

A VALUE-EXPECTANCY APPROACH TO
CULTURAL REFORM MOVEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Traditional theories, like those of Marx and Parsons, do not explain why the youth from affluent families are in the forefront of the American reform and revolutionary movements. At the psychological level, a value-expectancy theory seems to be compatible with the emergence of affluent revolutionaries and the sociological-level theories of Marx and Parsons. In the present study, negative correlations were found between reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity, and positive correlations were found between reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity. Results also indicated that college courses dealing with American social problems lowered expectations of success in achieving traditional middle class (dominant culture) goals.

INTRODUCTION

The American student movement is not only forcing changes in American institutions, it is also challenging traditional theories of cultural reform movements. Flacks (1970b) stated: "There is a need for a theoretical framework to account for the emergence of oppositional movements among youth" Prior to the American student movement of the early 1960's, revolutionary movements were explained at the sociological level by either the Marxian theory of class struggle or the more contemporary theory of Eisenstadt (1956) and Parsons (1962) of industrialization. However, with the emergence of the current American student movement these theories have become inadequate.

Marxian theory posits that economic differentiation by classes provides a setting for unrest and revolutionary movements. However, Flacks (1970b) noted that the Marxian theory fails to explain several important facts about the American student movement: students do not constitute a class; participation in the movement tends to be associated with high family status and income (Westby & Braugart, 1966; Flacks, 1970a); and cultural opposition to capitalism appears to be more extensive and militant among students than workers.

Eisenstadt (1956) noted that in traditional cultures, exposure to technology, industrialization and Western values brought about a disintegration of the values and authority of the traditional culture. It was further noted by Parsons (1962) that in such cultures the youth were especially avid in bringing about the Western displacement of the traditional cultural order. However, both Eisenstadt and Parsons came to the conclusion that the Eisenstadt-Parsons theory does not explain the American student movement which developed in an industrial society.

Flacks (1970b) concluded his survey on the American student movement by stating that "A comparative perspective on student movements and generational revolt leads us to seek a theoretical framework which transcends the Marxian view of the sources of revolutionary impulse in capitalistic society, and the Parsonian view that such impulses are not characteristic of advanced industrial society."

It is the basic contention in this thesis that social reform movements - specifically the current American student movement - can be effectively studied at the psychological level and, in part, explained by a value-expectancy theory of motivation. Briefly stated, value-expectancy is a function of the expected rewards and punishments of the outcomes of any behavioral act, and the costs associated

with the act itself. The individual evaluates likely outcomes of each action being considered and is motivated in the direction of that action which offers the greatest expected payoff. In the same way, the individual is repelled from an action which yields a low payoff. A value-expectancy approach to cultural reform movements would suggest that a collection of individuals who expect low payoffs from the dominant culture and/or who are attracted to a counter-culture which offers a higher expectancy of payoffs, would be likely candidates for reform and revolutionary movements.

Due to the complexity of the implications of the value-expectancy theory, many studies would be necessary to explore all the possible rewards, punishments and costs involved in cultural reform movements. This present investigation will focus on the expectations of rewards associated with dominant cultural values and cultural identity. Acceptance of dominant cultural values is operationally defined by the scores on the Future Expectations Questionnaire (pp. 7-14). Cultural identity is operationally defined by the scores on the Cultural Identity Questionnaire (pp. 15-18). The following hypotheses are therefore proposed.

- 1a. A positive correlation will be found between total reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity.
- 1b. A negative correlation will be found between total reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity.¹

Reward-expectations have been further specified (see Methods, p.9) so that the following relationships are also hypothesized.

- 2a. A positive correlation will be found between expensive material reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity.
- 2b. A negative correlation will be found between expensive material reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity.
- 3a. A positive correlation will be found between technological reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity.
- 3b. A negative correlation will be found between technological reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity.
- 4a. A positive correlation will be found between occupational reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity.
- 4b. A negative correlation will be found between occupational reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity.
- 5a. A positive correlation will be found between family-related reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity.
- 5b. A negative correlation will be found between family-related reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity.
- 6a. A positive correlation will be found between church-related reward-expectations and dominant cultural identity.
- 6b. A negative correlation will be found between church-related reward-expectations and counter-cultural identity.

