research and giving credit for R.O.T.C.

(To insert one note of levity, it might also be added that one dissenter strenuously objected to the food served in the Student Union: specifically, "Cafeteria food is LOUSY!")

In contrast, however, to this trend of response common to the majority of the dissenter sample, the reactions of three members of this group reflected (what the editors of Who's In Charge? and Kansan writer Will Hardesty would term) "extremely radical" ideas. One of the three, for example, responded as follows:

To start one's analysis from a university administration is false. This is a capitalist society whose main goals are the profit and property of the ruling oligarchy. The university is only an extension of this (and a weak extension at that because of their false liberalism). The main goal of any society, in fact of the world, should be the welfare of all the people. Power to the people!

The other members of this "extremely radical" trio likewise responded to the first open-end question in terms of the university's being only an extension of a "fascist" and "capitalistic" society in which suppression of "the people's rights" is the norm.

Thus, while the majority of the dissenter sample expressed concern for what they perceive as major problems at the University of Kansas, three of the dissenters cast their objections in a more generalized mold encompassing the overall social, economic, and political structure of the United States.

"Do you advocate changes in school policy affecting members of minority groups at K. U.? If so, what are they?"

Again, a plurality of the dissenter sample group confined their recommendations for changes in school policy affecting minority groups to specific proposals such as the following:

- 1) expanded Black Studies program;
- 2) more active recruitment of minority group members;
- 3) tutorial programs for minority groups;
- 4) development of African Studies program;
- 5) more black professors, coaches, and administrators.

Of the thirty persons comprising the dissenter sample, four even indicated that present programs at the University of Kansas established in consideration of minority group needs are adequate as they now stand. However, as was true in the case of the responses to the first open-end question, several individuals within the dissenter group expressed dissatisfaction not with the University of Kansas in particular, but rather with the entire social and political structure of which the university is purportedly an "extension." For example, according to one of these (four) dissenters, "Any thought of minor changes in the university structure is false, except in that it aids the development of socialism. The university should be free and open to all." In a similar fashion, another dissenter responded,

"The point is not change for minorities but for the masses. The entire system must be reassessed." Still another advocates that the university be controlled by "revolutionary councils": "from this would come satisfactory handling of the needs of all the people."

"What methods of dissent do you advocate in order to bring about change at K. U.?"

The replies of the dissenter sample to the third open-end question fell into three broad categories which might be considered representative of different "stages" of leftist thought within the group (i.e. as typified by the response to this question quoted in Chapter III, pages 44-45). Regarding the methods of protest felt to be appropriate for the purpose of inducing change at the University, sixteen of the dissenters advocated "all legal methods." As stated by one such member of the sample group, "If you're looking for an advocate of violent confrontation, forget it. I feel very strongly that the best way to change any 'system' is to work from inside."

Within this first category of response was one "subgroup" consisting of five persons who espoused "civil disobedience" as an appropriate means of dissent. According to one member of this subgroup, "Basically lawful dissent is best, and in certain areas, symbolic civil disobedience is necessary. The honor of the war in Vietnam coupled with the ineffectiveness of traditional protest moved me to participation in the R.O.T.C. demonstration."

Creating a second general response category, ten members of the dissenter sample claimed that the question of means or "tactics" is directly related to particular situations and circumstances. All felt that "traditional" channels of communication are the easiest

means of inducing change and should therefore be the first primary focus. Should such methods prove futile, however, dissenting groups must turn to civil disobedience and non-violent demonstrations as a means of effecting change. Only at last resort should consideration be given to violence, and each of these ten members of the dissenter sample specifically stated that violent tactics are to be employed against property and not people.

The third and final category of response includes four members of the dissenter sample who designated "violence" as the only effective means of change. According to one, "The establishment uses inordinate force in containing movements for fundamental change. I foresee and advocate as the only alternative an escalation of forceful and violent tactics until such time as oppression of people by America ends." Reflecting similar convictions, another responded, "There will necessarily be violence if there is to be change. This is more than a conflict of ideas: modes of consciousness and ways of being are at war."

Hence, at the time these questionnaires were administered, there prevailed within the dissenter sample group seemingly disparate systems of thought concerning not only the means but the very function and nature of campus activism. As indicated by their responses to the attitude scale, all members of the group advocate change in areas beyond specific university regulations and policy; however, while a majority of the dissenters appear willing to work within the system of representative democracy to generate what they perceive as necessary social reforms and governmental policy changes, at least four members

of the sample feel that improvement will come only when the "system" itself has been fully altered-- i.e. presumably through force. As stated by one of these four dissenters, "There will be no national elections in 1976. If you need proof, just look at Chicago."

