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McNair Research Grant Study



An Analytical Survey Study of the Bias Detection Ability
of Subjects Regarding Print Media Coverage
of a Controversial Scandal.



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ABSTRACT

This research addresses several elements of media bias through the use of a two-pronged study conducted during a typical weekly session of the required introductory speech class at Concord College, a four-year liberal arts college of approximately 2600 students.

The first prong of the study does the following: 1) determines the knowledge of students regarding information covered by the media during the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, 2) asks questions about gender, gpa, and political (value) identification, 3) measures general knowledge of other events of "global" importance which received significant simultaneous media coverage, specifically regarding situations in, Yugoslavia (Kosovo), North Korea, and Russia, and 4) also asks respondents to rate on a scale of 1-5 whether they agree or disagree with the statement that "Clinton should have been removed from office."

The second prong determines the bias detection ability of the same subjects when asked to read an article and "rate" on a scale of 1-5 whether they believed the article treated Clinton fairly. The article is significantly biased against Clinton--it contains three forms of bias, each occurring twice.

Based upon the data collected, this study analyzes the relationship between ability to detect bias (perception), predisposition (opinion regarding Clinton's removal from office), and knowledge. It was predicted that predisposition would affect the subjects' ability to detect the presence of bias. It was also predicted that subjects who received higher knowledge scores would also have higher bias detection ability scores. Reasoning for this hypothesis was simply that subjects who were "more knowledgeable" about global events would have an increased likelihood of detecting unfair message material about an issue when compared to subjects who were less knowledgeable about global events.

This study reveals that a subject's perception of bias is related to his or her predisposition (opinion): subjects who believed Clinton should have been removed from office were more likely to see the article as fair.

In addition to the above, there were several subhypotheses which were studied. Please refer to the Hypotheses and Discussion sections for more information.

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SETTING

The Statement of the Problem:

This study analyzes the ability of receivers to recognize the presence of bias when used by the print media.

The Statement of the Subproblems:

The first subproblem is an analysis of the amount and quality of factual information respondents have gained from their exposure to the media coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. The second subproblem analyzes the capability of respondents to recognize the presence of intentional bias in a news article written about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. The third subproblem is to determine, through an analysis of corresponding Knowledge and Detection Ability survey scores of each respondent, the extent to which any predisposition toward or against Clinton (regarding whether he should or should not have been removed from office) affects a respondent's ability to detect bias. The fourth subproblem is to determine whether a correlation exists between respondents' political identification (Republican or Democrat) and their ability to perceive this particular type of bias in a news article. The fifth subproblem is to determine whether a correlation exists between respondents' gender and their ability to perceive bias. The sixth subproblem is to determine whether a correlation exists between respondents' college grade point average (gpa) and 1) their ability to detect bias and

2) their Knowledge Test scores. The seventh subproblem is to determine, through an analysis of the Knowledge Test, whether there is a relationship between the amount of knowledge respondents have regarding the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal and other global events, the notion being that the coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal will be greater than that of other global events.

THE HYPOTHESES

There are several hypotheses regarding the probable outcome of this research.

-1- The first hypothesis is the Predisposition Hypothesis (perception vs. predisposition).

In general terms, this hypothesis argues that subjects whose attitudes are predisposed toward a particular belief will be more likely to perceive information as supportive of their viewpoint. In the case at hand, the hypothesis would predict that subjects who said Clinton should have been removed from office will be more likely to view the article as fair (and therefore less likely to detect bias). This is because those who believe Clinton should have been removed from office will be less likely to see the negativity injected into the article. Although the article is "biased" against Clinton, they will believe the biased portrayal is accurate because it matches their own perceptions of Clinton as well as their opinion that he should have been removed from office. This hypothesis is the main focus of the study. Other hypotheses include the following:

-2- The second hypothesis is the Affiliation vs. Perception Hypothesis. This hypothesis is similar to the first and argues that subjects who have a point of commonality with an individual being covered by the media will be more likely to detect any negative bias against that individual. Regarding the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, this hypothesis would predict that subjects who identify themselves as Democrats are more likely to detect bias (and view the article as unfair). The rationale for this hypothesis is best exemplified by the concept of selective perception. Democrats identify with the values (at least politically) of Clinton. They are

therefore *less* likely to see his actions as “bad” or as the result of his own fault.

-3- The third hypothesis is the Gender vs. Perception Hypothesis. It is also similar in reasoning to the two hypotheses explained above. This hypothesis argues that a receiver who recognizes a point of commonality between him/herself and the individual being portrayed by the media will be more likely to recognize unfair treatment. In this instance, the hypothesis predicts that men are more likely to view the article’s treatment of Clinton as unfair. (Women, in turn, will perceive the biased treatment as fair). Males will identify with Clinton, another male, and will consider his actions less “bad” than women will. It must be noted, however, that there is some justification for the notion that women would be more likely to continue favoring Clinton, too. He was heavily supported by females during his past presidential campaigns.

-4- The fourth hypothesis is the GPA vs. Perception Hypothesis. This hypothesis argues that subjects with higher grade point averages will be more likely to detect bias than subjects with lower gpas. Students with higher gpas have demonstrated their ability to read and analyze written material, to a greater degree, through their higher scores in course subjects. They have been exposed to more material and/or possess a greater understanding of material to which they have been exposed than subjects with lower gpas. They will therefore be more likely to detect unfair treatment of a subject within written material (in this case, the article).

-5- The fifth hypothesis is the GPA vs. Knowledge Hypothesis. This hypothesis argues that subjects with higher gpas will score higher on the Knowledge Survey. Justification for this

reasoning is as follows: students with higher gpas are more educated, more likely to watch and analyze the news, and are more likely to be exposed to material less-covered by the media.

-6- The sixth hypothesis is the Perception vs. Knowledge Hypothesis. This hypothesis argues that subjects with higher scores on the Knowledge Survey will be more likely to detect bias. The justification for this argument is that respondents with greater knowledge about (and, therefore, more exposure to) a subject will be better able to determine whether non-factual, opinionated bias has been injected into an article.

-7- The seventh hypothesis is the Knowledge (Test) vs. Event (Test) Hypothesis. This hypothesis argues that subjects will be more likely to possess accurate knowledge about issues within the United States covered extensively by the media than about current issues of international concern. This hypothesis deals with any discrepancy that may exist as a whole between respondents' Knowledge scores (taken from the Knowledge Test portion of the Knowledge Survey) and their Event scores (taken from the Event Test portion of the Knowledge Survey). This particular hypothesis argues that subjects will score significantly higher on questions regarding the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal than questions regarding U.S. involvement with three key countries/nations at the time: Yugoslavia (Kosovo), North Korea, and Russia. Justification for this hypothesis would be the greater media coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal than could be considered "typical" for a subject, and less coverage of events happening elsewhere.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is important for several reasons. It will help determine the extent to which knowledge gained of a particular event (in this case, the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal) may be incorrect and gained unknowingly through biased printed material. It will thereby reveal the ability of biased news media or media products to affect the perception of respondents without the awareness of the respondents.

Avenues for further thought and discussion regarding the impact that political affiliation, gender, and grade point averages of respondents may have on their ability to detect the existence of biased information are also paved by this study. In addition, the study explores the possibility that greater knowledge may, in fact, guard against misperceptions.

A final "notion of importance" worthy of mention is that this study should shed some light on the "power" and impact that opinions/predispositions have in influencing one's perception.

THE REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

The potential negative impacts of media bias become ever more important as the world progresses into the 21st century. In the past, “knowledge” was principally limited to the elite or members of particular classes or sects of society. Besides this, the transmission of knowledge over significant distances took time, so the incorporation and integration of that knowledge had a more gradual impact on those who received it and their surroundings. Today, knowledge, or “news,” is acquired instantaneously and many times has an immediate effect.

Take, for instance, the effect of any statement made by the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Alan Greenspan. If he says that interest rates will be raised by one-half point, there is an immediate effect. The media covers the press conference and reports to waiting cameras. News stations transmit what is being said to homes and business offices everywhere. Almost instantaneously, people have acquired important knowledge which will be used to make decisions. The stock market fluctuates as a result, and the values of certain companies may increase or decrease—all within a matter of minutes and perhaps even seconds.

In cases like the one mentioned above, any bias present may also be instantaneously sent through a channel by the messenger, received by the receiver (intended or not), and perceived as “truth.” As globalization occurs and as economies and political systems of the world continue to intertwine, there is great potential for media bias to undermine the individual’s understanding (political, economic, culmination, etc.) of the complex world around him or her. The average individual must recognize that bias exists. S/he must be able to determine when biased material

is present, especially in cases where that material is being presented as fact. Biased material impacts the "truth" or "knowledge" that an individual actually has. It is important to remember, too, that most individuals attempt to make "rational" decisions based upon logic and information. If their decisions are based upon incorrect, slanted material, any final decision may very well be faulty because it is based on imperfect initial information.

Before media bias can effectively be analyzed, an understanding of the concept of mass communication is required. Part of the difficulty in defining media bias in concrete terms stems from the concurrent lack of definition in the role of the press and journalists. This is particularly true in Western democratic nations, where the media typically performs its functions independently of the government. In this capacity, the modern mass media can "check" the government during the course of answering and reporting directly to the people (Hechter xvi).

Today's mass media also indicates to the receiver what can be considered important or unimportant. If a short but violent riot breaks out and receives prompt, heavy media coverage, the average receiver may believe that the event should be considered important. If fifteen individuals attempt to seek political asylum and the press gives the event only slight coverage, is the event of less importance? Such dependence upon the media makes the modern man "susceptible to being so totally deceived about what is important to society" (Cirino, 1971, p.27) that he becomes "an observer of his society" who "cannot decide what is important" for "this has already been done for him" (30).

The commercial aspect of news coverage is undeniable. Bennett (1996) argues that modern news "has become a mass-produced consumer product" with "a new form of 'lowest-common-denominator' information, lacking both critical perspectives and coherent organizing

principles” (39). Irwin highlights eight factors which affect what is portrayed as the “news” (129-35):

1. Selfish interest--this occurs when one’s interest in news is related to the impact the news will have on one’s personal concerns;
2. Sense of Proportion--this refers to the concept that interest is proportional to the perceived importance of “persons or activities” involved. In other words, subject A will be more interested in an individual he or she deems as important, and less interested in an individual or the activities of an individual who is deemed less important;
3. Feeling for the Dramatic--this refers to the tendency to cover events that are dramatic and which tend to gain attention. For example: an individual about to jump out of a 20-story building may receive as much media attention as the signing of an important, historic treaty that may actually impact the lives of millions. This seems to be especially true at the local level;
4. Editor--refers to the job requirement of selecting certain “news” over others to be published;
5. The quandary of the Editor-- this occurs when an editor feels he or she must give the public what it wants. For example, an editor may often feel obligated to provide “entertainment,” although he or she may not consider it “newsworthy”;
6. Fact or Gossip--this refers to “gossip” or otherwise unfounded claims that may sometimes be portrayed as factual occurrences without making the difference clear to the audience;

7. Point of View--this refers to the tendency for a particular point of view to be portrayed as factual or true;

8. Reporter and the news--this refers to the concept that reporters must get their news "second-handedly." The problem inherent in second-hand news is that "accurate perception of the event which has just happened before the eyes of flesh is so exceptional as to be almost unknown" (Irwin 135).

According to Cirino, bias is exercised in several ways (134-175). A careful analysis using the following list helps to identify bias utilized in the "physical presentation" of news. This type of nonlinguistic bias can occur through several means: 1) the distortion of factual information, which is a more common practice than outright lying, 2) the source of news, because different sources will probably have different views (to quote one source over another, for example, automatically requires an element of selection), and 3) the selection and presentation of the news.

Another method, "No. 4" in Cirino's list, is the omission of pertinent topics or facts. According to Parenti's 1997 article in *The Humanist*, this is a method of suppressive media manipulation. He argues that "we hear plenty about the political repression perpetrated by left-wing governments such as Cuba... but almost nothing about the far more brutal oppression and mass killings perpetrated by U.S.-supported right-wing client states such as Turkey, Indonesia, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, El Salvador, Guatemala, and others too numerous to mention."

Other methods of hidden media bias include the following: 5) interviewing (of one individual over another, for example) and 6) the placement of stories on the page or within the

paper. For example, a story in the B-section is often considered less important than a story which is on the front page of the A-section. Similarly, a story at the top of a page is more likely to be read than one which is buried "below the fold."

According to Cirino, bias can also be exercised through the following means: 7) "coincidental" placement (an example of this would be if two different stories with the same slant appeared side-by-side. Each would lend validity to the other), 8) headlines, which are actually the most-read portion of a paper and do not tend to be read in depth, and 9) words. Levite uses an excellent example of how words can impact receiver thought and emotion in his article, "Bias Basics" (*National Review*, October 1996). For example: according to Levite, "the word 'activist' implies dedication, effort and sincerity. The word 'extremist' implies fanaticism, intolerance, and possibly even violence." Yet, these two words can be used as descriptions for the same person or group.

Other methods which may portray bias include: 10) news images selected for portrayal, 11) photographs, 12) captions of photographs, 13) camera angles, 14) the use of names and titles (eg: "murderer" vs. "killed an individual in self-defense" or "assassin" vs. "freedom-fighter"), 15) the use of statistics and crowd counts (ex" "two hundred casualties in battle" vs. "all soldiers escaped major injury"), 16) editorials, and 17) the "hidden editorial." According to Cirino, when "disguised as news, the editorial doesn't have to be restricted to the seldom read and suspect editorial page, and broadcasters can avoid the necessity of giving equal time to opposing viewpoints (174).

Bias can also be exercised through "framing." This theory proposes that journalists use "news frames" as a structural physical method for prioritizing, simplifying, and structuring "the

narrative flow of events” (Norris 275). This leads a journalist to select particular “facts, events, or developments which fit the particular frame over others, thereby promoting a particular interpretation” (275) on the part of the receiver. Common examples of frames include the “horse-race” (who’s “winning” against whom) or “victim-perpetrator” (276).