1 Separate measures are used to determine dominant cultural identity and counter-cultural identity.

- 7a. A positive correlation will be found between expectations of national success and dominant cultural identity.
- 7b. A negative correlation will be found between expectations of national success and counter-cultural identity.
- 8a. A negative correlation will be found between expectations of national failure and dominant cultural identity.
- 8b. A positive correlation will be found between expectations of national failure and counter-cultural identity.
- 9a. A positive correlation will be found between expectations of international success and dominant cultural identity.
- 9b. A negative correlation will be found between expectations of international success and counter-cultural identity.
- 10a. A negative correlation will be found between expectations of international failure and dominant cultural identity.
- 10b. A positive correlation will be found between expectations of international failure and counter-cultural identity.

If a value-expectancy approach to cultural reform movements is to be seriously considered, then this approach should also be relevant to the dynamics of "radicalization" (increased counter-cultural identity). Since human motivation is heavily influenced by learning, it is speculated that the nature of the information to which an individual is exposed might be the key to his/her changes in expectations of reward and cultural identity. It is hypothesized that exposure to information about social problems creates a learning situation which will change an individual's reward-expectations and cultural identity. The following hypotheses are therefore proposed.

11. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased total personal reward-expectations.
12. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased expensive material reward-expectations.
13. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased technological reward-expectations.
14. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased occupational reward-expectations.
15. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased family-related reward-expectations.
16. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased church-related reward-expectations.
- 17a. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased expectations of national success.
- 17b. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of increased expectations of national failure.
- 18a. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased expectations of international success.
- 18b. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of increased expectations of international failure.
- 19a. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of decreased dominant cultural identity
- 19b. Exposure to information about American social problems will produce changes in the direction of increased counter-cultural identity.

METHOD

Subjects:

All subjects were college students enrolled in four, three-unit undergraduate courses at Fresno State College during the Spring semester, 1971. One hundred and eighty-four subjects participated in the pre-test and 79 of the original 184 participated in the post-test. Subject losses were due to drops, absences, and an inability to post-test (due to rescheduling) one of the four courses.

Three of the courses used in this study dealt with social and ecological problems in America, and one was an introductory psychology course. Due to the nature of this study, all professors requested that the course titles and content remain confidential.

Instruments:

I. Personal Expectations Questionnaire (see Appendix, p. 38)

This questionnaire consists of twenty statement-items concerning personal reward-expectations from the dominant culture. The following instructions were included on each questionnaire:

Please decide the probability (%) of the following statements coming true during your lifetime. Note: 0% would mean that the statement is totally unlikely to occur; and 100% would mean that it is certain to happen. Your answer should be any percentile between 0 and 100. Please keep in mind that you should answer as you believe it might happen, rather than as you would like it to happen.

The twenty statement-items were grouped into the following five variable-categories for analysis:

1. Expensive Material Reward-Expectations (6 items)

- (1)¹ owning a new boat.
- (6). owning a complete in-style wardrobe for myself and my family.
- (11). vacationing in Europe.
- (15). owning a home that is paid for.
- (18). owning land for a second residence or recreation.
- (20). owning a high priced automobile.

2. Technological Reward-Expectations (2 items)

- (2). living a long, healthy life through medical advancements.
- (7). leading a happy, leisurely life due to technology.

3. Occupational Reward-Expectations (4 items)

- (3). finding a secure occupation.
- (8). reaching the top of whatever occupation I choose.
- (12). finding an occupation with which I'll be totally satisfied.
- (16). earning enough to be in the upper-middle class.

4. Family-Related Reward-Expectations (5 items)

- (4). providing for my children's education through college.
- (9). finding a neighborhood which will suit the tastes of my family.
- (13). being married only once.
- (17). finding schools to which I would like to send my children.
- (19). being alive to see my children reach middle age.

5. Church-Related Reward-Expectations (3 items)

- (5). finding answers to my moral and existential questions through the church.
- (10). basing the values which I teach my children upon the church.
- (14). making major decisions in my life in accordance with the church.