This researcher's initial plan was to personally administer the questionnaires to those comprising the campus dissenter sample group. However, due to the disruption and cancellation of the Chancellor's Review (May 9, 1969), emotional strain and tension on the campus was very high. Several identifiable dissenters refused to cooperate in responding to the questionnaire, and three activists referred to this researcher as a "K.B.I." (i.e. Kansas Bureau of Investigation agent). These circumstances might have led to poor response behavior on the part of the dissenters; however, the situation was resolved through eliciting the assistance of David Bailey (former co-chairman of S.D.S.) in administering the scale and open-end questions to the dissenter sample group. Because of Mr. Bailey's help, this researcher believes that the dissenters responded honestly and openly, as evidenced by the quality of their replies to the three final questions. Unfortunately, however, the above circumstances rendered impossible any attempts to collect specific demographic data on those comprising the dissenter sample.

Attitudes of Dissenter Sample Toward the Alleged Bases of Dissent as Compared with Attitudes of Student Population Sample

Regarding the second question posed as an area of investigation, this researcher completed a statistical analysis of individual scores obtained on the attitude scale by members of the dissenter sample group as well as the student population sample. Analyses of the total scores

for each group yielded a t-score of 9.3318.

As stated in Chapter III, a t-score of 2.58 or above is (with respect to the data used in this study) significant at the .01 level of confidence-- i.e. the probability of error is one out of 100. As the resulting t-score of 9.3318 indicates a significant difference in the total mean scores of the two groups, there may be said to exist a significant difference in the attitudes of the sample populations toward the three alleged bases of dissent. Further support for this conclusion is to be found in the results of the t-tests applied to (the scores obtained by the sample groups on) each of the three conceptual categories comprising the attitude scale: as previously indicated, the mean of the Speech 1-B group was significantly different from that of the campus dissenter group within each of these three categories. (War in Vietnam- Draft: t-score = 10.0827; Establishment- University: t-score = 8.7621; Oppression of Minority Groups: t-score = 6.9410)

In order that the responses of each sample population to individual statements in the attitude scale might be examined more thoroughly, the mean scores for all items are given in Table II. Within the first conceptual category, the statements evoking the most strongly polarized responses from the two groups are #'s 1, 17, 35 and 45. It will be noted that #'s 1, 17, and 35 are "positive" items (i.e. perceived as eliciting favorable responses from the dissenter sample) and that the mean score of the dissenter group on each statement indicates a response of either "Strongly Agree" or "Agree." Conversely, #45 is a "negative" item and (as shown by the mean score of the

TABLE 2

MEAN SCORES OF SAMPLE
GROUPS ON INDIVIDUAL ITEMS

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores: Dissenters/Student Body		Rounded Mean Scores: Dissenters/Student Body	
I. <u>THE WAR IN VIETNAM: THE DRAFT.</u>					
*+	1. The United States is waging a war in Vietnam against a "world Communist threat" which does not exist.	1.93	3.77	2 (A)	4 (D)**
-	9. Persons who oppose the war in Vietnam should keep their opinions to themselves.	1.10	1.67	1 (SD)	2 (D)
-	10. The United States has an obligation to act as a "world policeman."	1.17	2.27	1 (SD)	2 (D)
+	14. The present draft laws should be abolished in favor of voluntary military service.	1.90	2.53	2 (A)	3 (U)
+	17. The U.S. Government should acknowledge moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status.	1.40	2.70	1 (SA)	3 (U)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores:		Rounded Mean Scores:	
		Dissenters/Student	Body	Dissenters/Student	Body
- 25.	Student dissenters who desecrate the American flag in opposition to the war in Vietnam are exhibiting acts of treason.	1.73	3.37	2 (D)	3 (U)
+ 29.	University federal grants involving research in chemical and biological warfare are unnecessary to a university's overall research program.	1.83	2.93	2 (A)	3 (U)
+ 33.	People who oppose the military draft should burn their draft cards in protest.	2.67	4.20	3 (U)	4 (D)
+ 35.	I approve of military deserters.	1.93	3.97	2 (A)	4 (D)
- 37.	Students who break the law in showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam should be drafted ahead of others.	1.17	2.17	1 (SD)	2 (D)
+ 42.	The United States has no chance of winning a military victory in Vietnam.	1.80	2.94	2 (A)	3 (U)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores: Dissenters/Student Body		Rounded Mean Scores: Dissenters/Student Body	
- 45.	The R.O.T.C. program is a necessary part of the university structure.	1.27	3.17	1 (SD)	3 (U)
- 47.	Military recruiters should be permitted to come to university campuses.	2.83	3.67	3 (U)	4 (A)
II. <u>ESTABLISHMENT: THE UNIVERSITY.</u>					
+ 2.	An ideal existence for the youth of today would be total freedom from the dictates of authority.	2.70	4.00	3 (U)	4 (D)
+ 5.	Changes in society must be instantaneous in order to be significant.	3.80	4.10	4 (D)	4 (D)
+ 6.	The university is the brain center for the military-industrial complex.	2.43	3.60	2 (A)	4 (D)
+ 7.	Students should be more militant in defending their interests.	2.43	3.97	2 (A)	4 (D)
- 8.	These days you hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of the majority	1.43	2.93	1 (SD)	3 (U)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Mean Scores:		Rounded Mean Scores:	
	Dissenters/Student Body		Dissenters/Student Body	
+ 11.	Changes for the betterment of the university should be instituted by force.		3 (U)	4 (D)
	3.40	4.17		
+ 13.	Student Dissent will move from the isolation of the university to the masses in society.		2 (A)	3 (U)
	2.30	2.53		
- 16.	Student protests have no place on a college or university campus.		1 (SD)	2 (D)
	1.17	2.07		
- 18.	Most university officials have been too gentle in dealing with student protests on campus.		2 (D)	3 (U)
	1.87	3.10		
+ 20.	Administration building take-overs are an appropriate means of student dissent.		3 (U)	4 (D)
	2.73	4.30		
+ 21.	Student demonstrations should involve the risk of violence.		3 (U)	4 (D)
	3.06	4.20		
+ 22.	Social change influences other values, including society's attitude toward change itself.		2 (A)	2 (A)
	1.57	1.80		

