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Schema Avoidance and Social Norm Application in Changing Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action Programs

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Schema Avoidance and Social Norm Application

in Changing Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action Programs

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Masters of Arts in Psychology

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Abstract

The interpretation and implementation of affirmative action policies (AAPs) has had the effect of creating beliefs and attitudes concerning these policies that vary with personal experience, race, gender, and other factors. Since attitudes toward AAPs have been found to be especially difficult to change, it is important to understand attitudes and how to change them. Following Ajzen's (1991, 2005) *Theory of Planned Behavior*, two hypotheses were tested: first, the avoidance of schema activation (i.e., by assessing attitudes toward AAPs without calling them "affirmative action") results in more positive attitudes toward the goals and ideals of those policies, and second, for those without any firmly held beliefs concerning AAPs, the presence or absence of a social norm example will influence attitudes in the direction provided by the example. This study of 298 undergraduate students showed a significant relationship between attitudes toward AAPs (measured with two separate dependent variables: a semantic differential and a measure of justice) and presence or absence of the words "affirmative action." Results were mixed in the presence or absence of a social norm model, with significant results only seen in the groups where the term affirmative action was not used. These results suggest that attitudes toward affirmative action can be influenced by avoiding schema activation and that providing a positive norm model is ineffective in changing attitudes when the term affirmative action is used. Correlations were also found between attitudes towards AAPs and measures of knowledge of AAPs, as well as participants' intention to take some kind of action regarding AAPs.

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my loving, patient, long-suffering wife, Maggie, without whom I could never had endured the seemingly endless years of preparation in pursuit of my goals. Without her steadying influence in my life the mere framing of those goals would have been arduous and their accomplishment impossible. With her, I am a better man.

Acknowledgements

Schema Avoidance and Social Norm Application in Changing Attitudes

Toward Affirmative Action Programs

Among the challenges facing businesses, compliance to government regulation is one of the most daunting and expensive. In 2005 the reported cost of compliance was over $5600 per employee in the United States (Crain, 2005). With an estimated 219 million employees, U.S. businesses spend some $1.2 trillion dollars each year complying with regulations. These costs include employee training, accounting, and record-keeping. According to Volpe (2001), record-keeping alone consumes some 116 million worker hours. Brimelow (1993) estimates that the direct costs of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) compliance are between $16.5 and $19.7 billion 1993 dollars. One example is complying with affirmative action policies (AAPs), and the cost associated with this is roughly equivalent to $300 for every family of four in America (Brimelow, 1993).

Organizations have a responsibility to effectively manage compliance, since failure to do so can lead to a variety of undesirable consequences including fines and loss of business. Compliance is generally not optional and must be properly documented with evidence available to government auditors and often to public scrutiny. Recent corporate scandals have led to increased accountability – and regulation. The Public Company Accounting Reform and Investor Protection Act of 2002 (commonly known as Sarbanes-Oxley or SOx) and the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPPA) for medical records are two examples of increased accountability that have resulted in regulations costing billions

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of dollars each year. SOx is estimated to have cost $6 billion in 2006 and even higher costs were expected for 2007 (Downing & Spanyi, 2007).

While the real costs of compliance can be calculated in terms of worker hours, billable hours for various professional services, fines, etc., there are other, less tangible costs that are harder to quantify. Brimelow's (1993) estimate of some $220 billion in lost investment in research and other potential benefits that might be realized if businesses weren't required to spend money on compliance attempts to emphasize the size of the problem. Other difficult factors may also have a severe impact. The actions of employees can undermine a business through negligence, apathy, or more malicious activities; a company's efforts to force compliance can result in low morale, conflict between coworkers, refusal to follow new rules and directives, and employee turnover.

Of the wide range of government mandated policy, AAPs have a long history of especially fervent debate (Bell, Harrison, & McLaughlin, 2000). Public sensitivity toward equal opportunity and affirmative action may be a result of the processes the policies seem to embody, including self-efficacy, perceived fairness, motivation, and interpersonal conflict (Kravitz et al., 1996). Studies (Heilman, Block, & Stathatos, 1997; Heilman, McCullough, & Gilbert, 2001) have shown that even those who benefit from AAPs may oppose the policies on grounds that as beneficiaries other employees consider them to be inferior, regardless of their credentials or qualifications.

Although it is tempting to think of businesses as entities somehow separate from the employees that operate them, the fact remains that it is people who ultimately must comply with regulations. It is also people who manage hiring, training, advancement, transfer, and termination. Attitudes and beliefs can become very important factors in the performance of these management tasks.