Cirino defines “linguistic bias” as bias that results from how journalists use language and not from elements inherent in the nature of the English language. According to Geis, linguistic bias is found in two forms. Intrinsic bias involves “the lexico-grammatical resources of the language and, to some degree, is intrinsic to the language.” Extrinsic biases pertain to the “‘free’ lexical choices that journalists make” (62). In this category of bias, the blame rests upon incorrect or faulty usage of the language. Political bias characteristically falls within this category (66).

Aside from the nonlinguistic and linguistic biases, there are five accepted “myths” of the news media and its image of truthfulness. These include the following: 1) the myth of objectivity, 2) the myth of fairness, and 3) the myth that all sides are presented. It must be noted that although “contrasting” viewpoints may be presented, this is not at all an indication that “all sides,” especially more-extreme, less-mainstream views, are presented.

Other myths include: 4) the myth that all controversies are presented and 5) the myth regarding propaganda (Cirino 198-220). This myth refers to the tendency of the news media to present “propagandized” material as unbiased truth when, in fact, it has been carefully structured for media coverage.

Even though all five myths are important in the analysis of news media bias, the myths of objectivity and fairness receive the most focus here. This study attempts to measure the

subjects' ability to recognize a lack of objectivity on the part of the media when reading print material, regardless of any pre-existing opinions the subjects may have. The study also attempts to measure whether subjects can determine unfair treatment of an individual in print media.

However, objectivity is not easily measured. It is virtually impossible to determine a single truth or "right answer" in any given situation. Therefore, the audience may see biased material (especially if it matches their own viewpoint) as perfectly and objectively portrayed by the media. This is especially true in instances where there is a high degree of similar media coverage. Cirino argues that there is no question as to whether bias is used by members of the press. The answer is yes. However, the more important question is whether all sides receive an equal chance to use the media to portray biased material. In other words, the idea that bias will not be exercised by the media is simply an unattainable concept. The most one can hope for is an equal opportunity (as that given to the "other" side) to use bias that can be portrayed by the media.

This brings up the myth of fairness. Fairness is just as difficult to detect and quantify as objectivity. For example, if two sides receive the same amount of time [or space] to present their viewpoint on a subject, is this fair? Initially, one might think so. But perhaps it is not, since "new ideas take more time and effort to communicate intelligibly than old, familiar ideas. Given equal time, the information edge goes to the official, stereotypical pronouncement in almost every case" (Bennett, 1996, Ch. 5, pp. 144). Objectivity and fairness would obviously be limited.

Similar to the concepts of objectivity and fairness, propaganda is likewise difficult to assess. A broad definition of propaganda is "any attempt to influence public opinion" (Cirino 6).

Too, it must be mentioned here that propaganda is not a tool used only by the government. It acts as a “double standard of news treatment” (Cirino 199). For example, “different language” is used “in talking about enemy acts than what is used in talking about one’s own acts. Thus, enemy attacks...[are] called ‘terrorist’ acts, while one’s own attacks...[are] described as conventional military acts” (Geis 71). Propaganda by government is more easily identified in a nation where the government has media control and official censorship. It is harder to detect in nations with private media and no formal censorship (Herman & Chomsky, 1988), as is the case in Western democratic countries.

According to Geis, “one must know what the truth is so that one can measure to what degree, if any, journalists deviate from the truth” (14). After all, “what in one place is considered the straight white light of truth travels through the prism and is refracted and bent into a variety of colors and shades. One person’s truth becomes to another, biased reporting of propaganda, depending on where the light strikes the prism and where it emerges” (Bennett, Ch. 1).

In addition to this, the media itself is oftentimes responsible for playing a significant agenda-setting role. This is especially true in the United States. Based upon the information and position (examples of “selection” and “placement” methods, at least) of a particular news story, the reader receives an indication of how “much importance to attach” to what is being covered. A political story on the front page is perceived to be of greater importance than a political story found later in the paper. In fact, the later story may be more important in its possible political influence.

The major methods of news gathering also play a role in the “political reality” the reader perceives. “Prepared propaganda” may be portrayed as unbiased news. This has its advantage, since by being prepared and therefore less likely to be interpreted, it has potential to be covered most objectively (Bennett, Ch. 5 pp. 158). A similar point of interest occurs regarding the “paradox” surrounding the documentary method of news gathering—“the more perfectly an event is staged, the more documentable and hence reportable it becomes” (157). Spontaneous events, portrayed through the “course-of-least-resistance,” create the impression of believable news because the audience receives it in “familiar and traditional terms” and finds it to be in line with “existing beliefs, prejudices, and superstitions.” The third major method of news gathering portrays opposing sides presenting conflicts in “their” terms. Ironically, it is this mode that has the least critical analysis.

Similar to Bennett’s “prepared propaganda,” Boorstein (1961) states that fully controlled news situations, or “pseudo-events” exhibit four main characteristics: 1) they are planned, planted, or incited, 2) they are set up to be reported, 3) their relationship “to the underlying reality of the situation is ambiguous,” and 4) they are self-fulfilling and so are difficult to report otherwise. Examples of partially controlled events include leaks. Uncontrolled events may occur when a “partially controlled situation” becomes unmanageable by a politician. Such strong but hidden political control of news situations, like in the examples above, allow the government to put issues on the agenda which are “define[d] in ways likely to influence their resolution” (Bennett Ch. 3 p.109). Information which is left uncovered and unreported is seen as “effective press management” by the government (109).

Four types of “information biases” are prevalent and identifiable in the news. The first,

“dramatized news,” occurs when the focus of information presented is “crisis over continuity, the present over the past or future, and the impact of scandals on personal political careers rather than on the institutions of government in which the scandals occurred” (Bennett Ch. 2 p. 54). This can be exemplified by the media coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. The increasing need for entertainment as news can be seen as a form of “evolving” communication that does not portray the “traditional” types of news. Bennett uses the large number of people who regard cop shows and other dramatic reality as “news” as an example (54). It is into this definition that the prepared article for the study falls.

“Normalized news” is a second type of information bias. With normalized news, news coverage may take place in such a way that it “undermine[s] [people’s]” comprehension of something that is occurring as they simultaneously “become more concerned and emotionally involved in it” (64). In other words, they feel more but know less. In such cases, officials may claim everything is normal, even in the midst of “otherwise threatening and confusing events in the news” (41).

The Bias Detection Ability survey portion of this study also makes use of “normalizing” the news. Material is presented as factual and without hype. As media coverage continued throughout the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal, people began to develop opinions based upon the information to which they were exposed. They became more “emotionally involved” while allowing their comprehension of the actual facts surrounding the encounters between President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky to lessen.

“Fragmented news,” the third type of information bias, makes cross-issue comprehension difficult. News about a subject reaches the receiver in fragmented portions which may “border on nonsense” (59).

The fourth type of information bias, “personalized news,” is characterized by the priority given to individuals and human interest. Due to its human interest angle, personalized news limits an individual’s likelihood of accurately seeing “mistakes in government policies” (51).

Hachten (1987) states that to many in government, the “news” is an unnecessary method of enabling people to detect problems in government, policies, or even the world. The news is simply considered an effective and “positive” means of reflection and service to a country’s “interests and goals.” (110). A slightly different view Hachten mentions is the one offered by “Keith Fuller, former head of the Associated Press, [who] put it well: ‘News is what a government official wants to read about somewhere else, propaganda is what the official wants the world to read about him and his country’” (110-111).

There is also much debate regarding the reporting of official views as the unbiased truth. Bennett argues that the standards initially meant to prevent bias are actually responsible for it, since they “create conditions that systematically favor the reporting of narrow, official perspectives” (143). Bennett states that there are several probable causes for such similar coverage of events. Close contact among journalists when writing about the same controlled events may cause similar reporting that is not actually due to formal, purposeful collaboration on the part of the journalists (Ch. 4).

The standard methods of news gathering of reporters, as well as the accepted “professional norms and codes of conduct” that surround organizational routines, may help to explain why the relatively independent press tends to report “official” news.

When official views are used, certain perspectives are then considered “credible and valid” (150). This is especially true for those stories presented by numerous mediums that

“match” on significant details, viewpoints, subject portrayals, etc. The existence of one tends to validate the “reality” of the other. This gives the audience a false (but “official”) sense of objectivity. In fact, it is when coverage by one paper, station, or individual is *different* than that found in other sources of a similar nature that one’s credibility must be defended (161). News reports that criticize authority are rare. When they do occur, they tend to be personalized and focused on individual flaws (not institutional elements), are ritualized, and usually have the situation back to normal at the end of a story or series of stories.

The ability of the public to correctly determine whether they are reading the truth is important when analyzing the resultant effects of media bias. Many things affect an individual’s perception of what is occurring. Those with “average and below average reading ability, [for example] are the ones least able to find and read the competing anti-establishment views which are hidden away in books and journals outside the mainstream of society’s communication system (Cirino 31). Allen puts it best (234-5):

Usually, we carry away nothing but the dim impression that Mr. X has done something disastrous, or that Governor Y has made another fine speech; we retain the bias, and little else. If you doubt that you yourself skim the paper in this way, try handing it to somebody else after you have finished, and making him examine you on the contents of an important article. You will probably soon realize how vaguely most of your news-reading is done, and understand how easily the twist of a phrase in headline or leading paragraph, by giving a biased impression, may cause thousands of readers to form opinions based, not on the facts, but on somebody else’s view of the facts.

A reader's perception of an event may also be unconsciously affected. This occurs, according to Geis, in two forms. The "strong form" of this influence is apparent in Orwell's *1984*. In this book, political language was actually responsible for "determin[ing] political thought" (93-94). Geis argues that the "weak form" is a more accurate portrayal of what usually occurs when one is influenced by political language. In these instances, political language may "influence" thought, but it does not necessarily determine thought. Geis builds on Whorf's (1964) example of when language and description influence the thought of an individual: if an individual is in a storage area and sees a sign which states "gasoline drums," he or she will exercise great care. If that same individual is around "empty gasoline drums," his or her behavior will likely be different. Whorf argues that the individual's behavior will be more careless around the "empty" drums. Smoking will not be repressed and cigarette stubs might be tossed about with little thought.

In fact, the "empty" drums are significantly more dangerous than those that are "full." They contain vapor which is explosive and are more physically dangerous than the full drums. However, "the linguistic analysis according to regular analogy must employ the word 'empty,' which inevitably suggests lack of hazard." In this instance, the individual was influenced by the "weak form" unconscious effect. The word "empty" automatically caused the individual to think that the empty drums were therefore less dangerous.

In fact, much of America is in no less danger than they would be around those "empty drums." Much reporting caters to the lowest common denominator and is probably a major cause of the American public's significant lack of understanding of current social and political issues of importance and their future consequences.

Questions used in this study allow an analysis of this "lack" of knowledge of current events which have a global impact and, although less important on a global scale, that same lack of knowledge regarding a "scandal" like that of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

The danger comes when an individual believes that because the media covers a topic, it is important, and that because the media makes a statement, it is true. The media should act only as a channel for information, not as the individual's sole source of it. When this happens, America ceases to be a participatory democracy and becomes a nation of spectators.

THE DATA AND THE TREATMENT OF THE DATA

The Data:

The data obtained was primary data of three types from 98 test subjects. These subjects were Speech 101 lecture students from Concord College, a liberal arts college of approximately 2600 students. The class is required for all students. In general terms, the data was taken from the completed entire survey packets (see appendix A), which contained the Knowledge Survey (on top) and the Bias Detection Ability Survey (behind the Knowledge Survey).

Data obtained from the results of the Knowledge Survey (see first portion of appendix A) were the first type of data. Within this division were: 1) the responses to 15 questions (Q4-Q15 and Q19-Q21) regarding "knowledge" of factual information about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal covered by the media (this was termed the "Knowledge Test"; see appendix C), 2) the responses of three questions (Q16-Q18) asked about events/nations (Yugoslavia (Kosovo), North Korea, and Russia) with which the U.S. was involved (this was termed the "Event Test"; see appendix D), and 3) the responses to the single predisposition question (Q22) regarding whether Clinton should have been removed from office (this was termed the "Predisposition Test"; see appendix E).

The second type of data was obtained from respondents' opinions (perception) of whether the article's treatment of Clinton was fair (see second portion of appendix A). The article and question made up the "Bias Detection Ability Test," (see appendix F).

The third type of primary data was comprised of responses regarding the political identification, grade-point-average, and gender questions (Q1-Q3) asked at the beginning of the

Knowledge Survey. These questions were termed "Background questions" (see appendix B).

The Criteria for the Admissibility of the Data:

Respondents had to answer a majority of the 22 questions on the Knowledge Survey within the allotted amount of time. These included questions about political identification, grade-point-average, gender, the knowledge questions, and predisposition. Respondents were also asked to complete the Bias Detection Ability survey by reading the article and then answering the fairness (perception) question regarding the article's treatment of Clinton. Individual questions which were unanswered on returned surveys which satisfied the requirement of "mostly complete" (defined by "majority" of questions answered) were assigned the input value of "9" to indicate missing values.

The Research Methodology:

For purposes of comparison, the Bias Detection Ability scores (appendix E) of the subjects were compared to the subjects' Knowledge Test scores (appendix C). The Bias Detection Ability survey measures the ability of the subjects to recognize an instance when biased material is presented as fact. The Knowledge Test measures the subjects' knowledge of pertinent facts in the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

The Knowledge Survey (see appendix A), was on top of the survey packets given to students. This survey asked 15 multiple-choice questions pertinent to the coverage of the scandal that were covered by the media to the extent that someone who is "knowledgeable" about the scandal would be able to correctly answer a majority of the questions. Multiple

options were given because the extent of media coverage on the knowledge questions compared to that regarding other aspects of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal did not warrant complete recollection but recognition of the correct answers.