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores:		Rounded Mean Scores:	
		Dissenters/Student	Body	Dissenters/Student	Body
- 24.	Student who disrupt the functioning of a university or college should be expelled.	1.97	3.07	2 (D)	3 (U)
+ 26.	It is right to break the law in order to exemplify the injustice of that law.	1.67	3.73	2 (A)	4 (D)
- 28.	Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) should be banned from all colleges and universities.	1.17	2.33	1 (SD)	2 (D)
+ 30.	Tactics of revolution should be used to bring about changes in society.	2.30	3.80	2 (A)	4 (D)
+ 32.	People should organize themselves in large groups to take what they need.	2.63	3.90	3 (U)	4 (D)
+ 34.	Students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives.	1.27	1.47	1 (SA)	1 (SA)
- 36.	A small segment of the student population must not be allowed to interfere with the majority of students who want to receive their education.	2.63	3.83	3 (U)	4 (A)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores:		Rounded Mean Scores:	
		Dissenters/Student Body	Student Body	Dissenters/Student Body	Student Body
- 38.	Organizations such as S.D.S. receive financial support from communists.	1.83	2.87	2 (D)	3 (U)
- 40.	The majority of the student body will not allow the student radicals to shut down this university.	3.07	3.93	3 (U)	4 (A)
- 41.	Student activists want to change society, but they offer few constructive alternatives.	2.30	3.73	2 (D)	4 (A)
- 44.	Campus security guards should carry firearms.	1.63	3.37	2 (D)	3 (U)
+ 48.	Preventing students from assuming positions of shared leadership with the university administration legitimates student protests.	1.40	2.50	1 (SA)	3 (U)
<u>III. OPPRESSION OF RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS.</u>					
+ 3.	The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society.	1.23	2.67	1 (SA)	3 (U)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores:		Rounded Mean Scores:	
		Dissenters/Student	Body	Dissenters/Student	Body
+ 4.	The university should assume the leadership role in developing assistance programs for members of minority groups.	1.93	2.47	2 (A)	2 (A)
+ 12.	University black student protest is symbolic of that of the black community in U. S. society.	1.93	2.57	2 (A)	3 (U)
+ 15.	Most American universities are racist.	2.47	3.37	2 (A)	3 (U)
+ 19.	Attacking the Establishment will eliminate certain oppressions.	2.23	3.43	2 (A)	3 (U)
+ 23.	The youth of today are prepared to sacrifice personal comforts to help their fellow men.	2.43	2.93	2 (A)	3 (U)
+ 27.	The needs of members of minority groups should be the first consideration of all governmental bodies in the U.S.--federal, state and local.	2.80	3.63	3 (U)	4 (D)
+ 31.	The university entrance requirements for under-graduates should be relaxed for members of minority groups.	2.37	3.63	2 (A)	4 (D)

TABLE 2 (continued)

Item No.	Item	Mean Scores:		Rounded Mean Scores	
		Dissenters/Student	Body	Dissenters/Student	Body
+ 39.	The major cause of Negro riots in the cities is white racism.	1.43	2.50	1 (SA)	3 (U)
+ 43.	Meaningful social change cannot be achieved through traditional American politics.	2.53	2.90	3 (U)	3 (U)
+ 46.	Any university with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies.	1.20	1.87	1 (SA)	2 (A)

*(+) = Positive Item (i.e. favorable to dissenter sample group) (Scored "low" - 1-2-3-4-5)

(-) = Negative Item (i.e. unfavorable to dissenter sample group) (Scored "high" - 5-4-3-2-1)

** (SA) = Strongly Agree

(A) = Agree (I tend to agree.)