Research on attitudes toward AAPs has consistently shown that African Americans, women, and other minorities most strongly favor AAPs and white males most strongly oppose them (Bell et al., 2000; Goldsmith, Cordova, Dwyer, Langlois, & Crosby, 1989; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; Parker, Baltes, & Christiansen, 1997). While American demographics in business continue to change, white males still dominate most management positions, especially non-retail (72.8% male, 78.5% white), production (80.6% male, 74.6% white), and general operations management (70.9% male, 83.2% white) (see U.S. Census Bureau, 2008 for areas of employment where white males are less dominant). Since they represent the majority, the opinions and attitudes of white males are those most in need of understanding and management in order to effectively manage compliance.

The management of compliance may require employees to change previously formed behaviors and attitudes. Knowledge of employee beliefs and attitudes, and how to change them, can inform business strategies and lead to increased policy compliance with less employee impact. For AAPs, this knowledge is especially important. Research on attitude change has shown that while it is relatively easy to change minority opinions, making them more favorable toward AAPs, it is very

difficult to make the opinions of the majority anything but more negative (Bell et al., 2000; Harrison, Kravitz, Mayer, Leslie, & Lev-Arey, 2006). Finding ways to manage attitudes can be as important to a successful company as a sound fiscal policy.

Attitude Management

Attitude then can be seen as a business parameter which can be managed like any other. Before any business parameter can be effectively managed, it is necessary to define and understand it. Generations of psychologists have studied attitude and established working definitions of the term. Typical among these is Aronson's (2004) definition: attitude is a psychological construct; an opinion with an evaluative and emotional component (p. 90). Another major attitude researcher, Ajzen (2005) concurs: "… the characteristic attribute of attitude is its evaluative (pro-con, pleasant-unpleasant) nature" (p. 3). The resulting evaluation places the object or issue in question on a continuum, the anchors of which are subjective. This categorization process can occur with or without the individual's awareness (Sharif & Hovland, 1961, p. 5).

Another aspect of attitude frequently included in scholarly descriptions is the difficulty of measuring it. Attitudes are not directly observable but are inferred from "a persistent and characteristic mode of reaction to (the) stimulus or stimulus class" (Sharif & Hovland, 1961, p. 5). Like other theoretical psychological constructs (e.g., personality traits) attitudes can only be quantified by measuring observable behaviors.

Behaviors can be categorized into meaningful divisions that may help with the measurement of attitude. Perhaps the most logical and longstanding hierarchy, dating

back to Plato, separates behaviors into cognitive, affective, and conative (or behavioral) responses (Allport, 1979). Ajzen (2005) further separates behavioral indicators of attitude into verbal and non-verbal responses. For example, a non-verbal cognitive response might be a person's perceptual reactions (i.e., thoughts) toward the attitude object. A conative or behavioral response might be a verbal expression of intention to perform some behavior. An affective non-verbal response would be a physiological reaction like increased heart-rate.

Since behaviors can be used to infer and measure attitudes, it is reasonable to expect that attitudes can be used to predict behaviors. If, for example someone's cognitive response to an attitude object can be determined perhaps their conative response can be inferred. This line of reasoning is behind the historical controversy over whether or not attitude is a useful psychological construct. Simply stated, if attitude can't be used to predict behavior, of what use is it? There seems to be evidence both in support of the reasonable assumption that attitude predicts behavior and against that supposition.

One famous and often quoted study seems to show that attitudes are in fact not very good predictors of behavior. LaPiere (1934) found that innkeepers and restaurant proprietors when asked in writing whether or not they would serve Chinese people nearly universally replied (via return letters) in the negative. However, when an actual well-dressed young Chinese couple appeared at their places of business only one of those same establishments refused to serve them. LaPiere argued that his study was proof that attitudes (presumably as expressed in the letters received in the first part of

the experiment) were useless as predictors of behavior (as expressed by the failure of the proprietors to turn away business).

Although subsequent researchers have argued that LaPiere's experiment did not effectively measure attitude at all (see Dockery & Bedeian, 1989 for a review of criticisms), but rather two manifestations of behavior (i.e., letter writing in response to an inquiry and accepting the Chinese couple as paying customers), the usefulness and predictive power of attitudes could perhaps use some explanation and operational parameters. Are there components of attitude that might help explain how apparently firmly held attitudes can fail to predict behavior in certain circumstances? What are the elements of attitude and how are they formed and developed? How can attitudes be influenced or changed?

Attitude Theory

A leading theory of attitude is Ajzen's Theory of Planned Behavior (2005; see Figure 1). According to the theory, behavior is the result of several steps of processing. These steps can be broken into two paths: a person's beliefs that the behavior will lead to certain outcomes (and the evaluation of the desirability of the outcomes), and the person's beliefs that specific individuals or groups think that the person should or should not perform the behavior. These two sets of beliefs influence each other and lead respectively to the constructs of attitude and subjective norm. Intention is influenced by these two constructs and, according to the theory, leads directly to behavior.