The Knowledge Survey also asked one question about gender, one question about gpa, one question about political affiliation, and one question designed to measure predisposition towards/against Clinton through the use of a Likert Scale. This particular scale for measurement was used because it allowed measurement of the "strength" of conviction regarding the question of whether Clinton should have been removed from office. Within the Knowledge Survey, three questions were asked regarding the situations in Yugoslavia (Kosovo), North Korea, and Russia. These three locations were selected because, at the time of the study, they also received significant and continual media attention.

The Bias Detection Ability Survey required that the respondents read a factually-accurate (but biased) article and answer a question as to whether the article treated Clinton fairly. Answer options fell into the 1-5 Likkert scale for the same reasons listed above. Beyond any doubt, the correct answer was disagreement (of "4-disagree somewhat" or "5-strongly disagree") since the article has three forms of bias (bias through word choice, labeling, and framing, each occurring twice). The article was written to be perceived as factually accurate to give respondents the impression that it may have been obtained directly from the beginning portion of an article in a newspaper. The article is dated August 18, 1998. This date was one day after President Clinton announced to the country that he had engaged in an "inappropriate" relationship with Monica Lewinsky. The material was presented as if from a "newspaper article" because this format allowed respondents to re-read information.

These surveys were administered in a packet to 98 Introductory Speech students at Concord. Both surveys had corresponding numbers to ensure correct "pairing up" after all responses were collected for the purpose of comparison.

Each portion of the survey packet (comprised of the Knowledge Survey and the Bias Detection Ability Survey) had corresponding, identical numbers so it was possible to match Knowledge Survey responses and Bias Detection Ability Survey responses of the subjects for the comparisons listed in the Hypotheses section.

The Specific Treatment of the Data for Each Subproblem:

Subproblem 1. The first subproblem was to determine the amount and quality of factual information respondents had gained from their exposure to the media coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. The data needed for the solving of Subproblem 1 were respondent answers to Knowledge Survey questions 4 through 15 and 19 through 21 (see appendix C). Correct responses are indicated in bold print in appendix C.

These included questions about Kenneth Starr, the initial number of grounds for impeachment, Kathleen Willey, the relationship between the lawsuit, Paula Jones and Monica Lewinsky, Lewinsky's initial affidavit, Lewinsky's initial lawyers, Lewinsky's final lawyers, Walter Kaye, Lewinsky's potential charge of perjury, Linda Tripp's role, the necessary percentage of votes to convict Clinton, and Marcia Lewis. In addition, this section also included questions about Juanita Broaddrick, gifts given to Lewinsky by Clinton, and Clinton's well-known statement "I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Ms. Lewinsky."

The data required did not include responses from questions about gender, gpa, political affiliation, Yugoslavia (Kosovo), North Korea, Russia or the predisposition (opinion) question on whether Clinton should have been removed from office. Surveys were administered by the researcher under the supervision of the researcher's mentor during a weekly speech lecture session. Students received up to 25 minutes to complete the survey. Subjects who requested more time were allotted more time to complete both portions of the survey packet. After all surveys were completed, the researcher and two Advanced Public Speaking students collected the data. They were under the supervision of the mentor during the administration and collection of the survey packet.

The data were screened in the following manner: the returned survey packet of any subject failing to fill in a majority of the answer blanks on the Knowledge Survey or the single blank on the Bias Detection Ability Survey were disregarded and were not used for analysis. However, surveys with the majority of questions answered but some blanks were expected. In such instances, a value of "9" (missing value) was used in all statistical analyses. Also, the survey packet of any subject who put down non-option answers (ex: "e" on a question whose multiple-choice possibilities only go through "d") was disregarded. Each survey was scored for Subproblem 1 according to the correct number of answers given to the questions described above.

Once all surveys were completed, statistical compilations of knowledge scores were made. The question asked, the number of total responses and missing values (to equal 98), and the number/percentage of responses to each available option were shown. Therefore, the percentages and frequencies of those who responded correctly were also shown.

Subproblem 2. The second subproblem was to analyze the capability of students to recognize bias (intentionally) placed six times by the researcher in a news article written about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

The data needed for Solving Subproblem 2 was in the responses to the one-question Bias Detection Ability Survey which asked subjects whether the article treats Clinton fairly or not (see appendix E, Bias Detection Ability Test portion of survey packet). Subjects gave their opinion via a selection of 1-5 on the Likert Scale and had the following options: "strongly disagree," "disagree somewhat," "uncertain," "agree somewhat," and "strongly agree." These completed surveys made up the data needed for analysis. The Bias Detection Ability survey was attached to the back of the Knowledge Survey. When respondents finished indicating their responses, the researcher collected completed surveys.

The data was screened in the following manner: all surveys were used for the statistical analysis. However, any incomplete (one-question) Bias Detection Ability surveys received a value of "9" to indicate missing value. Otherwise, values of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 were given to subject responses to the statement "This article treats Clinton fairly." The options and the corresponding numerical values assigned were as follows:

strongly disagree- 1.00
disagree somewhat- 2.00
uncertain- 3.00
agree somewhat- 4.00
strongly agree- 5.00.

Once all surveys were collected, a statistical compilation was made of the frequency (number), percentage, and cumulative percentage of the available options chosen by respondents. This made later comparisons to this opinion question simpler. Distribution will be

made showing respondent opinion regarding the fairness of the article in the Bias Detection Ability Survey. Most importantly, however, this data proved necessary later in recognizing parallels regarding information gained from the Knowledge Survey (eg: political identification) compared to results from the Bias Detection Ability Survey (explained in Subproblem 3.)

Subproblem 3. The third subproblem was to determine, through an analysis of corresponding Knowledge Test scores and Bias Detection Ability scores of each individual, the extent to which any predisposition toward/against Clinton affected the subjects' ability to detect bias.

The data needed to solve this subproblem included: 1) predisposition scores of respondents from the Knowledge Survey and 2) bias-detection ability scores from the Bias Detection Ability Survey.

At the time of analysis, all pertinent data for the resolution of Subproblem 3 was provided by completed Knowledge surveys and Bias Detection Ability surveys. However, it must be noted that the "Predisposition Test" score (see appendix E) comes from the last question asked on the Knowledge Survey (see appendix A, survey packet). It is *not* a knowledge question.

Data was obtained through the following means: the predisposition scores (from the last question on the Knowledge Survey) of respondents were matched with their corresponding 1) knowledge scores from the Knowledge Test and 2) perception scores from the Bias Detection Ability Survey scores.

Screening of the data for Subproblem 3, at this point, was unnecessary. All relevant material from this category went through the initial screening processes mentioned under the

headings of Subproblem 1 and Subproblem 2, so further screening was not beneficial. However, the predisposition portion of the Knowledge Survey required screening. All responses to the predisposition question of "Clinton should have been removed from office" were included in the statistical analysis and compilations. Incomplete responses received a value of "9" to indicate missing value. Otherwise, values of 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 were assigned to the responses as follows:

strongly disagree- 1.00
disagree somewhat- 2.00
uncertain- 3.00
agree somewhat- 4.00
strongly agree- 5.00.

Predisposition measurements were compared to bias-detection ability measurements to determine the extent of the relationship, if any, between respondent predisposition and respondent ability to recognize bias. Comparisons between predisposition scores and bias detection ability scores were displayed. A correlation to the .05 level of significance was considered significant.

Subproblem 4. The fourth subproblem was to determine whether a correlation exists between respondents' political affiliation (Republican or Democrat) and their ability to perceive bias.

The data needed to solve Subproblem 4 included: 1) the breakdown of respondent answers regarding political affiliation of Republican or Democrat and 2) the corresponding responses of the individual respondents' bias detection ability (labeled "perception" on all tables). However, the latter data had already been discussed, screened, etc. Therefore, focus will be on the former.

The first portion of the data needed, the affiliation breakdown of respondents, was obtained from Question 3 of the completed Knowledge Surveys (see Subproblem 3 and appendix B, Background questions). This data was then further analyzed.

Not all responses to the political affiliation question (Q3 of the Knowledge Survey, as mentioned above) were used in the final stages of statistical analysis. If a selection of "None of the Above" or "Independent" was made, those responses were not further analyzed. Missing values were assigned a value of "9." Otherwise, values of "1" and "2" were given to the responses as indicated below:

Republican - 1.00;
Democrat - 2.00.

The number of Republican and Democratic respondents was determined. Then, both variables were compared to the responses of the bias detection ability question to determine whether Republicans or Democrats were more likely to perceive the article's treatment of Clinton as fair. Those within the group that had a higher percentage of agreement with the statement that the article treats Clinton fairly were considered less capable of detecting bias.

Subproblem 5. The fifth subproblem was to determine whether a correlation exists between respondents' gender and their ability to perceive bias.

The data needed to solve Subproblem 5 included: 1) the breakdown of respondent answers regarding their gender (male or female) and 2) the corresponding responses of the individual respondents' bias detection ability (perception). Once again, the latter data had already been discussed, screened, etc. Therefore, focus was on the former.

The first portion of the data needed, the gender breakdown of respondents, was obtained from Q1 of the completed Knowledge Surveys (see appendix B, Background questions). From the completed Knowledge Surveys, the researcher took out the responses to the relevant gender question (Q1). All responses to gender were used in statistical analysis. However, if a respondent left Q1 blank, it was assigned the value of "9," to indicate missing value, for computer purposes and was not used in the statistical analysis specific to Subproblem 5. Values were assigned to responses as follows:

male - 1.00;
female - 2.00.

The number of male and female respondents was then determined. After this, both variables were compared to the responses of the corresponding bias detection ability question to determine whether males or females are more likely to (incorrectly) view the article's treatment of Clinton as fair. Whichever group (male or female) had a greater correlation was considered more likely to view the article's treatment of Clinton as fair.

Subproblem 6. The sixth subproblem was to determine whether a correlation exists between the subjects' college grade point average (referred to as GPA on tables) and 1) their ability to detect bias and 2) their Knowledge Test scores. The data needed to solve Subproblem 6 included subjects' answers regarding their gpa and the corresponding responses of the individual subjects' 1) bias detection ability and 2) knowledge test scores. Because the latter two variables had already been discussed, screened, etc., focus for this subproblem was on gpa.

Needed data regarding gpa was obtained from Question 2 of the completed Knowledge Surveys (see appendix B, Background questions). From the completed Knowledge Surveys, the researcher took out relevant gpa information for the purposes of comparison. Not all responses to gpa were used in the final statistical analysis. Please note the following different answer options initially available to subjects:

GPA Assigned value

0.00-1.00 = 1;
1.01-2.00 = 2;
2.01-3.00 = 3;
3.01-4.00 = 4.

Initial gpa responses which had the values of "1" or "2" were not used for final statistical analysis. Initial responses with values of "3" or "4" were then re-configured into two categories: "lower grades" (initial values of "3") and "higher grades" (initial values of "4"). The number of subjects with lower grades and higher grades was then determined. After this, gpa was compared to 1) bias detection ability and 2) knowledge test scores. This was for the purpose of determining the correlation between 1) gpa and bias detection ability and 2) gpa and knowledge test scores. A correlation at the .05 level of significance was considered significant.

Subproblem 7. The seventh subproblem was to determine, through an analysis of the "Knowledge Test" portion of the Knowledge Survey, whether there was a relationship between the amount of knowledge respondents had regarding the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal and other global events which occurred during the same time.

The data needed to solve Subproblem 7 included responses to: 1) the "Knowledge Test" portion of the Knowledge Survey (appendix C), and 2) responses to Event Test questions 16, 17 and 18 (appendix D). Because the former data had been discussed, screened, etc. previously, focus was on the latter.

The location of the data was in the completed Knowledge Surveys, specifically as responses to questions 16, 17 and 18. The researcher looked at the completed Knowledge Surveys and took out relevant data from the "event questions" for comparison purposes.

All responses to knowledge questions and event questions were used for statistical analysis. However, blank or "non-responses" were assigned a missing value indicator of "9." A comparison was made of the quality of answers to "knowledge" questions as a whole to that of "event" questions as a whole. A computerized statistical analysis was performed to determine whether a correlation existed. A correlation at the .05 level of significance or beyond was considered significant.

GENERAL PROCEDURE

Response Data:

Ninety-eight subjects were asked to answer 23 questions in all. These questions were asked in two separate parts: the Knowledge Survey and the Bias Detection Ability Survey. Subjects were given a survey packet which contained both parts.

The Knowledge Survey was completed first by respondents. It was top of the survey packet given to all subjects. It consisted of the following background questions: one question regarding gender, one regarding grade point average, and one regarding political affiliation according to the political party/values of Democrats or Republicans.

These were followed by 18 knowledge questions regarding information covered by the media about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. Four answer options were available for each question. The questions asked were as follows:

- Who was the Whitewater Special Investigator?
- How many (#) of grounds for impeachment did Starr's original Sept. 9, 1998 document, submitted to the House of Representatives, suggest?
- Who is Kathleen Willey?
- What is the role relationship between the lawsuit, Paula Jones, and former intern Monica Lewinsky?
- What did Monica Lewinsky's initial affidavit state regarding her alleged sexual affair with Clinton?
- Who were Monica Lewinsky's initial lawyers?

- Who were Lewinsky's lawyers during/until the end of the impeachment proceedings?
- Who helped Lewinsky get her internship placement at the White House?
- Monica Lewinsky testified against Clinton to gain immunity from a potential charge relating to her affidavit. What would the charge have been?
- Who taped the conversations between herself and Lewinsky?
- What vote would have been required to convict President Clinton?
- Who is Marcia Lewis?
- Who is Juanita Broaddrick?
- What was hidden under Betty Currie's bed?
- Please complete the following sentence made by President Clinton:

"I did not _____."

Then, one question was asked about each of the following: Yugoslavia, North Korea, and Russia. This is because events in these countries received a significant amount of media attention during the same time that the media also covered developments in the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. These questions had four possible answer choices and subject responses were used for later comparisons of knowledge. The questions were as follows:

- Ethnic Albanians and Serb forces are fighting in this former Yugoslavian country?
- The U.S. sends food aid to the people of the communist regime in this country?
- Economic decline in which country has caused strain on the global economy?