(U) = Undecided

(D) = Disagree (I tend to disagree.)

(SD) = Strongly Disagree

dissenter sample) tended to evoke the response "Strongly Disagree." Thus, as a group, the dissenter sample was inclined to agree that the United States is waging a war in Vietnam against a "world Communist threat" which does not exist, that the U. S. Government should acknowledge moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status, and that military deserters deserve approval; with the suggestion that R.O.T.C. is a necessary part of the university structure, however, the dissenter sample strongly disagreed. On the other hand, the student population sample tended to disagree with statements #1 (non-existent Communist threat) and #35 (approval of deserters); yet regarding #17 (moral objection to a particular war) and #45 (R.O.T.C. as necessary part of university), the student populace group reflected indecision.

The items within the first conceptual category which evoked the least disagreement in response from the two sample groups were #9, "Persons who oppose the war in Vietnam should keep their opinions to themselves.," #10, "The United States has an obligation to act as a 'world policeman.'," and #37, "Students who break the law in showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam should be drafted ahead of others." To each of these statements, the dissenter group tended to respond "Strongly Disagree," while the student populace sample generally reacted "Disagree."

In the second conceptual category, "Establishment: University," the statements on which the dissenter and student populace sample were most divided in their responses were #6, "The university is the brain center for the military-industrial complex.," #7, "Students

should be more militant in defending their interests.," #26, "It is right to break a law in order to exemplify the injustice of that law.," #30, "Tactics of revolution should be used to bring about change in society.," and #41, "Student activists want to change society, but they offer few constructive alternatives." Of these five items, the first four are "positive," and as indicated by the corresponding mean scores of the campus dissenters, this group was inclined to agree with each statement. The student body sample, on the other hand, tended to disagree with all four. As the fifth statement, #41, is a "negative" item, the responses of the two groups were reversed, the dissenters being inclined to disagree that activists offer few constructive alternatives in their desire to change society, and the student populace sample generally inclined to agree.

Evoking the greatest similarity of response from the two groups were items #5, "Changes in society must be instantaneous in order to be significant.," #22, "Social change influences other values, including society's attitude toward change itself.," and #34, "Students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives." Of particular interest is the "mean response" of the dissenter sample to #5, for though construed by this researcher as eliciting a positive reaction from this group, the assertion that changes in society must be instantaneous in order to be significant tended to evoke a response of "Disagree" from the dissenters as well as the student sample. In contrast, each group leaned toward "Agree" in reacting to the statement that social change influences other values, and toward "Strongly Agree" in responding to the claim

that students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives. (Both of these items are "positive.")

With respect to the third conceptual category, "Oppression of Minority Groups," the items revealing the greatest division in the responses of the dissenter and student populace samples were #3, "The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society.," #31, "The university entrance requirements for undergraduates should be relaxed for members of minority groups.," and #39, "The major cause of Negro riots in the cities is white racism." As indicated in Table II, all three statements are "positive," and each drew respectively from the dissenter group a mean response of "Strongly Agree," "Agree," and "Strongly Agree." By comparison, while the corresponding mean scores would imply indecision on the part of the student populace sample regarding the issues of minority group oppression and white racism, the student group was inclined to disagree with the statement that university entrance requirements should be relaxed for minority groups.

The items in the third category to which the sample groups tended to give similar reactions were #4, "The university should assume the leadership role in developing assistance programs for members of minority groups.," #43, "Meaningful social change cannot be achieved through traditional American politics.," and #46, "Any university with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies." Each group was inclined to agree with items #4 and #6, yet in responding to the statement that traditional American politics cannot provide meaningful social change, both

samples (as suggested by their mean scores) tended to be "Undecided."

Conclusions

Concerning the attitudes of dissenters at the University of Kansas toward the war in Vietnam, the "establishment," and oppression of minority groups, the results of this study would indicate that although the dissident faction encompasses numerous and essentially conflicting approaches to the phenomenon of protest (e.g. tactical theories ranging from "all legal methods" to "revolutionary councils"), the dissenters, as a group, do appear convinced of the necessity and feasibility of political, educational, and social change in the United States. While these changes need not be immediate or "instantaneous," a majority of the group seem to feel it imperative that the "system"-- i.e. whether the U. S. Government, a state or local government, or a specific university-- recognize their right to protest and make an effort to respond. Focusing on isolated examples, the dissenter sample participating in this project tended to "Strongly Disagree" that the United States must act as a world policeman, thereby implying a desired change in what they perceive as present foreign policy; they tended to "Strongly Disagree" that R.O.T.C. is a necessary part of the university structure, thereby indicating a desire for change in curriculum; they tended to "Strongly Agree" that white racism ferments racial disturbances in U. S. cities, thereby implying a desired change in white attitudes and practices. That such goals can be attributed to all the campus dissenters is unlikely; that all such goals can be achieved is debatable: as submitted previously in Chapter IV, the activists at this university are by no means