Attitude, as has been seen, is not a perfect predictor of behavior: there are often mitigating or over-ruling circumstances. For example a person might believe that restricting potential candidates for a particular job opening to those of a certain sex or race is best for the business (e.g., a positive attitude toward white males) and also believe that their peers support this bias. These two beliefs can lead to the intention to hire only a white male for an opening. Even if this intention is very strong, and backed by unshakable beliefs as outlined, it is unlikely that the person will follow through on the behavior in the presence of an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission officer auditing the hiring practices of the company.

Ajzen's (2005) theory accounts for this situation by showing that attitude alone is not sufficient to drive all behaviors, but rather behavior is the end result of a complex chain of events. Further, he shows that an individual's beliefs are a vital component of their attitude and their perceptions of control and norms. Continuing with the previous example, another belief (that they might lose their own job, for example) has more power over the person's actual hiring behavior than those beliefs that contribute to their preferential attitudes. It is possible for situational differences, norms, and expectations to vary while attitude remains constant (Kiesler, Collins, & Miller, 1969).

The person's behavioral **beliefs**, beliefs about the target

Attitude toward the behavior

Intention → Behavior

The person's **normative** beliefs, that specific individuals or groups think s/he should or should not perform the behavior

Subjective Norm
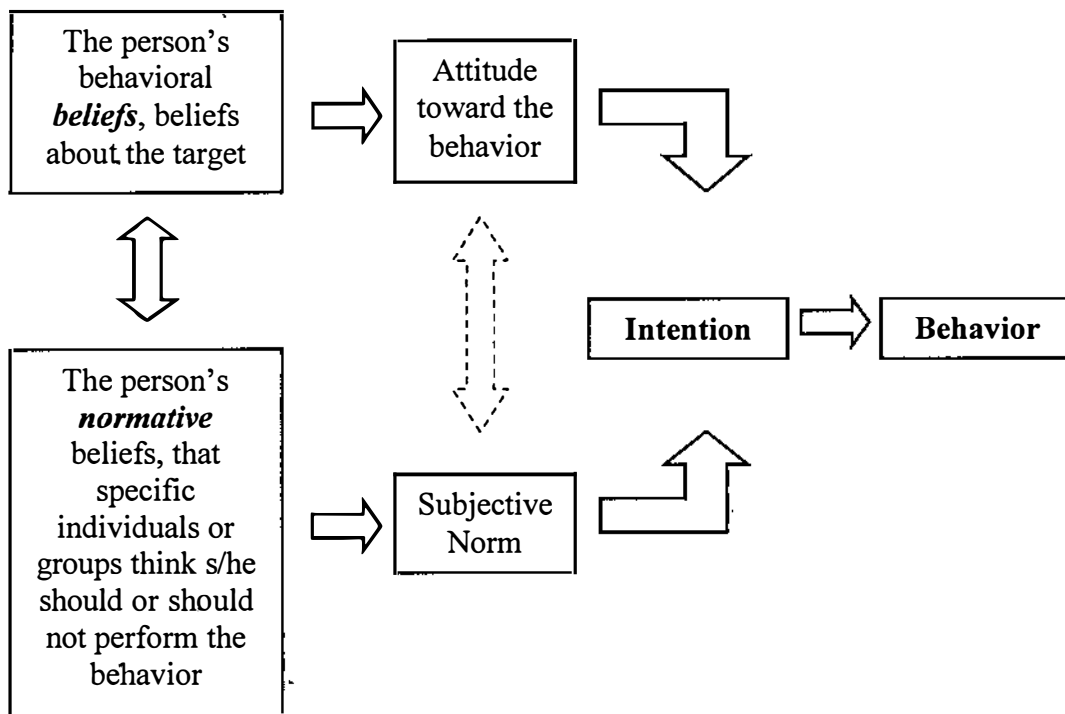
Figure 1. Ajzen's theory of planned behavior (2005) illustrates that two main channels contribute to intention and ultimately to behavior. However, there are significant interactions between these channels and each affects the other, making them difficult to separate.

Beliefs as Precursors to Attitudes

A key idea in Ajzen's model is that "attitude is determined by the person's salient beliefs about that object. For example, a person's attitude about 'the church' is a function of his beliefs about the church..." (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980, p. 64). Beliefs are by definition highly personal and distinct; they differ from person to person,

making analysis and interpretation of them difficult. They are the direct result of experiences which can be personal, second-hand, or obtained from distant outside informational sources. Beliefs are the sum of a person's experiences; they are a more efficient mode of storing what might be very extensive individual data points.