The last question of the Knowledge Survey asked subjects whether they agreed, agreed somewhat, were uncertain, disagreed somewhat, or disagreed that "Clinton should have been removed from office" by indicating their opinion on a scale of 1-5.

The Bias Detection Ability Survey was the second part of the packet. Subjects were asked to read an article which possessed three forms of bias, each occurring twice. Subjects were then asked to complete the perception test and respond to the statement that "this article treats Clinton fairly." Subjects were to indicate their responses by agreeing, agreeing somewhat, being uncertain, disagreeing somewhat, or disagreeing with the statement, indicating their opinion on a Likert scale of 1-5.

Survey Administration and Collection Procedures:

The survey was administered to the 98 test subjects by the researcher and two assistants of the mentor's. The surveys were administered under the supervision of the mentor and another faculty member (professor of speech) to ensure fairness and equal treatment of all test subjects.

Students had from one to 20 minutes to complete the survey. Those needing more time received additional time for completion.

Subjects were asked to indicate, by a show of hands, if they required more time. When no hands were raised, the surveys were collected by the researcher and the two assistants and given to the researcher. The completed surveys were then collected, put in order (numerical) and then bound.

Treating the Data:

The completed surveys were bound in numerical order for ease of data entry. The data was treated using the SPSS computer data analysis program. The researcher and Dr. C. Conner, professor of psychology and an expert on analysis, jointly performed the data analysis. Values

of 1.00, 2.00, 3.00, and 4.00 were used as the input numerals, according to subject responses, for ease in numerical analysis of the questions asked in the survey packet. Missing data received the value of 9.00. Findings were considered significant if they were at the .05 level of significance or beyond.

DATA ANALYSIS

Data collected from the subjects were put into SPSS, a computerized, statistical-data analysis program. T-tests were used for the purposes of comparing gender and political identification/affiliation to the perception ability of respondents. All other findings were a result of tests to determine correlation between/among variables.

RESULTS

Background Information: all of the following information is based upon the responses submitted by the subject group. There were 98 subjects in the respondent group. Forty-two were males and 56 were females.

Twenty-four respondents identified themselves with the values of Republicans, 32 as Democrats, 14 as Independents, and 25 subjects answered "None of the Above" to the question of "Which group's values do you identify most closely with?" Three respondents did not answer the question.

Forty respondents categorized themselves as having grade-point averages of 2.01-3.0. Fifty-three put themselves into the 3.01-4.0 category. Three ranked themselves as having a 2.0 or below, and two students failed to respond to the question.

The breakdown of knowledge question responses of the subjects were as follows:

- *"Who was the Whitewater Special Investigator?"*

Fourteen subjects responded that William Ginsburg was the Special Investigator, 17 responded that it was Vernon Jordan, 61 answered that it was Kenneth Starr, and two answered Nathaniel Speights. Four subjects failed to answer the question. The correct answer was Kenneth Starr.

- *"How many (#) grounds for impeachment did Starr's original Sept .9, 1998 document, suggest?"*

Twenty-seven subjects picked "4" as the correct number, 19 subjects chose "6" as the correct answer, 22 subjects chose "9" as the original number, and 25 subjects responded that

"11" was the correct number. Five subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer was "11."

- *"Who is Kathleen Willey?"*

Thirty-eight subjects answered that Kathleen Willey was Clinton's White House secretary, 23 answered that she was a former White House volunteer who claimed Clinton groped her, 15 answered that she was a friend of Lewinsky who was told about the affair, and 17 responded that she was a former aide to Clinton who claimed Clinton forced her to have sex. Five subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer was that Willey was a former volunteer who had claimed she was groped by Clinton.

- *"What is the role relationship between the lawsuit, Paula Jones, and former intern Monica Lewinsky?"*

To this question, 32 subjects answered that Jones was subpoenaed in Lewinsky's lawsuit, 23 responded that Lewinsky was subpoenaed in Jones' lawsuit, 28 answered that Jones, in her lawsuit, claimed Lewinsky had an affair with Clinton, and 17 responded that in Lewinsky's lawsuit, Lewinsky claimed Jones had an affair with Clinton. Two subjects failed to respond to this question. The correct answer was that Lewinsky was subpoenaed in Jones' lawsuit.

- *"What did Monica Lewinsky's initial affidavit state regarding her alleged sexual affair with Clinton?"*

Thirty-seven subjects answered that Lewinsky claimed to have had a sexual affair with Clinton. Seven subjects said that Lewinsky claimed Clinton initiated all sexual contact. Fifty-one subjects said Lewinsky claimed she had no sexual affair with Clinton, and two subjects answered that Lewinsky claimed Clinton had admitted to engaging in previous extramarital

affairs. One subject failed to respond to the question. The correct answer was that Lewinsky had claimed she had *no* sexual affair with Clinton.

- *"Who were Monica Lewinsky's initial lawyers?"*

To this question, 40 chose the option of William Ginsburg and Nathaniel Speights, 11 chose Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein, 26 chose the option of Stein, Cacheris, and Ginsburg, and 14 chose the option of Cacheris, Stein, and Speights. Seven subjects failed to answer the question. The correct answer was William Ginsburg and Nathaniel Speights.

- *"Who were Lewinsky's lawyers during/until the end of the impeachment proceedings?"*

To this question, 32 subjects responded that Lewinsky's initial lawyers were Ginsburg and Speights, 23 chose the option of Cacheris and Stein, 22 chose the option of Stein, Cacheris, and Ginsburg, and 10 chose the option of Cacheris, Stein, and Speights. Eleven subjects failed to respond. The correct answer to the question was Plato Cacheris, Jacob Stein, and Nathaniel Speights.

- *"Who helped Lewinsky get her internship placement at the White House?"*

Twenty-two answered that Marcia Lewis helped, 21 picked David Kendall as the correct option, 19 said that Walter Kaye helped, and 29 said that Vernon Jordan helped her with the placement. Seven subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer was Walter Kaye. Although Vernon Jordan was a favored response, he was not responsible for Lewinsky's White House placement but for her placement at Revlon.

- *"Monica Lewinsky testified against Clinton to gain immunity from a potential charge relating to her affidavit. What would the charge have been?"*

To this question, nine subjects chose "fleeing jurisdiction," 57 picked "perjury" as the

answer, 20 chose "obstruction of justice," and 10 thought "fraud" would have been the charge. Two subjects failed to answer this question. The correct answer was "perjury."

- *"Who taped the conversations between herself and Lewinsky?"*

Eleven subjects thought Kathleen Willey was responsible, 78 chose Linda Tripp as the correct response, four subjects picked Juanita Broaddrick, and three chose Marcia Lewis. Two subjects failed to respond to this question. The correct answer was Linda Tripp.

- *"What vote would have been required to convict President Clinton?"*

To this question, four subjects chose the option of "1/3 in favor," 16 chose the option of "majority in favor," 62 picked "2/3 in favor" as the correct choice, and 15 chose "3/4 in favor." Only one subject failed to respond to this question. The correct answer was "2/3 in favor."

- *"Who is Marcia Lewis?"*

Eighteen subjects thought Marica Lewis was Lewinsky's mother, 18 thought she was Lewinsky's friend, 14 said Lewis was a former aide to Clinton who was forced into sex, and 39 thought Lewis was a former White House press secretary. Nine subjects failed to answer the question. The correct answer was that Marcia Lewis is Lewinsky's mother.

- *"Who is Juanita Broaddrick?"*

Twenty-eight subjects thought Broaddrick was the woman who claimed Clinton assaulted her in Arkansas when he was Attorney-General of the state, 17 thought she and Clinton had a consensual extramarital affair, 20 thought she was called forth to testify in the Jones lawsuit, and 16 thought she was called forth to testify in the Lewinsky lawsuit. Seventeen subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer: Broaddrick claimed Clinton sexually assaulted her when he was Attorney-General of Arkansas.

- *“What was hidden under Betty Currie’s bed?”*

To this question, 24 subjects responded that it was Lewinsky’s blue dress, 28 said it was paperwork relevant to the Whitewater investigation, 24 thought gifts to Lewinsky from Clinton were hidden under the bed, and 11 thought love notes from Lewinsky to Clinton were hidden under Currie’s bed. Eleven subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer: Clinton’s gifts to Lewinsky.

- *“Please complete the following sentence made by President Clinton:*

‘I did not _____.’”

Two subjects chose the answer “...behave inappropriately at any time.” Two subjects chose the option “...give Monica Lewinsky any gifts in the time that I knew her.” Eight subjects chose the option “...ask Ms. Lewinsky, at any time, to engage in any sexual activity.” Eighty-one subjects chose the answer “...have sexual relations with that woman, Ms. Lewinsky.” Five subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer was “...have sexual relations with that woman, Ms. Lewinsky.”

On the Event Test Portion of the Knowledge Survey, comprised of the questions about Yugoslavia, North Korea, and Russia, subjects responded as follows:

- *“Ethnic Albanians and Serb forces are fighting in this former Yugoslavian nation?”*

Six subjects chose “Iraq” as the answer, 86 chose “Kosovo,” three chose “North Korea,” and three subjects answered “Russia.” All subjects responded to this question. The correct answer was: Kosovo.

- *“The U.S. sends food aid to the people of the communist regime in this country?”*

Ten subjects chose “Iraq” as the correct option. Thirty respondents answered “Kosovo,”

42 chose the answer option of “North Korea,” and 13 subjects chose “Russia” as the correct answer. Three subjects failed to respond to the question. The correct answer to the question was “North Korea.”

- *“Economic decline in which country has caused strain on the global economy?”*

Twenty-four respondents believed the correct answer option was “Iraq.” Three subjects chose “Kosovo” as their answer. Thirteen subjects thought the correct answer was “North Korea,” and 54 respondents chose the answer option “Russia.” Four subjects failed to respond. The correct answer to the question was “Russia.”

The predisposition question (appendix E), the very last question on the Knowledge Survey (after the “Knowledge Test” and “Event Test”) asked subjects to place their opinion on a scale of 1-5 to indicate whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed somewhat, were uncertain, agreed somewhat, or strongly agreed with the statement that “Clinton should have been removed from office.”

Thirty-one subjects said they strongly disagreed with the statement. Sixteen subjects said they disagreed somewhat, 12 were uncertain, 15 said they agreed somewhat, and 17 subjects said they strongly agreed with the statement that “Clinton should have been removed from office.” However, seven subjects failed to respond to this question.

Subjects were also asked to respond to the perception question (test) on the Bias Detection Ability Survey. Subjects were asked to respond, once again, by indicating their opinion on a scale of 1-5 whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed somewhat, were uncertain, agreed somewhat, or strongly agreed that this “article treats Clinton fairly.”

Thirteen subjects strongly disagreed with the statement that the article treated Clinton

fairly. Thirty-one respondents disagreed somewhat. Sixteen were uncertain. Twenty-five subjects agreed somewhat with the statement, and 10 subjects strongly agreed with the statement. Three subjects failed to respond to the question.

Hypotheses Results:

The first hypothesis (H1) was the Predisposition Hypothesis. It predicted that subjects who said Clinton should have been removed from office were more likely to view the article as fair. Fifteen subjects (15.3%) "agreed somewhat" with the statement that "Clinton should have been removed from office." Seventeen subjects (17.3%) "strongly agreed" with this statement. Twenty-five (25.5%) subjects "agreed somewhat" that the "article treat[ed] Clinton fairly," and 10 (10.2%) subjects "strongly agreed" with the statement. These statistics indicate that there is a correlation between the 32.6% of respondents who believed Clinton should have been removed from office and the 35.7% who believed that the article treated Clinton fairly.

As can be seen from Table 1 on the following page, the data depicts a correlation between the two (.237) at the 0.05 level of significance. This finding is significant and supports the notion that an individual's opinion of a subject often influences his or her perception of a subject.

H2 (Affiliation vs. Perception) predicted that the 32 subjects who identified themselves as Democrats would have been more likely to detect negative bias (and view the article's treatment of Clinton as unfair) than the 24 Republicans in the subject pool. The significance of the t-test performed using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances was .393 (equal variances assumed), not within the necessary bounds for a 0.05 level of significance. Therefore, this

hypothesis was rejected.

The third hypothesis (H3--Gender vs. Perception) predicted that the males (42) in the study were more likely than females (56) to view the article's treatment of Clinton as unfair. A t-test (Levene's Test for Equality of Variances) was performed to determine the relationship between gender and perception. Equal variances were assumed. The data analysis indicates that this relationship occurs at the .450 level of significance. While this may indicate a very slight tendency for gender to impact perception, there is no "solid" indication. Therefore, this hypothesis was rejected.

H4 (GPA vs. Perception) predicted that subjects with higher grade point averages would be more likely to detect bias. After the re-classification of the initial data regarding subject grade point averages, 40 subjects were categorized into the 2.01-3.0 gpa range and 53 subjects were categorized into the 3.01-4.0 gpa range. A t-test was performed using Levene's Test for Equality of Variances (equal variances assumed). This relationship occurred at the .689 level of significance, not within the necessary bounds for a finding to be considered significant. Therefore, H4 was rejected.

The fifth hypothesis was the GPA vs. Knowledge Hypothesis. This hypothesis predicted that subjects with higher gpas (3.01-4.0) would score higher on the Knowledge Tesy than those with lower gpas (2.01-3.0). The study indicates that there is a distinct correlation between an individual's gpa and his or her knowledge of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. This can be considered important because many of the "knowledge questions" about the scandal were technical (eg: initial number of impeachment grounds) and less covered by the media than more well-known topics (like Linda Tripp's taped conversations).

As is indicated in Table 1, the correlation between a subject's gpa and his or her knowledge of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal exists at .383, beyond the 0.01 level of significance. This finding can be considered significant and representative of strong support for H5. Therefore, H5 was accepted.