united in their convictions regarding either the appropriate means or the ultimate objectives of protest. However, both a desire for and a commitment to change appear to persist among the dissident faction. On the other hand, the general student populace (i.e. as represented in this study by the five sections of Speech 1-B) seem less certain than the dissenters in their attitudes toward the alleged bases of protest-- i.e. less certain regarding the prospect of change. It is significant to note that on twenty of the forty-eight items comprising the attitude scale, the mean response of the student body sample was "Undecided." Again focusing on isolated instances, this group tended to be "Undecided" in regard to governmental acknowledgement of moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status; they tended to be "Undecided" with respect to the legitimacy of campus protests stemming from the administration's barring of students from positions of shared leadership; they tended to be "Undecided" relative to the issue of racism in American universities and cities. Furthermore, the student sample tended to react "Strongly" to only one statement-- i.e. they were inclined to "Strongly Agree" that students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives. It would thus appear that the general student populace is in a state of hesitancy and vacillation in their attitudes toward the U. S. governmental, educational, and social conflicts identified as the alleged bases of campus dissent. They appear not to have determined for themselves exactly what changes should be made and when. In contrast, the campus activists seem to have pinpointed certain problem areas, yet they remain at odds among themselves with respect to the "real" sources of these

troubles and the "best" means of alleviating them.

Despite their general state of indecision, the student populace at Kansas University is apparently not ready to accept the argument of some dissenters that the "means" of protest are justified by the "end." For example, in responding to item #45 in the attitude scale, "The R.O.T.C. program is a necessary part of the university structure.," the student body sample afforded a mean response of "Undecided." However, following the disruption of the Chancellor's Review by campus activists in May, 1969, petitions circulated throughout the campus, some demanding that the violators of the R.O.T.C.'s right to peaceful assembly be "subject to University, state, or national disciplinary action." Other petitions requested the student signatures necessary for the initiation of impeachment proceedings against student body vice-president Marilyn Bowman, who had defied a University ruling by participating in the R.O.T.C. demonstration. (Although the impeachment proceedings narrowly failed, Miss Bowman was later suspended for one semester by the University Disciplinary Board and is now attending another educational institution. In the fall of 1969, senior Frank Zilm was elected to fill the office of vice-president during Miss Bowman's "absence.") Thus, though "Undecided" in regard to the necessity and appropriateness of R.O.T.C. as an accredited course, the general student populace failed to condone the extra-legal means of protest employed by the activists in their disruption of the Chancellor's Review. On the other hand, many of the dissenters appear to have concluded that the "traditional" channels of communication had proved futile and that their moral opposition to the war necessitated more extreme measures of protest.

It is to be noted, however, that no violent confrontations resulted during the demonstration and (as stated earlier in this chapter) that a majority of those attending the S.D.S. "planning session" professed a desire to keep the show of resistance peaceful and serious.

In conclusion then, it would appear that the dissident faction at the University of Kansas is committed-- admittedly in varying degrees-- to effecting change in what they perceive as inadequate and/or discriminatory political, educational and social practices in the United States. While a majority feel that legal means are the most effective, many seem committed to the extent of transgressing certain legal barriers in the face of personal moral dictates. Very few, however, advocate the use of violent tactics as an appropriate means of dissent.

At present, the general student populace seem not to have definitely committed themselves, either to preserving the status quo or to pursuing change; moreover, they have certainly not committed themselves to effecting change through methods beyond the limits of the law. Hence the significant difference in beliefs and opinions reflected by this researcher's attitude scale. Nevertheless, that the student populace appears predominantly "Undecided" is, in itself, of some significance, for a present state of uncertainty implies the possibility of a future inclination toward more active commitment (as well, of course, as a future tendency toward reactionary reprisal). According to Kenniston (1968, p. 323), in the next decade, "barring a major world conflagration," criticisms of American society will probably continue and intensify on two grounds: "first, that it has excluded a significant minority from its prosperity, and second, that

affluence alone is empty without humanitarian, aesthetic, or expressive fulfillment. Both of these trends would strengthen the climate conducive to continuing activism." At this time, however, the researcher feels he cannot accurately predict the direction in which the student-populace attitudinal pendulum will eventually swing; thus, in order that the psychological, social, political, and cultural implications of the New Left Movement might be better understood, the investigator feels it essential that research in the area of dissent be continued.