Not all beliefs are equal. As stated above, the model suggests that a set of *salient beliefs* determine a person's attitude (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). In this case, salience refers to the pertinence of the belief to the situation at hand. Salient beliefs can be changed, strengthened, weakened or replaced by new beliefs. They can be overruled by circumstance. Salient beliefs can also blind the holder of them to contradictory evidence, leading people to hold attitudes that are objectively false. Many beliefs may combine to provide structure to a person's attitudes, but not all of those beliefs are equally weighted.

Cognitive theory suggests that the portion of the human mind responsible for the holding of items under immediate consideration (so-called *working memory*), is severely limited in terms of the amount of discrete information that can be encoded and held there. Miller (1956) stated that the limit was in fact seven items, plus or minus two. This limitation, when applied to attitude formation can help explain the human capacity to categorize, recode, condense, and synthesize information into beliefs. When an attitude object is considered, people bring to mind their beliefs and feelings about the object. The set of beliefs and feelings can be characterized as a mental structure known as a schema.

Schemas: Products of Beliefs and Experiences

Schemas serve as a guide to interpretation, acting as a sort of cognitive lens through which events are perceived. According to Fiske and Taylor (1984), the fundamental assumption guiding the concept of schema is that reality is constructed by those who perceive it. Intraub, Gottesman, and Bills (1998) have demonstrated that people use mental representations automatically and continuously in order to make sense of a world which can only be experienced in discrete chunks. Using *perceptual schema* we fill in the blanks between eye fixations and create a continuous scene. Our brains supply the missing pieces so seamlessly as to be imperceptible.

Social schemata fill a similar purpose: "people simplify reality… in part by interpreting specific instances in light of the general case" (Fiske & Taylor, 1984, p. 141). While common sense dictates that reality (i.e., what is physically, objectively existing) is external and merely recorded by our senses, what we perceive is highly dependent on context. Fiske and Taylor (1984) use the following example to illustrate the point: the "1" in "1957" and in the word "life" are objectively very similar but are interpreted very differently because of their context.

Schemata are formed over time, which implies the process by which these proposed cognitive structures come into being: gradually our beliefs and experiences begin to suggest patterns. We use these patterns of understanding, activated in accordance with context, in effect to construct reality based on prior knowledge recorded in memory. This view is similar to that proposed by the Gestalt psychologists who argued that reality was more than just a record of the external

world. Rather, we construct meaning (i.e., perception) from fragments of sensory input (Kassin, 2004).

VanManen (1997) points out that "the ability to manipulate information and schemas presumably improves with experience" (p. 20), leading to larger collections of information summarized and packaged for easy use. In debating whether or not schema manipulation is a conscious or unconscious process, he concludes that such processes, though strategic, need not be conscious. Thus their activation or lack thereof can be a result of specific cognitive activity or simply the presence or absence of a suitable situational stimulus.

One important aspect of attitude then is a person's beliefs which arise from experiences and perceptions that are, over time, condensed into schemas. The use of these cognitive structures simplifies and streamlines the processing necessary when confronted with a situation or attitude object about which a person may be called upon to render judgment. According to Ajzen's (2005) model, however there is another important aspect to consider: what do other important people in an individual's life think?

Social Norms

As mentioned earlier, Ajzen's (2005) Theory of Planned Behavior suggests that social norms play an important role in the formation of attitudes that ultimately lead to behavior. Ajzen (1991, 2005) and others (Aronson, 2004; Cialdini, Reno, & Kallgren, 1990; Fiske, 2004; Schultz, Nolan, Cialdini, Goldstein, & Griskevicius, 2007) have found that an individual's belief that some important other person

approves or disapproves, or engages or does not engage in a particular behavior has an influence on the individual's attitude, intention, and behavior.

Sharif and Hovland (1961), writing on the construction of attitude measurement scales, acknowledge the influence that others have on our perceptions:

Even when the stimulus series is not well graded, individuals still form psychological scales. In these instances, the range of the scale and the number of categories within it are significantly influenced by the judgments of other people. As a result, the stimulus conditions affecting the formation of a reference scale have to include the social setting: established norms, the properties of the interaction among the individuals involved, the general setting of their interaction, the prevailing pattern of relationships among them, and so on (p. 13).

Aarts and Dijksterhuis (2003) use the example of behavior observed in a public library. Although when we are standing before a bookshelf perusing the selections there is no direct influence of other people on our behavior, we are nonetheless influenced by some model or factor that dictates what the expected behavior is, i.e.: being as quiet as possible. We are influenced by a *social norm* that dictates appropriate and inappropriate behaviors.