1 Numbers in parentheses refer to the location of items on the instrument.

The following table indicates the correlations between the probability score of each item and the mean probability score of the following groups of items: expensive material, technological, occupational, family-related, church-related, and the total mean probability score for all items of this instrument. The mean probability scores were calculated for each subject.

	Expensive material	Technological	Occupational	Family-related	Church-related	Total
1	.37	.36	.39	.31	.32	.37
2	.33	.33	.33	.31	.31	.33
3	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
4	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
5	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
6	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
7	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
8	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
9	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
10	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
11	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
12	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
13	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
14	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
15	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
16	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
17	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
18	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
19	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
20	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
21	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
22	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
23	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
24	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
25	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
26	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
27	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
28	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
29	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
30	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
31	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
32	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
33	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
34	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
35	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
36	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
37	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
38	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
39	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
40	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
41	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
42	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
43	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
44	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
45	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
46	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
47	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
48	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
49	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
50	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
51	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
52	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
53	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
54	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
55	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
56	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
57	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
58	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
59	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
60	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
61	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
62	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
63	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
64	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
65	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
66	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
67	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
68	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
69	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
70	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
71	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
72	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
73	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
74	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
75	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
76	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
77	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
78	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
79	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
80	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
81	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
82	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
83	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
84	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
85	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
86	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
87	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
88	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
89	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
90	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
91	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
92	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
93	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
94	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
95	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
96	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
97	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
98	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
99	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39
100	.39	.39	.39	.31	.31	.39

TABLE 1

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation
Coefficient: Item-Factor relationships
for the Personal Reward-Expectations
Questionnaire. Pre-test. 1

Items	Factor					
	Expensive Material	Tech.	Occup.	Family	Church	Total
Expensive Material						
1	.76	.20	.40	.37	.16	.59
6	.73	.35	.39	.58	.33	.72
11	.61	.22	.27	.59	.31	.68
15	.33	.12	-.04	-.03	-.22	-.01
18	.77	.29	.47	.19	-.08	.52
20	.70	.56	.72	.45	.13	.72
Tech.						
2	.08	.42	.06	.48	.15	.22
7	.54	.77	.70	.36	.18	.68
Occup.						
3	.21	.41	.74	.16	.15	.22
8	.56	.49	.77	.32	.31	.72
12	.36	.28	.69	.21	.20	.51
16	.67	.37	.68	.47	.35	.73
Family						
4	.42	.45	.57	.55	.15	.52
9	.60	.54	.42	.61	.18	.71
13	.11	.06	-.05	.72	.52	.36
17	.41	.44	.18	.69	.31	.52
19	.13	.39	.12	.54	.36	.33
Church						
5	.28	.20	.45	.31	.84	.60
10	.36	.22	.49	.45	.83	.71
14	.26	.18	.42	.38	.85	.60

II. National and International Expectations Questionnaire (see Appendix p. 42).

This questionnaire consists of twenty-four statement-items concerning one's national and international expectations of success or failure. The same instructions were used for this instrument as were used for the Personal Expectations Questionnaire.

Twelve statements referred to national issues and twelve statements referred to international issues. Statements were worded either positively (success) or negatively (failure)¹ so that four categories were formed with six item-statements within each category. The following is a listing of the four categories with their accompanying items (each category to be used as a separate variable in analysis of results).

1. National Success (6 items)

- (3). smog-free cities and pollution-free food.
- (7). ZPG (Zero Population Growth) achieved in America.
- (11). honest politicians not dominated by industry or other interest groups.
- (15). a stable, comfortable standard of living.
- (19). an effective, "meaningful" and "relevant" public educational system.
- (23). employment opportunities for all Americans.

¹ Since a validation study was not undertaken, 'success' or 'failure' represents what the Experimenters believed to be the common usage of these terms.

2. National Failure (6 items)

- (1). a national famine affecting all economic classes.
- (5). banning by the FDA (Food & Drug Administration) of all animal and fish meats due to impurities.
- (9). bankruptcy claimed by 30% of America's industry.
- (13). another president being assassinated.
- (17). one-third of the U.S. labor force unemployed.
- (21). military confrontations with alien forces occurring within the U.S..