Finally, while approaches to an analysis of protest activity are numerous, this researcher has learned that one cannot completely remove himself from the "scene" and expect to present a realistic evaluation of dissent: one must, to a certain extent, abandon the library and "see it like it is."

Implications for Further Research

While the primary purpose of this study was to establish a groundwork in the investigation of the phenomenon of dissent, the 48-item scale developed by this researcher is, as a measuring device, both easily administered and easily scored. Each item proved to be statistically significant. Twenty-three of the 48 items yielded t-scores above 6.0000 and could thus be used in the development of an improved campus dissent attitude scale. Furthermore, the negative-positive balance of these 23 items is nearly even (eleven "negative" and twelve "positive": see Appendix D).

The reliability coefficient of .9466 resulting from the split-half reliability estimate is indicative of the adequacy of the item sampling of this instrument; however, this researcher recommends that

any further application of the scale be accompanied by an attempt to establish its construct validity, as at the present time, its validity can be based only on the content of the items. Consequently, any further experimentation involving this instrument should be followed by a factor analysis of the items used in the final selection.

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APPENDIX A

Campus Dissent Attitude Scale, First Draft

CAMPUS DISSENT ATTITUDE SCALE

Directions: Please read this questionnaire carefully, giving your own responses to the items. Sign your name or give your K. U. student number. All personal information will be kept confidential, and all of your answers will be held in strict confidence by this researcher.

For each item, you are to indicate your feelings in terms of

Strongly Agree (SA)
Agree (A) (I tend to agree.)
Undecided (U)
Disagree (D) (I tend to disagree.)
Strongly Disagree (SD)

Please circle the response which you feel is appropriate for each statement. Your first impression is usually your best one. If you should change your mind, place an "X" through your answer and circle another. Please respond to every statement!

I. THE WAR IN VIETNAM: The Draft

Service in the armed forces, however burdensome and distasteful, has been traditionally regarded as an obligation which the state may impose because of citizenship or residence. Rarely has the United States fought a war without loud protests from some of its citizens, and the war in Vietnam is no exception.

- *1. War is hard to eliminate because it is rooted in human nature.
- **2. The United States is waging a war in Vietnam against the specter of a monolithic world Communist threat which simply does not exist.
3. Student dissenters who desecrate the American flag in opposition to the war in Vietnam are exhibiting acts of treason.
- **4. Federal grants involving research in chemical and biological warfare are an unnecessary component of a university's overall research program.
- **5. In Vietnam, the United States' chances for ultimate success in winning a military victory are nil.
6. The R.O.T.C. program is a necessary part of the university structure.
- **7. Military and draft laws should be used to quiet student dissenters who oppose the war in Vietnam.

- **8. The United States has an obligation as a major international power to act as a "world policeman."
- **9. Persons who oppose the war in Vietnam should make their objections known by way of open dissent involving the risk of violence.
- 10. The U.S. Government should acknowledge moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status.
- 11. The present draft laws should be abolished in favor of voluntary military service.

II. "ESTABLISHMENT": Bureaucracy of the University

"... the upper echelon of any institution...those who make decisions which influence the lives of all individuals in that institution...those institutions which comprise the monolithic structure of power and influence controlled by big business and the military."

- 1. An ideal existence for the youth of today would be total freedom from the dictates of authority.
- 2. Student protests have no place on a college or university campus.
- **3. Most university officials have been too lax in dealing with student protests on campus.
- **4. Changes at the university should be instituted by force.
- 5. Social change influences other values, including society's attitude toward change itself.
- 6. Students who disrupt the functioning of a university or college should be expelled.
- 7. Students should be more militant in defending their interests.
- 8. It is right to break a law in order to exemplify the injustice of that law.
- *9. I obey laws of society because of the value of those laws.
- **10. I believe in revolutionary tactics to bring about changes in society.
- **11. Masses of people should organize themselves to take what they need.
- **12. Organizations such as S.D.S. receive inspiration and finances from communists.

13. A small segment of the student population must not be allowed to interfere with the majority of students who want to receive their education.
14. These days you hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of the majority.
15. Student dissent will move from the isolation of the university to the masses in society.
- **16. Students should be given a role in planning university endeavors which affect their lives.
- **17. Student protesters propose few alternatives to our present society and speak primarily in terms of destruction.
18. The university is the brain center for the military-industrial complex.
- *19. The university comes under attack not because it is a major problem in our society but because it is available.
20. Preventing students from assuming positions of shared leadership with the university administration legitimates student protests.
- **21. Administration building take-overs and destruction of property are appropriate methods of student dissent.
- **22. Changes and reforms in society must be instantaneous in order to be significant.