The sixth hypothesis (H6--Perception vs. Knowledge) predicted that subjects with higher scores on the Knowledge Test would be more likely to detect bias. Of the subjects surveyed, only 13 (13.3%) "strongly disagreed" with the statement that the article treated Clinton fairly and only 31 (31.6%) subjects "disagreed somewhat" with the statement. As indicated in Table 1, a Pearson Correlation was performed. The correlation between the subjects' knowledge and their perception ability occurred at -.046, not within the necessary bounds to be considered significant. Therefore, no significant support for this hypothesis was found and H6 was rejected.

The seventh hypothesis (H7--Knowledge Test. Vs. Event Test) yielded positive results. This hypothesis predicted that students with higher Knowledge Test scores would also have higher Event Test scores. As indicated by Table 1, the correlation between high Knowledge Test scores and high Event Test scores occurred at .364, beyond the 0.01 level of significance. Therefore, this hypothesis was accepted.

TABLE 1
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN GPA, PERCEPTION, KNOWLEDGE, AND PREDISPOSITION

		Grade Point Average (GPA)	Perception Question: This article treats Clinton fairly	Knowledge Test	Event Test	Predisposition Question: Clinton should have been removed from office
Grade Point Average (GPA)	Pearson Correlation	1.000	-.056	** .383	.199	-.058
	Sig. (2-tailed)	..	.588	.001	.059	.591
	N	96	96	77	91	89
Perception Question: This article treats Clinton fairly	Pearson Correlation	-.056	1.000	-.046	-.094	* .237
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.588	..	.690	.368	.024
	N	96	98	78	93	91
Knowledge Test	Pearson Correlation	** .383	-.046	1.000	** .364	-.120
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.690	..	.001	.297
	N	77	78	78	78	77
Event Test	Pearson Correlation	.199	-.094	** .364	1.000	-.003
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.059	.368	.001	..	.980
	N	91	93	78	93	90
Predisposition Question: Clinton should have been removed from office	Pearson Correlation	-.058	* .237	-.120	-.003	1.000
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.591	.024	.297	.980	..
	N	89	91	77	90	91

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Initially, it was hypothesized that several factors would impact respondent opinion regarding whether Clinton should have been removed from office. It must be noted here that respondents were not specifically asked whether he "should have been *impeached*," since the opinion of many might be based not upon the personal traits, mistakes, etc. of Bill Clinton but upon technical interpretations of the word "impeachment."

The word "convicted" was not chosen for the same reason. The phrase "Clinton should have been removed from office" is more general, and we felt that this "less-technical" statement would deal more with respondent feeling regarding the subject, or at least would allow for "other" reasons, whether technical, moral, or otherwise on the part of respondents.

Furthermore, respondents were also asked whether the "article" treated Clinton fairly or not. This was considered a fair question because of the amount of bias in the article. "Bias" is always open to interpretation. Therefore, the article the subjects read and evaluated contained six instances of biased material. The large amount of injected bias assisted the researcher's purpose: whereas an individual reading an article may not detect a single example of bias, logic would dictate that he or she should be more likely to detect six. Failure to do so indicates less of an "oversight" on the part of the reader and indicates more of an inability to detect bias.

The researcher's first assumption was that perception of the article would be affected by predisposition--whether the respondent thought that Clinton should have been removed from office or not. There was significant support for this notion. The correlation between predisposition and perception occurred beyond the 0.01 level of significance. In other words,

those who thought Clinton should have been removed from office were more likely to see the biased article as fair. This was not surprising, since there were several elements at play: it was considered likely that those who favored Clinton would be more likely to detect (6) negative statements or biases against him. A finding worthy of note was the inability of anti-Clinton respondents to detect the biases that occurred, at least to the point that they "Somewhat disagree[d]" that the article treated Clinton fairly. This gives additional support to the notion that predisposition affects perception of a subject.

Interestingly, identification with the values of a particular party, gender, and gpa seemed to have no significant impact on respondent perception of bias. Democrats were no more likely to detect negative bias than Republicans, males were no more likely to detect negative bias than females, and students with higher grade point averages (3.01-4.0) were no more likely to detect negative bias than students with lower gpas (2.01-3.0). As noted previously, for ease of statistical comparison, subject responses of "Independent" or "None of the Above" regarding political value identification were not used in the final analysis of the study. The divisions of "Republicans" and "Democrats" represented the farther positions on the political spectrum and were therefore considered more likely to yield differing, and conclusive, results. Only three respondents indicated that they had a cumulative grade point average of 2.0 or less, so the categories of "lower" and "higher" gpas were used instead.

These findings were surprising. It was initially anticipated that Democrats would be more sensitive in perceiving any negative biases toward Clinton, and it was hypothesized that males would be more likely to detect negative bias as well. The unusual part is not so much that this hypothesis was rejected. It is that gender and political affiliation/value identification seem

to play *no* role in an individual's bias detection ability. Similarly, one might assume that grade point average would impact an individual's ability to detect bias—the more educated one is, the more likely that he or she would be better able to detect an instance in which false and/or biased information is presented as truth. There was no such indication.

There is, however, strong statistical evidence to support the notion that students with higher grade point averages (3.01-4.0) would do better on the Knowledge Test. As can be seen in Table 1, this correlation occurs at .383, beyond the 0.01 level of significance. One could also guess that students with a greater degree of knowledge about events surrounding the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal would be better able to perceive bias. There was no indication at all of this. Given the above, it is surprising that student respondents with higher grade point averages and higher Knowledge Test scores were no better at detecting false or otherwise biased information in the survey article.

There was an additional finding of significance. It was assumed that respondents with higher knowledge scores about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal would also be more likely to know more about the general happenings in the countries of Yugoslavia, North Korea, and Russia (all of which received some media coverage during the simultaneous coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal). When this was tested, the correlation occurred at .364 (see Table 1), beyond the 0.01 level of significance. The most logical explanation for this would be greater exposure to news media (through print, broadcast, Internet, etc.) of the higher scorers. It would seem plausible that they received and retained more information than the lower-scoring respondents. This may have simply been due to media exposure and not necessarily due to an above-average understanding of global events.

LIMITATIONS

There were several “limitations” throughout the course of the study. These limitations were responsible for both complicating and simplifying the study.

First of all, the respondent pool was not selected “at random” by mail, telephone solicitation, etc. although it was probably the “most representative” pool plausible for the researcher to use. All respondents were enrolled in a weekly speech lecture session. They were asked to participate in the survey by Dr. Ron Burgher, project mentor, who taught the Speech 101 lecture. This lecture class is mandatory for all students who attend Concord College, unless they have met the requirement at a different college before or during their stay at Concord.

Another limitation of the study that may have impacted findings includes the questions NOT asked of respondents. Respondents were not asked to list their majors, the amount of time they are exposed to news media per week, or their preferred medium of news information. Nor were they asked to self-assess their knowledge regarding the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. Let’s take a hypothetical illustration to depict why this information may have been helpful: if a student indicates he is knowledgeable about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal and watches the news every day, it would not seem unusual for him to do well on the Knowledge Test. However, if several students claimed to have very little knowledge about the scandal and watched the news/news shows only once per month and still did as well as the other student, that would indicate that knowledge is being (consciously or unconsciously) gained through a different medium. In addition, one might assume that a political science or communication arts major is more likely to do well on the Knowledge Survey (including Knowledge Test and Event Test) than, say, a

biology or chemistry major.

The sample was also relatively homogeneous. Most students who attend Concord College live on campus or within driving distance. The majority are from West Virginia or, at least, from that region of the country. There is a possibility that, because of the limited news media outlets in the area, the subjects' exposure was similar (especially true if the subjects gather information from local news sources and not national sources). This may have been less likely to occur in, say, a metropolitan area with a larger amount of news outlets. While this "homogeneity" was a limit of sorts, it was also advantageous—the subjects' prolonged (given the amount of time the news heavily covered the scandal) exposure to "news" of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal was probably more "similar" than could otherwise have been expected with a less geographically-constricted sample.

Another limitation to the study was the importance of "timing." Surveys had to be completed during negotiations with Russia, North Korea, and Yugoslavia to make certain survey questions were not obsolete. Surveys also had to be completed during heavy media coverage of the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. Because of this unique requirement for the study, questions were constantly added, deleted, reworded, etc.

In addition to the limitations mentioned above, lack of time and lack of resources also impacted the study. This project was too detailed to complete in just a few months, and so had to be completed as the researcher attempted to complete regular academic coursework and co-curricular duties. Also, the lack of time and money prevented more logical options in selecting the survey sample. They made mailing and telephoning less practical in selecting/working with survey respondents.

One last limitation that impacted the study was theft. Much of the researcher's initial documentation, bibliographical information, and text was stolen.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

There are many implications for further research that are obvious when one looks at this study. There is, of course, significant indication that predisposition affects perception. Although this study was in regard to Bill Clinton, a president not known personally to respondents, given the findings in this study, it would be interesting and worthwhile to do a more formal group study with many less participants. Since initial feeling toward another individual is usually formed instantaneously, it would be fascinating and beneficial to determine whether interpersonal communication (vs. print media, for example) plays a role in audience perception of bias, especially if it were coming from the remarks of an individual most people "liked."

Probably the most pressing element for future study that this study puts forth is in regards to perception. Why is there a correlation between grade point averages and knowledge but NO correlation between knowledge and the perception of bias? And why is it that greater knowledge, similar gender or party, or even gpa have little or no effect on one's ability to perceive bias? Is it simply because people are so accustomed to reading biased print material that they cannot detect a difference between when it is there or not there? If a study were done comparing and contrasting print media that were found to contain bias, especially from papers like *The New York Times* or *The Washington Post*, would individuals be able to detect that bias? In effect, such a study would be the "reverse" of this study--individuals would be tested on knowledge they had gained from reading the biased articles.

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Appendixes

Appendix A: The entire survey packet given to subjects
Part I: The Knowledge Survey
Part II: The Bias Detection Ability Survey

Appendix B: Background Questions

Appendix C: The Knowledge Test

Appendix D: The Event Test

Appendix E: The Predisposition Test

Appendix F: The Bias Detection Ability Test

APPENDIX A:
The Entire Survey Packet

*Note: The following questions and article are an exact reproduction of the *entire* survey packet that subjects received.

Appendix A: Part I: The Knowledge Survey

Thank you for completing this survey. I am a student conducting research and intend to present my findings at a later date. Please answer ALL of the following questions. Your anonymity is guaranteed, so please answer as truthfully as possible.

- ___ 1. What is your gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

- ___ 2. Into which category does your cumulative grade-point average (GPA) fall (going into the Spring '99 semester)?
 - a. 0.0-1.0
 - b. 1.01-2.0
 - c. 2.01-3.0
 - d. 3.01-4.0

- ___ 3. Which group's values do you identify most closely with?
 - a. Republicans
 - b. Democrats
 - c. Independents
 - d. None of the above

- ___ 4. Who was the Whitewater Special Investigator?
 - a. William Ginsburg
 - b. Vernon Jordan
 - c. Kenneth Starr
 - d. Nathaniel Speights

- ___ 5. How many (#) of grounds for impeachment did Starr's original Sept. 9, 1998 document, submitted to the House of Representatives, suggest?
 - a. 4
 - b. 6
 - c. 9
 - d. 11

- ___ 6. Who is Kathleen Willey?
 - a. Clinton's White House secretary
 - b. Former White House volunteer, who claimed Clinton groped her
 - c. Friend of Monica Lewinsky, who was told about affair
 - d. Former Clinton aide who claimed Clinton forced her to have sex

7. What is the role relationship between the lawsuit, Paula Jones, and former intern Monica Lewinsky?

- a. Jones was subpoenaed in Lewinsky's lawsuit
- b. Lewinsky was subpoenaed in Jones' lawsuit
- c. In her lawsuit, Jones claimed Lewinsky had an affair with Clinton
- d. In her lawsuit, Lewinsky claimed Jones had an affair with Clinton

8. What did Monica Lewinsky's initial affidavit state regarding her alleged sexual affair with Clinton?

- a. She claimed to have had a sexual affair with Clinton
- b. She claimed Clinton initiated all sexual contact
- c. She claimed she had no sexual affair with Clinton
- d. She claimed Clinton admitted to her that he'd engaged in previous extramarital affairs

9. Who were Monica Lewinsky's initial lawyers?

- a. William Ginsburg and Nathaniel Speights
- b. Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein
- c. Jacob Stein, Plato Cacheris, and William Ginsburg
- d. Plato Cacheris, Jacob Stein, and Nathaniel Speights

10. Who were Lewinsky's lawyers during/until the end of the impeachment proceedings?

- a. William Ginsburg and Nathaniel Speights
- b. Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein
- c. Jacob Stein, Plato Cacheris, and William Ginsburg
- d. Plato Cacheris, Jacob Stein, and Nathaniel Speights

11. Who helped Lewinsky get her internship placement at the White House?

- a. Marcia Lewis
- b. David Kendall
- c. Walter Kaye
- d. Vernon Jordan

12. Monica Lewinsky testified against Clinton to gain immunity from a potential charge relating to her affidavit. What would the charge have been?