It is perhaps obvious that the "social" part of social norm influence is thought to be the result of an evolutionary past that reinforced cooperative co-existence. Fiske (2004) writes that in order to belong to groups, the observation of and obedience to a

set of "ground rules" is needed. She argues "people need shared norms... to understand what rules apply to different relationships" (p. 309).

Whether or not we refer to these *important others,* present or absent, depends on the situation. According to Aronson (2004), "when reality is unclear, other people become a major source of information" (p. 28). He goes on to say that ambiguity increases our dependence on others for cues as to our own feelings and attitudes. Therefore, when asked about specific attitude objects, respondents might employ a heuristic which first examines the thoughts, beliefs, feelings, and attitudes (i.e., schemas) that are immediately available from their own experience. Lacking any strong guiding experiences or in the face of contradictory schemas the person might then consider how those *important others* in their life (social norms) might expect them to respond to the inquiry and answer accordingly.

Ajzen's (2005) model proposes that behavior is a result of intentions which are in turn the product of attitudes (resulting from beliefs and experiences), and a consideration of what other people might believe concerning the behavior in question. The strength of these attitudes and their relationship with social norms varies according to the situation and attitude object. Certain attitudes, like those toward AAPs may be especially difficult to change due to particularly strong beliefs and perceptions. How then can such attitudes be changed?

Changing Attitudes

The comparison of attitudes to personality traits is an important one (Ajzen, 2005). Like personality, attitude is a psychological construct with certain signature

characteristics, among them relative stability over time, pervasiveness, uniqueness, and ability to influence behavior. Some attitudes seem to be particularly difficult to change, while others are more flexible. Several techniques for changing attitudes have been studied. Triandis (1971) discusses three methods, each of which relates to the previously-discussed key areas of human behavior (i.e., cognitive, affective, and conative).

People's existing attitudes can be changed as a result of receiving new information. New information often leads to new thoughts about an attitude object and can be the result of personal experience or information from a trusted source. However, it is important to remember that attitudes are the result of beliefs. They do not necessarily form from individual pieces of information, but rather grow out of multiple exposures to stimuli, eventually resulting in schemas. It may take more than a single news story to change a longstanding attitude. If activation of the relevant schema can be avoided, it may be possible that the new information is more poignant, and thus the attitude more open to change.

Influencing the affective component of attitudes can be accomplished by exposure to pleasant or unpleasant experiences while near the attitude object. Meeting an attractive, friendly individual of another race and learning through conversation that you share many likes and dislikes may work to change your attitude toward members of that other race. The pleasant experience of sharing one stimulating conversation may, in other words, generalize to other similar people and situations.

The conative or behavioral aspect can involve less pleasant experiences. Legislation or company policy may mandate certain behaviors, particularly toward certain groups of people. This may present the individual with a difficult and uncomfortable situation: attitudes that are in conflict with the desire to follow laws and policies. Since individuals are relatively powerless to change law or company policy, their attitudes have to change to come into harmony with them. Such changes can be thought of as changes in norms; that which once was typical behavior is no longer tolerated.

Some attitudes seem to be directly connected to particular demographic groups and relate to the social category to which an individual belongs. For example, women are likely to have different attitudes about topics that directly impact them, such as abortion and equal pay for equal work, than men have about those same topics. The origins of such attitudes are the salient beliefs and experiences that arise from events, a person's identity as a member of a particular group, and the experiences of important others in their lives. Changing such attitudes requires an understanding of those origins. How did the present spectrum of attitudes toward AAPs arise?

Attitudes toward AAPs

In order to understand current attitudes towards affirmative action, it is perhaps useful to present a very short history. The term "affirmative action" originated in John F. Kennedy's Executive Order (EO) 10925, which established the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. This EO was issued as

part of the Kennedy administration's civil rights initiatives, which lead to sweeping changes in law. In his executive order, Kennedy acknowledged the government's leadership role in bringing about equal opportunity, regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

In 1964, President Johnson established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), which prohibited the use of quotas or other unfair hiring practices as a method for correcting past inequities. The language of the law was sufficiently vague, however, to slow implementation until well past the end of the Johnson administration. To get Affirmative Action moving, the Nixon administration sought to move beyond the passive "action" of the Johnson administration and to seek "remedy" for past injustices by considering "statistical evidence of 'deficiencies' in minority representation in a workforce as discriminatory regardless of employer intent" (Lyons, 2006). Though technically not a quota system, the distinction was lost on much of the public.