III. OPPRESSION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS

"One of the responsibilities of higher education in regard to society is to study its problems, analyze them, and make recommendations for improvement."--Glenn S. Dumke

1. The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society.
- **2. Black student protest is symbolic of that of the black community as a whole, thus involving wider interest than concerns on the campus.
- **3. Because the Establishment is vulnerable, attacking it will eliminate certain oppressions.
- **4. The youth of today are prepared to sacrifice comforts in order to help their fellow men.
- **5. The individual needs of members of minority groups must be placed ahead of the needs of society.

6. The university entrance requirements for undergraduates should be relaxed for members of minority groups.
- **7. Most American universities are racist whether they mean to be or not.
- **8. Any university with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies if the black student population desires it.
9. Meaningful social change cannot be achieved through traditional American politics.
10. The main cause of Negro riots in the cities is white racism.
11. The university should assume the leadership role in developing assistance programs for members of minority groups.

* Item eliminated for final draft of attitude scale.

** Item was revised for final draft of attitude scale.

APPENDIX B

Campus Dissent Attitude Scale Administered to Sample Groups

CAMPUS DISSENT ATTITUDE SCALE

Directions: Please read this questionnaire carefully, giving your own responses to the items. All personal information will be kept confidential.

For each item, indicate your feelings in terms of the following:

Strongly Agree	(SA)	
Agree	(A)	(I tend to agree)
Undecided	(U)	
Disagree	(D)	(I tend to disagree)
Strongly Disagree	(SD)	

Please circle the response which you feel is appropriate for each statement. Your first impression is usually your best one. If you should change your mind, place an "X" through your answer and circle another. Please respond to every statement.

Positive Item = (+) (i.e. favorable to dissenter sample group)
 Negative Item = (-) (i.e. unfavorable to dissenter sample group)

- + 1. The United States is waging a war in Vietnam against a "world Communist threat" which does not exist.
- + 2. An ideal existence for the youth of today would be total freedom from the dictates of authority.
- + 3. The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society.
- + 4. The university should assume the leadership role in developing assistance programs for members of minority groups.
- + 5. Changes in society must be instantaneous in order to be significant.
- + 6. The university is the brain center for the military-industrial complex.
- + 7. Students should be more militant in defending their interests.
- 8. These days you hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of the majority.
- 9. Persons who oppose the war in Vietnam should keep their opinions to themselves.

- 10. The United States has an obligation to act as a "world policeman."
- + 11. Changes for the betterment of the university should be instituted by force.
- + 12. University black student protest is symbolic of that of the black community in U. S. society.
- + 13. Student dissent will move from the isolation of the university to the masses in society.
- + 14. The present draft laws should be abolished in favor of voluntary military service.
- + 15. Most American universities are racist.
- 16. Student protests have no place on a college or university campus.
- + 17. The U. S. Government should acknowledge moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status.
- 18. Most university officials have been too gentle in dealing with student protests on campus.
- + 19. Attacking the Establishment will eliminate certain oppressions.
- + 20. Administration building take-overs are an appropriate means of student dissent.
- + 21. Student demonstrations should involve the risk of violence.
- + 22. Social change influences other values, including society's attitude toward change itself.
- + 23. The youth of today are prepared to sacrifice personal comforts to help their fellow men.
- 24. Students who disrupt the functioning of a university or college should be expelled.
- 25. Student dissenters who desecrate the American flag in opposition to the war in Vietnam are exhibiting acts of treason.
- + 26. It is right to break the law in order to exemplify the injustice of that law.
- + 27. The needs of members of minority groups should be the first consideration of all governmental bodies in the U.S.-- federal, state, and local.
- 28. Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) should be banned from all colleges and universities.

- + 29. University federal grants involving research in chemical and biological warfare are unnecessary to a university's overall research program.
- + 30. Tactics of revolution should be used to bring about changes in society.
- + 31. The university entrance requirements for undergraduates should be relaxed for members of minority groups.
- + 32. People should organize themselves in large groups to take what they need.
- + 33. People who oppose the military draft should burn their draft cards in protest.
- + 34. Students should be given a role in planning university policies which affect their lives.
- + 35. I approve of military deserters.
- 36. A small segment of the student population must not be allowed to interfere with the majority of students who want to receive their education.
- 37. Students who break the law in showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam should be drafted ahead of others.
- 38. Organizations such as S.D.S. receive financial support from communists.
- + 39. The major cause of Negro riots in the cities is white racism.
- 40. The majority of the student body will not allow the student radicals to shut down this university.
- 41. Student activists want to change society, but they offer few constructive alternatives.
- + 42. The United States has no chance of winning a military victory in Vietnam.
- + 43. Meaningful social change cannot be achieved through traditional American politics.
- 44. Campus security guards should carry firearms.
- 45. The R.O.T.C. program is a necessary part of the university structure.
- + 46. Any university with a substantial number of black students should offer a program of Black Studies.