3. International Success (6 items)

- (2). successful international disarmament.
- (6). establishment of a standardized, solvent world-wide economic system.
- (10). minimum nutrition and health care available to everyone in the world.
- (14). destruction of all nuclear weapons.
- (18). Zero Population Growth on a world-wide basis.
- (22). technological solutions to the major ecological problems of the world.

4. International Failure (6 items)

- (4). substantial totalitarian takeovers of Latin America.
- (8). nuclear warfare between the US and China.
- (12). world-wide unemployment and starvation leading to a "survival of the fittest" state.
- (16). yet unheard-of diseases and mutations caused by chemical pollution.
- (20). a world-wide economic depression.
- (24). world-wide plaques and disease epidemics.

The following table indicates the correlations between the probability score of each item and the mean probability score of the following groups of items: national success, national failure, international success, and international failure. The mean probability scores were calculated for each subject.

TABLE 2

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation
Coefficient: Item-Variable relationships
for the National and International
Expectations Questionnaire. Pre-test. 1

Items	Variables			
	Nat. Success	Nat. Failure	Internat. Success	Internat. Failure
Nation Success				
3	.66	-.15	.50	-.08
7	.65	.18	.68	.20
11	.69	-.20	.41	.03
15	.66	-.23	.32	-.08
19	.80	-.14	.55	.12
23	.71	-.30	.44	.03
Nation Failure				
1	-.25	.70	.11	.50
5	-.22	.40	.14	.26
9	.17	.66	.17	.50
13	-.08	.39	.06	.33
17	-.09	.57	.08	.29
21	.31	.50	.36	.34
Internat. Success				
2	.32	.09	.59	.08
6	.27	.22	.66	.15
10	.30	.14	.29	.07
14	.59	.26	.71	.14
18	.54	-.12	.49	-.07
22	.58	.11	.47	.27
Internat. Failure				
4	.08	.05	.19	.12
8	.10	.22	.23	.31
12	-.01	.69	.08	.77
16	.13	.38	.07	.52
20	.08	.45	.09	.62
24	.13	.59	.14	.84

III. Cultural Identity Questionnaire (see Appendix p. 46).

This instrument consists of a listing of forty groups or organizations. The following instructions were included on each questionnaire:

Please answer the following questions using the scale below. Take time before beginning to familiarize yourself with this scale. Answer each question as if transportation, time and money are not factors. Please base your answers upon what knowledge you have of the group or upon the information given.

- +3 I would contribute to and become actively involved in such a group.
- +2 I would contribute to but would not be too active in such a group.
- +1 I believe in most of the ideals of such a group, but would probably never associate myself with it in any way
- 1 I don't believe in the ideals of this group and would never associate myself with it in any way.
- 2 I would like to see such a group fail and disband.
- 3 I would actively work and/or contribute to an effort to disband such a group.

A validation study (see Appendix p. 35 for instrument and results) was completed after the pre-test to determine which groups were associated with the dominant culture and which groups were associated with a counter-culture. The validation study was conducted after pre-testing so that the subjects could be tested at the beginning of the semester.

Method - Validation Study: One hundred college students who were in the Fresno State College student coffee shop between 10 A.M. and noon on Monday, January 11, 1971, were asked to complete a short questionnaire. The following instructions were included on each validity-questionnaire:

Please rate the following groups by the scale below.

C - Groups which you would identify with the movement, or groups which you feel to be anti-establishment or counter-culture.

D - Groups which you would identify with the dominant culture, the establishment or status-quo.

Mark either a C for counter-culture or a D for dominant culture.

Only those items that received an eighty percent agreement as to cultural identity were used for analysis of results.

Although all forty items were given for the pre-test and the post-test, only the following twenty-one items achieved the eighty percent criterion to be used in analysis:

1. Dominant Culture Groups (13 items)

- (2). An advertising agency.
- (3). College service or honor organizations such as Blue Key or Spurs.
- (5). A college fraternity or sorority.
- (12). Rotary Club
- (15). The American Legion
- (18). A nationally organized church
- (22). A military organization

- (24). A sales committee for a large corporation
- (27). The local Chamber of Commerce
- (30). Committee to enforce and legislate obscenity laws.
- (32). Christian Businessmen group
- (35). Suburban housewives social group (Males, answer for your wife or girl friend).
- (37). The local Country Club.