Attitudes toward AAPs may arise then from the perception that they represent a quota system wherein demographic characteristics are given more weight than qualifications in hiring and promotion. While the beneficiaries of the AAPs may see the original goals of the Kennedy and Johnson policies (whose goal was to remove the consideration of demographic characteristics from selection, hiring, and promotion policies), members of the majority may more readily see the practical effects of AAPs as implemented by the Nixon administration as quotas, or at least as preferential treatment of minorities over more-qualified members of the majority.

According to Harrison et al. (2006), AAPs may summon a variety of responses especially from the majority of the population. Since AAPs are designed to be a collective solution to a collective problem (i.e., discrimination based on group membership), they may tend to activate schemas related to effects on entire demographic groups, which in turn cue thoughts of one's own social identity – and prompt cognitions of collective self-interest. Rather than simply thinking of oneself as a modern, reasonable, fair, and open-minded person, one may think about the benefits and perceived threats to one's wellbeing as a result of race, sex, or other defining demographic characteristic.

In addition, "(i)ndividuals who believe that… (historical) discrimination no longer exists are unlikely to see positive instrumentality in AAPs and thus are unlikely to regard them positively" (Harrison et al., 2006, p. 1015). What use are AAPs if discrimination is no longer a problem? The narrow views of certain segments of the population present a similar response. Since most people believe that AAPs target African Americans, racists will tend to oppose them even if the target group is unspecified. This is also true of sexists and the assumption that AAPs benefit women.

Finally, Harrison et al. (2006) suggest four levels, or types, of AAP, each more preferential (or prescriptive) than the last. These four are: opportunity enhancement (assistance to a target group prior to selection – typically consisting of recruitment and training), equal opportunity (the elimination of discrimination – forbidding decision makers from negatively weighting candidates based on target group membership), tie break (weak preferential treatment – preference given to

target group member in the event of two equally qualified candidates), and strong preferential treatment (preference given to target group member with inferior qualifications – quotas). The researchers found that as the AAP becomes more prescriptive the attitude toward it becomes more negative. This is perhaps aggravated by virtue of American culture where the emphasis is on personal merit, qualifications, and the irrelevance of demographic characteristics. Prescriptive AAPs violate merit-based justice norms (Harrison et al., 2006).

Bell et al. (2000) note that there seems to be a rise in the level of public discourse on the topic of AAPs, their efficacy and necessity. This view is also expressed by Dovidio and Gaertner (1998), who suggest that the concept of racism is evolving from the old, more overt form to a more subtle aversive form (see also James, Dietz, Brief, & Cohen, 2001; Tomasson, Crosby, & Herzberger, 1996). That attitudes toward AAPs are also evolving seems likely. Clayton (1996) posits several potential reasons for negative attitudes toward AAPs: opposition may be related to racism/sexism; AAPs may highlight differences between competitors for limited resources; or perhaps definition of oneself in terms of a subgroup may imply a "betrayal of, or at least a secession (sic) from, the larger community" (p. 1473), reinforcing the feeling of being different.

Following a review of some 35 years of research, incorporating 126 independent samples and involving 29,000 individuals, Harrison et al. (2006) drew the following conclusions (among others) about attitudes toward affirmative action. First, and perhaps most obvious, "(a)ttitudes toward AAPs are complex" (p. 1031).

The evidence they reviewed shows that attitudes "stem from structural features of the programs themselves, from the employees (perceivers)..., from ways organizations communicate those programs, and from interactions among those determinants" (p. 1031).

Secondly, research has shown that a generic presentation of AAPs results in stronger effects on attitudes due to "perceiver characteristics" (p. 1018), than a more specific presentation. In other words, if the aspects of the AAP are left up to the individual to interpret, the resulting interpretation will be as much about the individual as the AAP. It may be that available information is also a factor in the formation of attitudes. Fletcher and Chalmers (1991) reported that people who had less information about AAPs had more flexible attitudes and were more open to persuasion than government respondents, who presumably had more information about the policies.

Finally, Harrison et al. (2006) point out that attitudes toward AAPs are more favorable among African Americans, Hispanics, and women than among White American males, a result also found by Bell et al. (2000). Kravitz and Klineberg (2000) found that ethnic differences account for much of the variability in data collected from a longitudinal opinion study (The Houston-area Survey) that assesses attitudes toward AAPs. By presenting a series of hypothetical situations, the researchers found that asking for attitudes toward a "typical," but undefined, AAP results in strong support from African Americans and opposition by White Americans. The groups were also strongly differentiated by their beliefs about the

fairness of affirmative action policies in general. Perhaps not surprisingly, African Americans were more likely to report that workplace discrimination is extensive compared to beliefs reported by Whites. According to the research, "Blacks perceived a great deal of discrimination... and believed that affirmative action rarely involves preferential treatment and is not unfair" (p. 607).