- a. Fleeing jurisdiction
- b. Perjury
- c. Obstruction of justice
- d. Fraud

13. Who taped the conversations between herself and Lewinsky?

- a. Kathleen Willey
- b. Linda Tripp
- c. Juanita Broaddrick
- d. Marcia Lewis

___ 14. What vote would have been required to convict President Clinton?

- a. 1/3 in favor
- b. Majority in favor
- c. 2/3 in favor
- d. 3/4 in favor

___ 15. Who is Marcia Lewis?

- a. Lewinsky's mother
- b. Lewinsky's friend
- c. Former aide to Clinton who alleges he forced her to have sex
- d. Former White House press secretary

Where are the following events taking place?:

___ 16. Ethnic Albanians and Serb forces are fighting in this former Yugoslavian nation?

- a. Iraq
- b. Kosovo
- c. North Korea
- d. Russia

___ 17. The U.S. sends food aid to the people of the communist regime in this country?

- a. Iraq
- b. Kosovo
- c. North Korea
- d. Russia

___ 18. Economic decline in which country has caused strain on the global economy?

- a. Iraq
- b. Kosovo
- c. North Korea
- d. Russia

___ 19. Who is Juanita Braddrick?

- a. Claims Clinton assaulted her in Arkansas as Attorney-General
- b. Claims she and Clinton had consensual extramarital affair
- c. Called forth to testify in Jones lawsuit
- d. Called forth to testify in Lewinsky lawsuit

___ 20. What was hidden under Betty Currie's bed?

- a. Lewinsky's blue dress
- b. Paperwork relevant to the Whitewater investigation
- c. Clinton's gifts to Lewinsky
- d. Lewinsky's love notes to Clinton

21. Please complete the following sentence made by President Clinton:

"I did not _____"

- a. behave inappropriately at any time
- b. give Monica Lewinsky any gifts in the time that I knew her
- c. ask Ms. Lewinsky, at any time, to engage in any sexual activity
- d. have sexual relations with that woman, Ms. Lewinsky

NOTE Please answer the following question by placing your opinion on the following scale of 1-5: 1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree somewhat, 3) uncertain, 4) agree somewhat, and 5) strongly agree.

22. Clinton should have been removed from office.

strongly disagree
1(a)

disagree somewhat
2(b)

uncertain
3(c)

agree somewhat
4(d)

strongly agree
5(e)

Appendix A: Part II: The Bias Detection Ability Survey

August 18, 1999

Clinton Admits to Lying about Affair with Lewinsky

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17-

Feeling threatened by prosecutors and hoping to save his political career after finishing his four-hour long testimony at the White House, President Clinton admitted to having a sexual relationship with former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky.

After continuous denials for the last seven months, the truth comes as no surprise given Clinton's previous history. The 52-year-old president has created a circus and has managed to behave significantly less maturely than both his age and position dictate.

In addition to his admission of misleading the country, Clinton also admitted to misleading his wife. He told the public, however, that "It is private; it is nobody's business but ours. Even presidents have private lives."

Many of the details of his "private life" continue to be sketchy. Much of the detailed testimony has yet to be disclosed.

According to a statement made by Clinton's lawyer, President Clinton admitted to contact with Ms. Lewinsky and failed to answer only "a very few highly intrusive questions with respect to the specifics of this contact."

Continued on page A-10

Please answer the following question by placing your opinion on the following scale of 1-5:
1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree somewhat, 3) uncertain, 4) agree somewhat, and
5) strongly agree.

This article treats Clinton fairly.

strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain	agree somewhat	strongly agree
1(a)	2(b)	3(c)	4(d)	5(e)

Appendix B: **Background Questions**

The following questions were requests for background information about the subjects. These questions were the first, second, and third questions asked of the respondents and were part of the Knowledge Survey.

Gender question (Q1):

- ____ 1. What is your gender?
- a. Male
 - b. Female

GPA question (Q2):

- ____ 2. Into which category does your cumulative grade-point average (GPA) fall (going into the Spring '99 semester)?
- a. 0.0-1.0
 - b. 1.01-2.0
 - c. 2.01-3.0
 - d. 3.01-4.0

Political values question (Q3):

- ____ 3. Which group's values do you identify most closely with?
- a. Republicans
 - b. Democrats
 - c. Independents
 - d. None of the above

Appendix C: The Knowledge Test

The following questions comprised the "Knowledge Test" and were given to subjects as part of the Knowledge Survey. In the original entire survey packet, and as shown below, these questions were numbered 4-15 and 19-21. Correct answers to the questions are indicated in bold print.

KNOWLEDGE TEST *Questions 4-15 and 19-21*

- ___ 4. Who was the Whitewater Special Investigator?
- a. William Ginsburg
 - b. Vernon Jordan
 - c. **Kenneth Starr**
 - d. Nathaniel Speights
- ___ 5. How many (#) of grounds for impeachment did Starr's original Sept. 9, 1998 document, submitted to the House of Representatives, suggest?
- a. 4
 - b. 6
 - c. 9
 - d. 11
- ___ 6. Who is Kathleen Willey?
- a. Clinton's White House secretary
 - b. **Former White House volunteer, who claimed Clinton groped her**
 - c. Friend of Monica Lewinsky, who was told about affair
 - d. Former Clinton aide who claimed Clinton forced her to have sex
- ___ 7. What is the role relationship between the lawsuit, Paula Jones, and former intern Monica Lewinsky?
- a. Jones was subpoenaed in Lewinsky's lawsuit
 - b. **Lewinsky was subpoenaed in Jones' lawsuit**
 - c. In her lawsuit, Jones claimed Lewinsky had an affair with Clinton
 - d. In her lawsuit, Lewinsky claimed Jones had an affair with Clinton
- ___ 8. What did Monica Lewinsky's initial affidavit state regarding her alleged sexual affair with Clinton?
- a. She claimed to have had a sexual affair with Clinton
 - b. She claimed Clinton initiated all sexual contact
 - c. **She claimed she had no sexual affair with Clinton**
 - d. She claimed Clinton admitted to her that he'd engaged in previous extramarital affairs

- ___ 9. Who were Monica Lewinsky's initial lawyers?
- William Ginsburg and Nathaniel Speights**
 - Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein
 - Jacob Stein, Plato Cacheris, and William Ginsburg
 - Plato Cacheris, Jacob Stein, and Nathaniel Speights
- ___ 10. Who were Lewinsky's lawyers during/until the end of the impeachment proceedings?
- William Ginsburg and Nathaniel Speights
 - Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein
 - Jacob Stein, Plato Cacheris, and William Ginsburg
 - Plato Cacheris, Jacob Stein, and Nathaniel Speights**
- ___ 11. Who helped Lewinsky get her internship placement at the White House?
- Marcia Lewis
 - David Kendall
 - Walter Kaye**
 - Vernon Jordan
- ___ 12. Monica Lewinsky testified against Clinton to gain immunity from a potential charge relating to her affidavit. What would the charge have been?
- Fleeing jurisdiction
 - Perjury**
 - Obstruction of justice
 - Fraud
- ___ 13. Who taped the conversations between herself and Lewinsky?
- Kathleen Willey
 - Linda Tripp**
 - Juanita Broadrick
 - Marcia Lewis
- ___ 14. What vote would have been required to convict President Clinton?
- 1/3 in favor
 - Majority in favor
 - 2/3 in favor**
 - 3/4 in favor
- ___ 15. Who is Marcia Lewis?
- Lewinsky's mother**
 - Lewinsky's friend
 - Former aide to Clinton who alleges he forced her to have sex
 - Former White House press secretary

- ____ 19. Who is Juanita Broaddrick?
- a. **Claims Clinton assaulted her in Arkansas as Attorney-General**
 - b. Claims she and Clinton had consensual extramarital affair
 - c. Called forth to testify in Jones lawsuit
 - d. Called forth to testify in Lewinsky lawsuit
- ____ 20. What was hidden under Betty Currie's bed?
- a. Lewinsky's blue dress
 - b. Paperwork relevant to the Whitewater investigation
 - c. **Clinton's gifts to Lewinsky**
 - d. Lewinsky's love notes to Clinton
- ____ 21. Please complete the following sentence made by President Clinton:
"I did not _____."
- a. behave inappropriately at any time
 - b. give Monica Lewinsky any gifts in the time that I knew her
 - c. ask Ms. Lewinsky, at any time, to engage in any sexual activity
 - d. **have sexual relations with that woman, Ms. Lewinsky**

Appendix D:
The Event Test

The following questions comprised the "Event Test" and were given to subjects as part of the Knowledge Survey. In the original entire survey packet, and as shown below, the event questions were numbered from 16-19. Correct answers are indicated in bold print.

The Event Test
Questions 16-19

- ___ 16. Ethnic Albanians and Serb forces are fighting in this former Yugoslavian nation?
- a. Iraq
 - b. **Kosovo**
 - c. North Korea
 - d. Russia
- ___ 17. The U.S. sends food aid to the people of the communist regime in this country?
- a. Iraq
 - b. Kosovo
 - c. **North Korea**
 - d. Russia
- ___ 18. Economic decline in which country has caused strain on the global economy?
- a. Iraq
 - b. Kosovo
 - c. North Korea
 - d. **Russia**

**Appendix E:
The Predisposition Test**

The following question comprised the "Predisposition Test" and was given to subjects as part of the Knowledge Survey. In the original entire survey packet, and as shown below, this question was numbered 22. It was the last question asked before the Bias Detection Ability Survey.

PREDISPOSITION QUESTION

NOTE Please answer the following question by placing your opinion on the following scale of 1-5: 1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree somewhat, 3) uncertain, 4) agree somewhat, and 5) strongly agree.

___ 22. Clinton should have been removed from office.

strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain	agree somewhat	strongly agree
1(a)	2(b)	3(c)	4(d)	5(e)

Appendix F: The Bias Detection Ability Test

Subjects were asked to read this article and indicate their opinion, on a scale of 1-5, whether this article treated Clinton fairly.

August 18, 1999

Clinton Admits to Lying about Affair with Lewinsky

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17-

Feeling threatened by prosecutors and hoping to save his political career after finishing his four-hour long testimony at the White House, President Clinton admitted to having a sexual relationship with former White House intern, Monica Lewinsky.

After continuous denials for the last seven months, the truth comes as no surprise given Clinton's previous history. The 52-year-old president has created a circus and has managed to behave significantly less maturely than both his age and position dictate.

In addition to his admission of misleading the country, Clinton also admitted to misleading his wife. He told the public, however, that "It is private; it is nobody's business but ours. Even presidents have private lives."

Many of the details of his "private life" continue to be sketchy. Much of the detailed testimony has yet to be disclosed.

According to a statement made by Clinton's lawyer, President Clinton admitted to contact with Ms. Lewinsky and failed to answer only "a very few highly intrusive questions with respect to the specifics of this contact."

Continued on page A-10

Please answer the following question by placing your opinion on the following scale of 1-5:
1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree somewhat, 3) uncertain, 4) agree somewhat, and
5) strongly agree.

This article treats Clinton fairly.

strongly disagree	disagree somewhat	uncertain	agree somewhat	strongly agree
1(a)	2(b)	3(c)	4(d)	5(e)

Materials on the Russian Revolution

by
Denise Helton

Denise Helton
Literature Review
McNair Paper
7/13/99
Dr. Kaz

Materials on the Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution officially began in the 1800's.¹ With the advancement of socialist ideas pronounced during the February Revolution,² on through to the "organization of the Bolshevik government"³ in October of 1917, the Russian Revolution unfolded to change the course of history. A defining undercurrent of the Bolshevik movement was the role of revolutionary women. The attempt to implement women's ideas and concerns within Russian society, based on the Bolshevik take over, is the focus of my research.

Any study of the Russian Revolution should start with a working definition of terms. Most books concerned with the revolution usually do not provide detailed definitions of important terms. This is not particularly useful for beginning scholars who look to these books for expanding knowledge. It is often necessary to consult a dictionary for useful definitions.

Important words to consider during the time of the Russian Revolution are socialism, which aims "at a more equitable distribution of income"⁴ through "a regulated system of community."⁵ It is this idea that the Bolshevik leader, Lenin, and his followers

¹ Suny, Ronald and Arthur Adams. The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Victory. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972, xi.

² Russia adhered to the Julian calendar until 1918, placing the Bolshevik Revolution in February. The Western, Gregorian calendar would place the events in March.

³ Suny, xi.

⁴ "Socialism." The Grosset Webster Dictionary. 8th ed. 1974, 536.

⁵ Ibid.

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expanded upon. To continue, a proletariat is “a member of the working class,”⁶ the class of people Lenin believed should uphold socialism. Two groups within the revolution are the Bolsheviks, “the left wing of the Russian Social Democratic party.”⁷ The Bolsheviks are now considered “the Communist party”⁸ of Russia. The Mensheviks, a group in which many women revolutionaries either belonged to or sympathized with, were a “minority or reformist wing of the Russian Social Democrats.”⁹ The Mensheviks had connections with the bourgeois, the sworn enemy of the working class. These definitions are pertinent to understanding any aspect of the Russian Revolution.

An advanced, technical definition of terms, places, and people connected with the revolution can be found in a history of the revolution, written by a key Bolshevik leader, Leon Trotsky. The terms are also broader in scope than those found in a dictionary. It is important to note, though, most of the individuals Trotsky considers significant to the revolution are men.¹⁰

It is, however, vital to note the version of socialism accepted by the Bolsheviks. Karl Marx’s theory held the most influence. To Russians, “Marxism was both an ideology of revolution and an ideology of economic development.”¹¹ Couple this with Russia’s rapid industrialization and emerging working class. Marx predicted capitalism would breakdown in industrialized countries, thus, spreading socialist doctrine outward to

⁶ “Proletariat.” The Grosset Webster Dictionary. 8th ed. 1974, 458.

⁷ “Bolsheviks.” The Grosset Webster Dictionary. 8th ed. 1974, 63.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ “Mensheviks.” The Grosset Webster Dictionary. 8th ed. 1974, 373.

¹⁰ Trotsky, Leon. The History of the Russian Revolution. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1961.

¹¹ Fitzpatrick, Shelia. The Russian Revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 9.

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less advanced countries. Yet the revolution actually occurred in the still backward Russia, not in any advanced or Western nation.

A brief outline of the Russian Revolution places the revolutionary women in their historical context. A comprehensive take on the revolution can be found in Allan Moorehead's book The Russian Revolution. The "world of privilege and established order"¹² of 1916 would fall apart under the socialist revolution just a year later. The revolution consisted of "the intellectuals and the masses"¹³ of Russian society. Thus allowing Marxism to become the leading revolutionary ideology among the working classes. In February of 1917 Tsar Nicolas II abdicated from the throne. A "Provisional Government"¹⁴ was established. In October, under the leadership of Lenin, the Bolsheviks gained control of Russia. Moorehead's purpose is to show the changing nature of politics on Russian society. The book is helpful when considering the effects of a revolution on its people.