2. Counter-Culture Groups (8 items)

- (1). Resistance, an organization to encourage draft resistance.
- (4). Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
- (7). A psychic exploration group of LSD and/or other hallucinogenic users.
- (8). Woman's Liberation group (Males, answer for your wife or girl friend).
- (14). A subsistence farming commune in the country.
- (23). Group marriages and families.
- (29). A committee to establish an underground newspaper in Fresno, like the L.A. Free Press or the Berkeley Tribe.
- (31). A defense committee for the professors fired at FSC.

The following table indicates the correlations between the mean score of each item and the mean score of the following groups of items: counter-culture, and dominant culture. The mean scores were calculated for each subject.

TABLE 3

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation
Coefficient: Item-Factor relationships
for the Cultural Identity Questionnaire.
Pre-test.1

Items	Dominant	Factors	Counter
Dominant			
2	.74		-.40
3	.74		-.52
5	.70		-.46
12	.61		-.24
15	.84		-.59
18	.48		-.15
22	.76		-.77
24	.70		-.48
27	.69		-.49
30	.63		-.60
32	.65		-.57
35	.70		-.54
37	.74		-.50
Counter			
1	-.50		.75
4	-.57		.62
7	-.58		.82
8	-.34		.44
14	-.37		.67
23	-.38		.57
29	-.48		.79
31	-.33		.52

Design:

A pre-test utilizing all instruments was given during the first week of instruction to 184 subjects enrolled in the four college courses. A post-test utilizing all instruments was given during the last week of instruction to 79 subjects enrolled in three of the original four courses. One of the three courses dealing with social problems was impossible to post-test due to an inconvenience to the professor.

Correlational hypotheses, 1a through 10b, utilized all 184 subjects taking the pre-test. For hypotheses 11 through 19b, the courses dealing with social problems served as the experimental treatment and the introductory psychology course served as the control treatment. The following table indicates the number of subjects in each treatment group, for the pre-test and the post-test. Student assignment to treatment groups was determined by the subjects' enrollment (self-selection) in these courses.

TABLE 4

Design & Number of Subjects

Repeated Measure	Control Treatment	Experimental Treatment Groups			Total Number of Subjects
	Introductory Psychology	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	
Pre-Test	59	54	29	42	184
Post-Test	42	25	12	0	79

Procedure:

Subjects were tested in their classroom during their regular course time. The experimenter was introduced to the students by the professor as a graduate student from the psychology department. The questionnaires were distributed and the subjects were then asked to read the instructions carefully and to try to answer all questions. Subjects questions were answered individually. There was no time allotment and most subjects finished between twenty and thirty minutes. When the entire class was finished, the questionnaires were collected and the experimenter expressed his thanks. After the pre-test, there was no mention of a post-test. The same procedure was followed for both pre-test and post-test.

RESULTS

Personal Expectations Questionnaire:

Mean probabilities of each variable were calculated for each subject. For this instrument, the total mean probability was also computed for each subject. The following six mean probabilities were calculated from this instrument to be used as separate variables in the analysis: total personal rewards, expensive material rewards, technological rewards, occupational rewards, family-related rewards, and church-related rewards.

National & International Expectations Questionnaire:

Mean probabilities of each variable were calculated for each subject. The following four mean probabilities were calculated from this instrument: national success, national failure, international success, and international failure.

Cultural Identity Questionnaire:

The subjects' responses were converted from the given six-point scale to a seven-point continuous scale as follows:

3 converted to	7	no response or 0 converted to	4
2 converted to	6	-1 converted to	3
1 converted to	5	-2 converted to	2
		-1 converted to	1

Using the seven-point scale, a mean score was calculated for dominant cultural identity using the 13 items indicated in Methods (p. 16), and a mean score was calculated for counter-cultural identity using the eight items indicated in Methods (p. 17).