Purpose of the present study

A major finding from Bell et al. (2000) is that attitudes toward AAPs can indeed be changed, as long as the desired change is to make Whites' opinions more negative and the opinions of minorities more favorable. Kravitz and Klineberg (2000) found similar results, suggesting a similarity in their methods or in their samples. One way to explain these results is that by using the term "affirmative action" both researchers activated a schema in their participants which made them resistant to new information unless that information was in agreement with their firmly held beliefs. Once the AAP schema was activated, information regarding the actual properties, purposes, and fairness goals of AAPs was ignored. The first intent of the present study was to assess whether attitudes toward AAPs can be changed by avoiding the activation of the AAP schema.

Thus, the first manipulation referred to social policies designed to provide opportunities to individuals and groups who have historically been discriminated against (whether intentionally or not) using either the words "affirmative action" or

"opportunity policies."[1] The survey instrument described aspects of those policies (in fact defining AAPs), and asked participants to rate their agreement with them. The responses of those who don't read the words "affirmative action" was predicted to be less negative than those who do.

Hypothesis 1: Individuals will have a more favorable attitude towards AAPs when the term "opportunity policies" is used compared to use of the term "affirmative action."

The second manipulation attempted to explain earlier unsuccessful attempts at changing attitudes toward AAPs. It may have been that there is not sufficient knowledge or personal experience of AAPs among typical participants: college students. As a result participants may rely on their own social norms and answer attitude questions the way an *important other* person in their life might reply. The ambiguous or unclear situation brings to mind the opinions of others to inform their own. If the important other that the participant chooses to reflect upon (and therefore the opinions of that person) are out of experimental control, their positive or negative influence is also uncontrolled. By supplying a specific norm to follow (i.e., suggesting that college students favor a particular policy), the tendency to fall back on *important others* in an uncontrolled way should be reduced.

The second manipulation provided a social norm example for participants to follow. It was predicted that, especially for individuals who lack strong opinions

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[1] In choosing the term "opportunity policies," twenty-six alternatives were considered. It was deemed important to provide a term that was not overly favorable or unfavorable, reflected the goals of affirmative action without sounding too much like that term, and was sufficiently ambiguous to allow a variety of opinions based on interpretations. See Appendix K for a list of considered terms.

about AAPs, the guidance of a norm would result in agreement with that norm. The norm statement suggested that college students "overwhelmingly" favor affirmative action (or opportunity policies).

Hypothesis 2: Individuals will have a more favorable attitude towards AAPs when exposed to a favorable social norm compared to those who are not.

In summary, it is likely that today's college students may have little experience or familiarity with the goals and origins of affirmative action, making the term ambiguous and thus more susceptible to influence from a norm. The alternate term, opportunity policies, is deliberately vague, forcing participants to interpret what such policies are and what they imply. Lack of strong opinions – because of the relative novelty and ambiguity of the term – should also favor normative influence. Taken together, it was expected that AAP alone would result in the lowest average attitude scores, AAP with social norm the next lowest, then opportunity policies alone, and finally opportunity policies with social norm.

A secondary goal of the present research is to partially replicate Bell et al. (2000). Bell's sample population is somewhat different from the sample in the present study. Bell's sample is from a large urban university in the Southwest (Texas), whereas the population for the present study is from a medium-sized college in Upstate New York. As an example of the difference, in three studies reported in Bell et al. (2000), the percentage of White participants was between 64% and 69%. In the present study, the percentage of White participants was nearly 85%. Since the

demographic characteristics of the two sample populations are different, it was seen as useful to test the generalizability of Bell's results.

Additionally, Bell et al. (2000) tested some key factors in Ajzen's (2005) model, specifically that Beliefs (b_1) and Evaluations (e_1) of attitude objects are related to Attitudes in a multiplicative manner (i.e., the summation of a measure of beliefs multiplied by a measure of evaluation correlates with attitude; $\Sigma b_1 \times e_1$). In order to lend strength to the model, this study replicated that part of Bell's measures and analysis.

Method

Participants

There were two data collection sessions: late fall 2007 and early spring 2008. Two hundred ninety-eight students attending a medium-size, liberal arts college in the Northeast participated. Participants received required research credit or extra credit (depending on class) for voluntarily participating in the study. Of the total participants (N=298), over 70% were female ($n = 209$, 70.13%). The majority of the participants ($n = 276$, 92.6%) were between the ages of 18 and 21, with only 2.7% older than 24 years ($n = 8$). The sample was primarily Caucasian ($n = 253$, 84.9%) and African Americans were the next largest group ($n = 20$, 6.7%).