Another concise work on the revolution can be found in a series of articles contained in Suny and Adams' account of the event. The articles take an in depth look at economics, class struggle, politics, and the views of the Bolshevik leader, Lenin. In fact, Lenin's ideology is important in understanding the impact of the revolution. Lenin believed the success of the Bolsheviks occurred "because they had behind them the vast

¹² Moorehead, Allan. The Russian Revolution. New York: Harper and Row, 1958, 31.

¹³ Moorehead, 36.

¹⁴ Moorehead, 158.

majority of the proletariat.”¹⁵ Lenin’s views allude to the main themes of the Bolsheviks, including the role of women, which is essentially useful for background information.

Material concerning the involvement of women during the Russian Revolution is limited. The impact of socialism on women is documented in the book European Women on the Left. The purpose of which is to document the struggle of women, even under the seemingly liberating conditions of socialism and feminism. Two important women directly involved in the revolutionary movements are mentioned in the book.

Anna Kuliscioff learned much of her socialist theories while spending time “with other young idealists among the Russian peasants.”¹⁶ Kuliscioff, who would not live to see the outcome of the Russian Revolution, advocated, “votes for women”¹⁷ and had a keen “appreciation for Marxism.”¹⁸ These ideas would influence women who participated in the revolution. Her ideas, therefore, are significant because of their effect on other women.

The next woman to be mentioned is Alexandra Kollontai, perhaps the “best-known”¹⁹ female Bolshevik, and the woman who is the main focus of this research project. Kollontai first developed her “cosmopolitan outlook”²⁰ during a “childhood sojourn to Bulgaria.”²¹ Kollontai’s views on a “non-bourgeois”²² feminism was connected to her devotion towards socialism.

¹⁵ Lenin, Valdimir. “Our Revolution.” The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Victory. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1972, 472.

¹⁶ Springer, Beverly Tanner. “Anna Kuliscioff: Russian Revolutionist, Italian Feminist.” European Women on the Left. Ed. Jane Slaughter and Robert Kern. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981, 14.

¹⁷ Springer, 21.

¹⁸ Springer, 24.

¹⁹ Stites, Richard. “Alexandra Kollontai and the Russian Revolution.” European Women on the Left. Ed. Jane Slaughter and Robert Kern. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981, 113.

²⁰ Stites, 101.

European Women on the Left is a good starting point for deeper research into women's involvement with socialism. The ideals of revolutionary women are neatly outlined and detailed, but not enough is mentioned concerning women during the Russian Revolution. The information that is mentioned is interesting, thought provoking, and allows for an overall understanding of the struggle women faced incorporating a socialist mentality in their daily lives.

A better source on women in Russian revolutionary movements is found in Discovering the Western Past. The evidence presented comes directly from "the writings of the women themselves."²³ The evidence allows for a closer study of the women from their own viewpoints. The book also includes the writings of Kollontai, in which she addresses her feelings towards the Bolshevik victory. Thus, the attempt to add "gender as a category of analysis"²⁴ works well.

To a lesser degree, Becoming Visible: Women in European History mentions Russian women "in the political arena"²⁵ during the revolution. More women are mentioned than in the previous book, such as Lenin's wife, but each individual is given less attention. The narrative does allow for further details into the "authoritarian world"²⁶ of "male power"²⁷ that Russian women of all classes found themselves. The

²¹ Ibid.

²² Stites, 107.

²³ Wiesner, Merry E., Julius R. Ruff and William Brue Wheeler. Discovering the Western Past. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989, 282.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Stites, Richard. "Women and the Revolutionary Process in Russia." Becoming Visible: Women in European History. Ed. Renate Bridenthal, Susan Mosher Stuard, Merry E. Wisener. 3rd. ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998, 417.

²⁶ Stites, 419.

²⁷ Ibid.

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opinions of radical women are placed in a more defined and concentrated arena, due to the information on society and women's roles.

A detailed study of Alexandra Kollontai can be found in Beatrice Farnsworth's Aleksandra Kollontai. From her early years to "the deformities of the Stalin era,"²⁸ Farnsworth documents the events and people who shaped Kollontai's life. The most relevant part of the narrative deals with Kollontai's involvement with the Bolsheviks and other revolutionary women. It is significant to any research on Kollontai to comprehend her role in the Bolshevik party. Her transition to Bolshevism occurred in the summer of 1915 and progressed until she became a "member of Lenin's central Committee."²⁹ Kollontai was also "the only woman in Russia's first Communist government."³⁰ The account of Kollontai's public commitment to the advancement of women rights, as well as anecdotes from her personal life, make Farnsworth's book exceptional.

When researching information on an historical figure, it is imperative to analyze their writings. It is Kollontai's autobiography that we turn to now. Kollontai's desire was to record "the crucial turning points of [her] being and accomplishments."³¹ Kollontai sharply documents her role as a revolutionary. She states, "early in life I had eyes for the social injustices prevailing in Russia."³² Kollontai issues her beliefs as "against coalescence with the liberal bourgeoisie."³³ In her own words, Kollontai's ideals are extremely useful in unraveling details concerning a powerful female figure. For

²⁸ Farnsworth, Beatrice. Aleksandra Kollontai. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980, 403.

²⁹ Farnsworth, 57.

³⁰ Farnsworth, xi.

³¹ Kollontai, Alexandra. Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman. London: Orbach and Chambers, 1972, 3.

³² Kollontai, 9.

³³ Kollontai, 30.

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instance, her desire to combine socialism with feminism is well documented. Yet one must be careful not to forget that autobiographies incorporate a person's own view of what is important and true. Kollontai's autobiography is no exception. She reports events from her emotional viewpoint. Kollontai is biased towards her subject, seeing the issue from her eyes alone.

A subtopic of research is to determine how Lenin viewed revolutionary women. The book Women and Communism is an excellent source for discovering how Lenin felt towards Bolshevik women. The evidence presented comes from Lenin's letters. Again, the evidence comes directly from the person involved. To Lenin, if women were not torn "away from the deadening atmosphere of household and kitchen,"³⁴ it would be impossible to build a socialist society. Lenin also makes it clear a revolution cannot take place without the influence of women.

Accordingly, Women and Communism is an intriguing research source into Lenin's thoughts concerning women. After gaining control over Russia, though, Lenin spent more time focusing on political affairs than the plight of women rights. So, Lenin's writings can be seen as propaganda to enlist women to the Bolshevik ranks.

In conclusion, there is a vast quantity of material written about the Russian Revolution, from both a political and social point of view, one must simply narrow down the choices by a particular field of interest. There are fewer books written about the impact of socialism on Russian women, and the advancement of such ideas by Russian women. The narratives written, though, are comprehensive studies of intriguing women.

³⁴ Lenin, Valdimir. "There Can Be No Socialist Revolution Unless Women Take Part In It." Women and Communism. Westpoint: Greenwood Press, 1973, 42.

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Based on the evidence collected, the focus of research will center on Kollontai and her combination of socialism and feminism. Kollontai's struggle to incorporate both facets into her life makes her an especially interesting revolutionary woman.

Women and the Russian Revolution

by
Denise Helton

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McNair Outline
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Outline

Introduction:

- a. Russian Revolution**
- b. Feminine Issues**
- c. Kollontai**

Paragraph 1:

- a. Women's March**
- b. Monarchy Dismantled**

Paragraph 2:

- a. Women Workers Opinions Voiced**
- b. Men on the Front**

Paragraph 3:

- a. Workers and Military Join Women**
- b. Nicholas Abdicates**
- c. Revolution Links with Women**

Paragraph 4:

- a. Provisional Government**
- b. Stress of WWI**

Paragraph 5:

- a. Securing Bolshevik Power**
- b. Lenin's Propaganda Concerning Women**
- c. Women's Liberation Not in the Forefront**

Paragraph 6:

- a. Kollontai**
- b. Most Important Bolshevik Woman**
- c. Theory of Her Importance**

Paragraph 7:

- a. Lack of Information on Kollontai**
- b. Not Mentioned by Men**

Paragraph 8:

- a. Kollontai's Views**
- b. Socialism as Freedom**
- c. Socialism Did Not Advance Women's Rights**

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Paragraph 9:

- a. Kollontai's Physical Characteristics**
- b. Structure of Face**

Paragraph 10:

- a. Kollontai's Background**
- b. Kollontai's History as a Revolutionary**

Paragraph 11:

- a. Kollontai's Feminist Theory**
- b. Concept of the "New Woman"**

Paragraph 12:

- a. The "New Woman" and Socialism**
- b. Marriage and Property**

Paragraph 13:

- a. Divisions Between Socialism and Feminism**
- b. Love and Marriage Question**
- c. Conflict Between Family and Work**

Paragraph 14:

- a. Lenin's Views on Love and Work**
- b. Nothing Above the Common Cause**
- c. No Distinction Among Women's Roles**

Paragraph 15:

- a. Kollontai's Views on Feminism**
- b. No Middle Class Feminists**
- c. Social Feminism as Opposed to Economic Feminism**

Paragraph 16:

- a. Kollontai's Successes**
- b. Commissar of Social Welfare**
- c. Ambassador**

Paragraph 17:

- a. Kollontai's Success Does Not Represent All Women**
- b. Women's Involvement in Socialist Conferences**
- c. Involvement Less in Peak Years than in 1917**

Paragraph 18:

- a. Sexual Views Conflict with Lenin**
- b. Kollontai Resigns Commissar Post**

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Paragraph 19:

- a. Sexual Relations as seen by Kollontai Versus Lenin**
- b. Female Promiscuity**
- c. Free Love and Male Involvement**

Paragraph 20:

- a. Lenin's Indifference to Kollontai's Theories**
- b. Kollontai's Achievements Viewed Again**
- c. Kollontai's Leadership Disposable**

Conclusion

- a. Women's March**
- b. Lenin's Propaganda**
- c. Kollontai's Views, Achievements, and Removal**
- d. Kollontai's Legacy**

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Women and the Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolutions of 1917 were a cornerstone event in world history. The Bolshevik victory impacted world affairs beyond the reach of ordinary imagination. Events in Russia, from worker displeasure to the disillusionment of the monarchy, led to the crisis that fostered a revolution. Key among the issues that ignited the revolutionary fervor was the subject of women. Was there room for feminine issues in a movement primarily led by men? Were women's rights key components of the newly established Bolshevik leadership? To answer these questions, it is necessary to look at the conditions surrounding women during the time of the March revolution. In so doing, a prominent woman within the Bolshevik government, Alexandra Kollontai, illustrates "the woman question" the most directly. A study of her life and career, as a Bolshevik and feminist, gives insight into the struggles and joys of fighting a revolution for dual causes.

The Russian Revolution began without its leaders present. Consistent workers strikes were at a standstill until the end of February,

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1917.¹ A women's march that started as a simple "demonstration in honor of International Women's Day,"² ended up bringing the workers into the "streets of Petrograd."³ Within a week, Tsar Nicholas II abdicated and a new system of government was established. Thus, the effects of the movement first introduced by female workers, was manifest in many ways. Women workers found an outlet to voice their opinions on the suffering that surrounded them. After all, "with the men on the front,"⁴ women were forced to become primary caretakers and providers for a family. The march was conducted in order to publicly speak out against the rising cost of bread, a primary necessity for a woman and her children. To strike against the establishment provided women with the ability to change their situation as never before.

The Women's Day demonstration also brought the Russian Revolution to its starting point. In fact, the march became the perfect catalyst. As mentioned, workers joined with the women, as did the military command. The police began "to fraternize"⁵ with the crowd instead of reprimanding them, partly because no one was willing "to fire

¹ Until 1918, Russia adhered to the Julian calendar, placing the first part of the Revolution in February and the ensuing civil war in October. The Gregorian calendar viewed these events as occurring in March and November. This paper incorporates the Russian calendar, henceforth.

² Fitzpatrick, Shelia. *The Russian Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, 44.

³ Fitzpatrick, 44.

⁴ Stites, Richard. "Women and the Revolutionary Process in Russia." *Becoming Visible*. Ed. Renate Bridenthal. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998, 417-438.

⁵ Fitzpatrick, 44.

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on the women.”⁶ The military’s decision prevented the larger demonstration from being controlled and dispersed. Consequently, the revolution bloomed and the Tsar, Nicholas II, was “placed under arrest”⁷ and abdicated from the throne. The demonstration “linked revolutionary parties... with the masses of women,”⁸ to a shattering result.

After events occurring during February until the ultimate Bolshevik takeover in October, a Provisional Government gained control over Russia. Primarily led by Alexander Kerensky, Vice-Chairman of the Duma, the government sought to create a united Russian country. Kerensky, only thirty-six at the time, was a socialist who gained such control over the Duma that he quickly became the Minister of Justice.⁹ Yet resistance to incorporate worker’s views, in order to appease “the soldiers”¹⁰ caused the government immense problems. Additionally, the creation of “a new offensive”¹¹ in the continued waging of World War I, allowed the Bolsheviks to overthrow the Provisional Government. Russian citizens were tired of the death and starvation that was caused by the war. The government could never unite the peasants with the workers, or the upper classes with the lower, under a combined leadership. Such

⁶ Wiesner, Merry E., Julius R. Ruff and William Brue Wheeler. Discovering the Western Past. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989, 280.

⁷ Ulam, Adam B. The Bolsheviks. Collier Books: New York, 1965, 318.

⁸ Stites, 426.

⁹ Massie, Robert K. Nicholas and Alexandra. New York: Ballantine Books, 1995, 406.

¹⁰ Figes, Orlando. A People’s Tragedy: A History of the Russian Revolution. Viking Penguin: New York, 1996, 408.