For experimental hypotheses 1a through 10b, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was computed. The scores from the 184 pre-test subjects were used in these computations. The following table summarizes the results for each hypothesis:¹

TABLE 5

Pearson's Product Moment Correlation
Coefficient: Reward-Expectations
and Cultural Identity. Pre-test.¹

Hypothesis number	Reward-Expectation Variable	Cultural Identity Variable	
		Dominant	Counter
1a	Total Personal	.58*	
1b	"		-.35*
2a	Expensive Material	.48*	
2b	"		-.21*
3a	Technological	.37*	
3b	"		-.14
4a	Occupational	.52*	
4b	"		-.25*
5a	Family-Related	.38*	
5b	"		-.23*
6a	Church-Related	.47*	
6b	"		-.35*
7a	National Success	.28*	
7b	"		-.12
8a	National Failure	-.12	
8b	"		.21
9a	International Success	.23*	
9b	"		.01
10a	International Failure	-.23*	
10b	"		.18

* $p < .05$

These results are all in the predicted direction, with the exception of Hypothesis number 9b.

A coefficient of .22 is significant at the 5 percent level for an N of 184. The following experimental hypotheses are therefore not supported: 2b, 3b, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9b, and 10b.

To test the experimental hypotheses 11 through 19b, F-scores were calculated to indicate the degree of interaction between time of test (pre-test to post-test) and method (experimental and control groups). The following design was used for the F-score calculations: A two-way analysis of variance; one between and one within with repeated measures; using an unweighted means solution (Weiner, 1962).

The statistical null hypothesis was that there would be no interaction between time of test and method.

A control group was used to account for any effects of the pre-test and to be indicative of effects that the total college or social environment might have contributed.

The following table gives the results for each experimental hypothesis:

TABLE 6

Analysis of Variance Interaction: Effects of
Exposure to Information About Social Problems

Hypothesis Number and Method	Pre-test mean	Post-test mean	Interaction F-score
11 - Total Personal			
Control	63.8	62.6	
Experimental	60.3	53.8	6.57*
12 - Expensive Material			
Control	55.1	58.2	
Experimental	52.3	47.2	7.57*
13 - Technological			
Control	66.6	67.9	
Experimental	62.8	62.2	.27
14 - Family-related			
Control	75.9	73.4	
Experimental	72.1	68.8	.08
15 - Occupational			
Control	68.9	66.5	
Experimental	68.0	58.8	4.81*
16 - Church-related			
Control	51.0	47.2	
Experimental	38.6	32.9	.22
17a - National Success			
Control	35.4	36.0	
Experimental	28.8	24.8	1.72
17b - National Failure			
Control	40.9	41.2	
Experimental	47.2	48.3	.07
18a - Internat. Success			
Control	28.7	29.1	
Experimental	24.8	27.7	.81
18b - Internat. Failure			
Control	39.2	40.0	
Experimental	50.7	49.7	.28
19a - Dominant Culture			
Control	4.4	4.2	
Experimental	4.2	3.9	1.73
19b - Counter-Culture			
Control	4.3	4.2	
Experimental	4.7	4.8	3.05

* $p < .05$

Significant interaction F-scores beyond the five percent level were found for total personal reward-expectations, expensive material reward-expectations, and occupational reward-expectations. Of course, hypotheses 12 and 14 (expensive material and occupational) are not independent of hypothesis 11 (total personal), but rather explain what parts of the total personal rewards measure were differentially affected.

Significant treatment effects for total personal reward-expectations was due to a 1.2 decrease in the control group and a 6.3 decrease in the experimental group.

Significant treatment effects for expensive material reward-expectations was due to a 3.1 increase in the control group and a 4.9 decrease in the experimental group.

Significant treatment effects for occupational reward-expectations was due to a 2.4 decrease in the control group and a 9.2 decrease in the experimental group.

DISCUSSION

Methodology:

Subjects used in this study were all undergraduate students attending a state college with an agricultural emphasis. Further studies utilizing the instruments and/or hypotheses of this study might use populations of students and non-students who identify with, and are active in, counter-cultural movements.

Since the subjects selected the classes used in this study, personality differences between those in the sociology classes (experimental) and those in the psychology class (control) may have accounted for the significant results obtained. Class presentation of information was the independent variable and it, in interaction with the personality differences, may have also accounted for the obtained results. Random assignment of subjects to treatment groups would have eliminated this confounding, but was not practical on our low budget.