- 47. Military recruiters should be permitted to come to university campuses.
- + 48. Preventing students from assuming positions of shared leadership with the university administration legitimates student protests.
- 49. WHAT ARE THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION AT K.U.?

- 50. DO YOU ADVOCATE CHANGES IN SCHOOL POLICY AFFECTING MEMBERS OF MINORITY GROUPS AT K.U.? IF SO, WHAT ARE THEY?

- 51. WHAT METHODS OF DISSENT DO YOU ADVOCATE IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE AT K.U.?

APPENDIX C

Campus Dissent Attitude Scale: Answer Sheet

APPENDIX C

CAMPUS DISSENT ATTITUDE SCALE

ANSWER SHEET

- | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. SA A U D SD | 17. SA A U D SD | 33. SA A U D SD |
| 2. SA A U D SD | 18. SA A U D SD | 34. SA A U D SD |
| 3. SA A U D SD | 19. SA A U D SD | 35. SA A U D SD |
| 4. SA A U D SD | 20. SA A U D SD | 36. SA A U D SD |
| 5. SA A U D SD | 21. SA A U D SD | 37. SA A U D SD |
| 6. SA A U D SD | 22. SA A U D SD | 38. SA A U D SD |
| 7. SA A U D SD | 23. SA A U D SD | 39. SA A U D SD |
| 8. SA A U D SD | 24. SA A U D SD | 40. SA A U D SD |
| 9. SA A U D SD | 25. SA A U D SD | 41. SA A U D SD |
| 10. SA A U D SD | 26. SA A U D SD | 42. SA A U D SD |
| 11. SA A U D SD | 27. SA A U D SD | 43. SA A U D SD |
| 12. SA A U D SD | 28. SA A U D SD | 44. SA A U D SD |
| 13. SA A U D SD | 29. SA A U D SD | 45. SA A U D SD |
| 14. SA A U D SD | 30. SA A U D SD | 46. SA A U D SD |
| 15. SA A U D SD | 31. SA A U D SD | 47. SA A U D SD |
| 16. SA A U D SD | 32. SA A U D SD | 48. SA A U D SD |

APPENDIX D

Items With T-score Above 6.0000

APPENDIX D

ITEMS WITH T-SCORE ABOVE 6.0000

Item No.	Item	T-Score
<u>I. THE WAR IN VIETNAM: THE DRAFT</u>		
+ 35.	I approve of military deserters.	14.0000
- 45.	The R.O.T.C. program is a necessary part of the university structure.	10.7517
- 25.	Student dissenters who desecrate the American flag in opposition to the war in Vietnam are exhibiting acts of treason.	9.0874
- 10.	The United States has an obligation to act as a "world policeman."	8.4068
+ 33.	People who oppose the military draft should burn their draft cards in protest.	7.9734
+ 42.	The United States has no chance of winning a military victory in Vietnam.	7.7851
- 37.	Students who break the law in showing their opposition to the war in Vietnam should be drafted ahead of others.	7.3200
+ 17.	The U. S. Government should acknowledge moral objection to a particular war as a basis for determining draft status.	6.4244
+ 1.	The United States is waging a war in Vietnam against a "world Communist threat" which does not exist.	6.3808
+ 14.	The present draft laws should be abolished in favor of voluntary military service.	6.3278
<u>II. ESTABLISHMENT: THE UNIVERSITY</u>		
- 28.	Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) should be banned from all colleges and universities.	9.5454

APPENDIX D (continued)

Item No.	Item	T-Score
- 18.	Most university officials have been too gentle in dealing with student protests on campus.	8.8347
- 41.	Student activists want to change society, but they offer few constructive alternatives.	8.2722
- 16.	Student protests have no place on a college or university campus.	7.7369
- 8.	These days you hear too much about the rights of minorities and not enough about the rights of the majority.	7.4223
+ 26.	It is right to break the law in order to exemplify the injustice of that law.	7.2298
- 24.	Students who disrupt the functioning of a university or college should be expelled.	7.1910
+ 20.	Administration building take-overs are an appropriate means of student dissent.	6.8049
- 44.	Campus security guards should carry firearms.	6.5553
+ 7.	Students should be more militant in defending their interests.	6.2218
<u>III. OPPRESSION OF THE RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS</u>		
+ 43.	Meaningful social change cannot be achieved through traditional American politics.	8.8495
+ 3.	The Establishment is oppressing members of minority groups in our society.	7.8694
+ 12.	University black student protest is symbolic of that of the black community in U. S. society.	6.0876

Positive Item = (+) (i.e. favorable to dissenter sample group)

Negative Item = (-) (i.e. unfavorable to dissenter sample group)