¹¹ Figes, 408.

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indecisiveness granted the Bolsheviks the opportunity to announce their plan of a workers revolution.

Once the Bolsheviks gained control of the new socialist state, they continued to court women during the ensuing Civil War. More than wishing to “fight for a socialist solution to the woman question,”¹² Bolshevik leaders wanted to secure their position within the class system that helped bring them to power. For instance, Lenin elaborated, “women [were] crushed by their domestic drudgery, and only socialism [could] relieve them from this drudgery.”¹³ Lenin advocated communal daycare, which would allow women to enter the workforce with no fear for the welfare of their children. Lenin’s propaganda consisted of enlisting Russian, working class women as means to the greater end of “preservation of power.”¹⁴ In other words, by giving women theoretical freedom, Lenin gained supporters in a class that was well represented and often subdued. Therefore, Lenin’s opinions backed up his socialist plan of freeing the working classes, including those formed by women, from the threat of bourgeois capitalism. However, “women’s liberation [would remain] as a side issue”¹⁵ when the Bolshevik Reds defeated the Whites in the Civil War. It must be noted, however, that women rights and

¹² Farnsworth, Beatrice. Aleksandra Kollontai. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980, 39.

¹³ Lenin, Vladimir. “There Can Be No Socialist Revolution Unless Women Take Part In It.” Women and Communism. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973, 42.

¹⁴ Stites, Richard. “Alexandra Kollontai and the Russian Revolution.” European Women on the Left. Ed. Jane Slaughter and Robert Kern. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981, 101-123.

¹⁵ Farnsworth, 24.

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the concept of war do not relate well together. Yet it becomes interesting to incorporate men's feelings regarding women during the time of a war. How much focus given to women in ordinary situations is maximized or reduced during a war? For instance, during World War II, note the massive amount of propaganda issued to convince women to enter the workforce.

To comprehend women's association and involvement within the Russian Revolution, it is of primary importance to elaborate on Alexandra Kollontai. Kollontai's views, successes, and letdowns parallel the course of the revolution, as concerns women. The fact that Kollontai was "the most important woman within the leadership of the Bolshevik party"¹⁶ proves one of two theories. Either Kollontai was more captivating and outspoken than other Bolshevik women, or her presence was unique among the socialist government. The latter holds true in this particular case. Kollontai managed to gain power within the Bolshevik, male dominated leadership, where few women could. Her relationships with men of importance in the Bolshevik camp allowed her access to the direct workings of the new government. Although not much has been written on the topic, it is easy to speculate Kollontai's relationship with these men was more sexual than political. Thus, she had to rely on men in order to become a member of the inner circle. Her relationships with men of

¹⁶ Wiesner, 283.

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importance in the Bolshevik camp, combined with her potent and relevant ideologies, ensured she had a foothold where few other women could.

Information on Alexandra Kollontai and her views is not easily available. Few books have been written about her and she is only briefly mentioned in most histories of the Russian Revolution. No reports or statistics could be found to demonstrate Kollontai's involvement in the Bolshevik government. Most of the male leaders of the movement do not directly mention Kollontai, either.

Alexandra Kollontai's physical characteristics elaborated on her background and personality. Of average height, she had an aristocratic, determined face. Her lips turned down at the corners, making it appear as if she were perpetually frowning. Her dark brown eyes always seemed to be staring into the distance, yet they reflected an intelligence that was inherent in her mannerisms. Her black hair was commonly cut into a bob, with bangs framing her forehead. Her oval face and broad nose made her look more Italian than the typical square face of a Russian woman.¹⁷

Kollontai, ironically, was born into a noble family. She was schooled at home. She married her cousin, an engineer, but left him and their son to study political economy. She first worked for a revolutionary cause in advocating Finland's national liberation. At this time, Finland was still a part of the Russian Empire. So, Kollontai was advocating resistance

¹⁷ Not many pictures of Kollontai can be found. The particular photograph used for this paper can be located on the front of her autobiography: Kollontai, Alexandra. The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman. London: Orbach and Chambers, 1972.

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against her homeland. She had to immigrate to Germany after writing that Finland should take up arms for independence. In 1907 she opened a Working Women's Club. She also campaigned on behalf of maternity welfare under the Menshevik party of the Russian Duma. After leaving the Menshevik ranks, due to her view that the party had become stagnant, Kollontai joined the Bolsheviks. She aligned her opinions with the increasing socialist, patriotic- and powerful- Bolshevik faction of the Duma. The Mensheviks, who aligned themselves with more moderate socialism, even allowing the ideas of bourgeois capitalists to be counted as relevant, continued to lose power. In the fall of 1915, Kollontai embarked on a five-month tour in America to advance socialism and feminism. Kollontai was arrested upon returning to Russia during the Provisional Government's attack on the Bolsheviks. After the government was dissolved, Kollontai became a member of the new Soviet Central Committee.¹⁸

Kollontai's views demonstrate the split between her devotion to both socialism and feminism. To begin with, Kollontai believed that socialism would liberate "women from the oppression of a patriarchal family and a capitalist society."¹⁹ Thus, Kollontai wished to be free of a monarchical system that regarded the Tsar as the primary father figure of every family. Yet this was not a pressing goal of the Bolsheviks. In fact,

¹⁸ Information on Kollontai's background can be found throughout Farnsworth's book. See footnote 12.

¹⁹ Farnsworth, 1.

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“the presence of women in the major socialist parties did not advance the cause of women’s rights in Russia.”²⁰

Kollontai’s feminist ideas coalesced into her concept of the “New Woman.”²¹ Such a woman willingly turns against the servitude akin in marriage. The new woman places work above love. Love is no longer the ultimate goal in a woman’s life. In the past, passion put a woman’s life into captivity. She was under the control of a man. Thus, the new woman must have willpower over her emotions. The only suitable mate was one who held respect for the thoughts and feelings of his wife. Instead of being afraid of losing their beloved, the new woman becomes more afraid of losing her identity within marriage.

Kollontai’s “New Woman” theory aligned itself with socialism. The new woman derived from the demands of industrialization. During this time period, only working class women were forced from their homes into the workplace. In accordance, the new woman will persist in groups, not as individuals. Therefore, only in a socialist society can the new woman flourish. The fear of being alone drove women of the past to marry, allowing them to become the property of their husbands. Through socialism, the new woman could concentrate on a system of thought that would bind her with other working class women. She would be able to

²⁰ Stites, 115.

²¹ Farnsworth, 18.

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concentrate on her work without fear of a confining marriage or a stifling political system.

Major divisions between socialism and feminism occurred almost immediately within the Bolshevik faction. Cracks mainly developed in the arena of women's maternal roles. Kollontai was never able to devise a coherent answer to the question of how love and marriage counterbalanced with the desire of women to be part of the work force. The "personal conflict of work and family"²² divided socialist women, Kollontai chief among them, to devote more energy to feminist rights of Russian women. The feminists wished to gain the vote more to become full citizens of the Union than any desire to strengthen the rights of the family institution. Only after women get equal rights can they devote all their attention to other important issues.

On the other hand, Lenin and his follower's thought, "questions between love and work... were of little consequence."²³ Bolsheviks put "the 'common cause' above what they saw as lesser issues."²⁴ As a consequence, Bolsheviks sought power and not equal rights. Women became pawns in the struggle to bring socialism to the forefront, but they did not reap the rewards. Lenin's propaganda only sought to gain support of women, but he never made a distinction between women as mothers and wives, contrasted with women as working individuals. In fact, Lenin

²² Stites, 423.

²³ Stites, 109.

²⁴ Stites, 423.

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seemed to view women as important only as workers devoted to his cause. Lenin saw differences between love and work as questions that were “unessential, unanswerable.”²⁵ Perhaps Lenin felt this way because Marx, the inventor of the philosophy Lenin followed, did not concern himself with the issues of women or families. Marx, and in turn Lenin, believed the family unit would cease to be individually based, and would become a part of the larger socialist system.

Kollontai’s views concerning feminism were also divided. Kollontai did not agree with “the bourgeoisie”²⁶ version of feminism. Instead, Kollontai stated that the only true feminists were “women workers,”²⁷ and the major enemy of women was not men, but a capitalist economy. Capitalistic, bourgeois women could never shed their feminine virtues enough to join the workforce. Yet the bourgeois women were the ones trapped in an economic system that would let them be no more than a moral compass for their husbands. They were not allowed to be intellectual and they were rarely taken seriously. Women, according to Kollontai, could never be free surrounded by capitalist corporations that manipulated and exploited them. In other words, “Kollontai’s approach to the woman question was economic and social, that of the feminists legal and political.”²⁸ Kollontai could never reconcile the idea that women’s

²⁵ Stites, 109.

²⁶ Farnsworth, 32.

²⁷ Stites, 423.

²⁸ Farnsworth, 35.

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rights served the same designs, despite the influence of class. Thus, Kollontai's division mirrors the difference between her brand of socialism and the liberal democracy practiced by the more bourgeois nations.

Kollontai's successes proved that the Bolshevik leadership was willing to encourage her efforts on a marginal level. Kollontai became the first Commissar of Social Welfare "and head of the women's department within the party."²⁹ Later in her career, Kollontai also became the Soviet Union's first female ambassador to such nations as Mexico, Norway, and Sweden. Kollontai was the ultimate symbol of "the new role that women would have in the socialist society."³⁰

Yet Kollontai's success in no way represented the majority of women. Women constituted "less than 10 percent of the delegates to Socialist Revolutionary conferences in the peak years,"³¹ and the peak years occurred before the February 1917 revolution, and not after. Women did not gain the right to vote in the Soviet Union until long after Kollontai left the Bolshevik government.

Kollontai's future as Commissar of Social Welfare showcase the slippery hold that women's equality had within the Bolshevik government. Kollontai's opinion that socialism was meant to "liberate women [and] humanize men"³² was never accepted by socialist men. As an example,

²⁹ Wiesner, 284.

³⁰ Stites, 113.

³¹ Stites, 423.

³² Stites, 120.

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Kollontai's desire to write "about sexual questions"³³ forced a conflict between herself and Lenin. Opposing positions "between... personal lives and commitment to political action"³⁴ convinced Lenin that Kollontai should resign as Commissar of Social Welfare. Although statistics must exist to denote Kollontai's accomplishment as Commissar of Social Welfare, the research conducted for this paper could yield no findings. In accordance, any positive changes in women's benefits, during pregnancy and maternity leave, were reduced when Kollontai stepped down.

The differing perspectives of Lenin and Kollontai regarding the nature of sexual relations, shows how fragile a woman's power could be. First, Kollontai soon realized that there was a "prejudice against female promiscuity."³⁵ Based on the knowledge that Kollontai left her husband and young son, then entered into relationships with Bolshevik men, proves she was more than just an advocate of free love. Although men also participated in free love activities, Lenin simply "put up with it,"³⁶ whereas, Kollontai was forced to give up her post when her sexual convictions annoyed and tampered with Lenin's objectives. Perhaps if Kollontai had

³³ Fitzpatrick, 86.

³⁴ Slaughter, Jane. "Humanism Versus Feminism in the Socialist Movement." European Women on the Left. Ed. Jane Slaughter and Robert Kern. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981, 179-194.

³⁵ Greer, Germaine. The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Woman. Foreword. London: Orbach and Chambers, 1972, ix-xvi.

³⁶ Fitzpatrick, 87.

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issued her views in terms not unlike those of Marx, her opinions would have been more easily accepted.

Next, Lenin's seeming "indifference"³⁷ to Kollontai's theories, coupled against his "primary concern[s]"³⁸ for the revolution, allowed him to ease her out of an important position of power. Thus, it can be deducted that Kollontai's achievements were not only unrepresentative of her gender, but were also short-lived. Equality between the sexes living in a communal utopia "was never achieved."³⁹ Kollontai became disillusioned with socialism, as the answer to feminist questions, since she refused to accept any idea that originated among the middle classes. As mentioned before, Kollontai could never believe that the bourgeois held the ability to shed their values and join with the working class. Her inability to remain in power proves that she was a disposable part of Bolshevik leadership. She became the propaganda symbol for the "New Soviet Woman." Her appearance within the government looked and seemed better than her opinions and designs. It is remarkable, however, that Kollontai held firm to her ideas even under the pressure of Lenin's decrees.

In conclusion, the Russian Revolution of February 1917 was catalyzed by a women's march to promote better working conditions. Bolshevik leaders, primarily Lenin, used the writing of propaganda tracts

³⁷ Wiesner, 305.

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Stites, 306.

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to sway women to the Bolshevik faction. The main goal of the Bolsheviks, though, was to retain their power and influence.

Alexandra Kollontai became the major female figure in the new socialist government. Yet she was split between hoping that socialism could create a utopia of equality among the sexes and the desire to protect her feminist outlook. Kollontai could have expanded her feminist refrains, but she chose to separate herself from the middle class feminists. Kollontai firmly asserted that "upper class women... [could not] possibly represent the interests of working women."⁴⁰ Kollontai served to exaggerate the differences among feminists. Therefore, she made enemies out of potential allies.

Kollontai's successes were plentiful and encouraging. However, her prosperity was hers alone. She did not cause any other women to advance to positions of importance. Her removal from power, nevertheless, caused women's rights to virtually disappear in the Soviet Union. Her sheer presence and mindset, though, became encouragement for women within the Soviet Union and elsewhere. Under Stalin, the Soviet Union experienced more fears and purges than equality. Although it appears Kollontai escaped Stalin's purge of the older generation of Bolsheviks. In the end, the Bolsheviks were only ready to accept women in theory and not practice. Kollontai's example is the most well known.

⁴⁰ Stites, 108.

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The Bolsheviks “rejected her ideas and accepted her service.”⁴¹ Her legacy remains one of both accomplishment and ultimate disillusionment with the Bolsheviks she supported. The same can be said for the revolution that spawned her ideas and those who placed their beliefs in the new socialist system.

⁴¹ Greer, ix.