The results in Table 5 indicate that reward-expectations are related to cultural identity. A value-expectancy theory would predict these results; however, further studies are required to determine the expected negative as well as positive payoffs (rewards used in these instruments) associated with each culture - dominant and counter.

Reward Expectancy and Cultural Identity:

Table 5 seems to suggest that future expectations of reward are more highly associated with the dominant culture than the counter-culture. This association is consistent with the assumption that the reward-expectation variables used in the present study (see Methods, p. 8-11) reflect American dominant cultural values and rewards.

The lower coefficients found between reward-expectation and counter-cultural identity than between reward-expectation and dominant cultural identity could also be due to the diversity and ideological changes occurring within the counter-cultural movement. The American counter-culture at the present time can be characterized by rapid changes in, and a lack of agreement upon, basic values, goals, life-styles and philosophies. Jerry Rubin (1971) makes the following statement about the difficulties he encountered in writing the book We Are Everywhere: "Like everyone else I am going through a 1000 personal and political changes these days, and it was hard getting my ideas in final form." Given these rapid changes happening within the counter-cultural movement, measurement of a counter-cultural identity becomes very difficult. The items used to measure counter-culture identity in the present study do not cover the possible range of counter-cultural groups, and the lack of ideological agreement among groups could have further deflated the total score of counter-cultural identity.

Effects of Classroom Exposure to Information About American Social Problems:

The results presented in Table 6 imply that classroom exposure to information about American social problems is associated with decreased reward-expectations. These findings indicate negative effects of exposure to information about American social problems upon reward-expectations associated with the dominant culture. However, cultural identity was not significantly altered. These insignificant changes in cultural identity might indicate that the value-expectancy approach to cultural reform movements is unfounded. However, arguments will now be made for further research.

Since Table 5 suggests some relationships between reward-expectations and cultural identity, and since exposure to information about American social problems did significantly decrease reward-expectations for three¹ of the nine variables tested, further studies seem to be justified. Since significant changes in cultural identity during one semester of college are not too likely, more intensive experimental treatments are suggested for further investigations.

Further studies associating learning with identity change and exploring the value-expectancy approach to

¹ As noted before (p. 27) two are components of the third variable.

cultural reform movements might also help explain the findings presented in the Introduction (p. 1f) which were not consistent with the theories of Marx and Parsons. A psychological theory such as value-expectancy utilizes learning models to explain changes in motivation. Flacks (1967, 1970a) noted that students with poor academic records are under-represented in the movement and that movement students have above average aptitude for academic work, and perform at above average levels. Flacks (1970b) also found that cultural opposition to capitalism is more extensive and militant among students than workers. The phrase 'American student movement' obviously implies an intellectual-learning basis.

Another unexplained finding (Flacks, 1970a; Westby & Braugart, 1966) mentioned in the Introduction (p. 2) was that participants in the movement tend to be from families with high status and income. Kenniston (1968) made similar observations about the 'radicals' he studied. These findings can be explained as reflecting cultural inequalities in the opportunities to learn. In the American capitalist system, higher education is a purchased service or commodity, more readily accessible to the affluent than to the economically deprived. There is a general agreement in developmental studies, summarized by Deutsch, Katz, and Jensen (1968), that children from the lower economic classes and minority groups are not

prepared psychologically and/or academically for success in the educational institutions in America. Therefore, if certain types of learning in college are associated with lowered reward-expectations and increased counter-cultural identity, then individuals from affluent families would be more likely to become involved in counter-cultural movements than would individuals from poor families. However, the present study did not substantiate a relationship between classroom learning and cultural reform movements. And few if any of these subjects could be called 'movement' students. Results from Tables 5 and 6 do indicate, however, that a value-expectancy approach is supported by some data.

Summary:

Results from this study yielded 14 out of 20 significant correlation coefficients in the hypothesised direction between reward-expectations and cultural identity.

Exposure to information about American social problems decreased reward-expectations for expensive material consumption and occupational success. Cultural identity was not significantly changed due to this exposure.

Arguments were presented for studies exploring other implications of the value-expectancy approach.

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