Across conditions, most participants were in their first (44.3%) or second year (32.6%) of college and majoring in Psychology (21.1%), Criminal Justice (15.1%),

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Nursing (11.1%), or Other/Undeclared (35.6%). The majority of students (71.5%) had

a grade point average (GPA) higher than 2.6 on a 0 – 4 scale.

Most participants (71.5%) had never been employed full time, while 21.8%

reported having had one to two full time jobs. Those employed full time at the time of

their participation accounted for 5.7% of the total participants. A large majority,

(84.9%) of participants reported having at least one part-time job, and 60.7% were

employed part time at the time of their participation.

Participants were divided into four groups. In the AAP Alone group, there

were 75 students (50 females, 24 males, 1 unknown) with an average age of 19 years,

86.7% Caucasian, 8.0% African American, and 5.3% Other. In the AAP with Social

Norm group, there were 77 students (53 females, 24 males) with an average age of

22.1 years, 84.4% Caucasian, 6.5% African American, and 9.1% Other. In the

Opportunity Policy alone group, there were 75 students (52 females, 23 males) with

an average age of 19.6 years, 84% Caucasian, 6.7% African American, and 9.3%

Other. In the Opportunity Policies with Social Norm group, there were 71 students

(53 females, 18 males) with an average age of 19.6 years, 87.3% Caucasian, 5.6%

African American, and 7% Other.

Measures

Attitude Toward AAPs. Two measures were used to assess attitude toward

AAPs. The first was a semantic differential consisting of six items (item numbers 52-

57) adapted from Bell et al. (2000). Scores on the semantic differential were used as a

dependent variable (DV_1) and were preceded by the statement "In general,

[affirmative action/opportunity policies] are: (e.g., *Worthless: Valuable* on a 7-point scale). Cronbach's α for the scale was 0.89. A second measure explored attitudes towards AAPs in terms of perceived justice (DV_2). This scale was taken from Bell et al. (2000), and also included items based on scales created by Kravitz and Platania (1993), and Swim and Miller (1999). There were a total of eleven items on this scale (item numbers 41-51). A sample item was: Affirmative action programs are generally unjust (ranked on a 7-point scale anchored by *Very Strongly Agree* to *Very Strongly Disagree*). Cronbach's α for the scale was 0.81.

Knowledge of AAPs. Six items taken from Bell et al. (2000) assessed knowledge of affirmative action/opportunity policies (item numbers 58-63) on a scale ranging from "*Very Strongly Agree*" to "*Very Strongly Disagree.*" A typical item on the "Knowledge" section was: "I know a great deal about [affirmative action/opportunity policies] and how [it/they] operate[s]." Cronbach's α was 0.78.

Intentions. Seven items (item numbers 64-70) taken from Bell et al. (2000) measured intention to take some action regarding affirmative action/opportunity policies. The "Intention" section was headed by the statement "It is _____ that I …" with a seven-item scale anchored by "*Extremely Unlikely*" and "*Extremely Likely*" intended to fill in the blank for each item. An example of an item is "… will complain to my co-workers or boss about [affirmative action/opportunity] policies." Cronbach's α was 0.82.

Need for Affirmative Action. Eight items (item numbers 71-78) taken primarily from Jacobson (1985) assessed opinions on the need for affirmative action

or opportunity policies to ensure fairness in employment. Cronbach's α was 0.60. Due to the low reliability of this measure, it was not used in the analysis.

Demographics. Demographic data, including gender, race, and age, year in college, major, and GPA were collected for use as control variables. Employment information was gathered (number of full time and part time jobs held, and whether or not participants are currently employed full- or part-time, see Appendix C.

Individual Differences. As mentioned earlier, several well-established published instruments were included in the survey packet to serve as distractor tasks and to reduce demand characteristics. Instruments included the Need for Cognition Scale (Cacioppo, Petty, & Kao, 1984; see Appendix E), the Self-Monitoring Scale (Snyder & Gangestad, 1986; see Appendix G), the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; see Appendix F), and the Big-Five Personality Scale.(Goldberg, 1992; see Appendix I).

Manipulation check. Three items were assessed to check the wording of the instructions, the use of certain words, and the familiarity with the term affirmative action. Specific items were "The survey I completed used the words": [Affirmative Action Programs; Opportunity Policies; Don't know or not sure]; "The instructions on the survey I completed indicated that today's college students overwhelmingly support certain social policies" [True; False; Not sure]; "I am familiar with the term affirmative action, and have heard it before in regards to equal employment opportunity" [True; False; Not sure].

Design and Procedure

The study was a 2 (AAP vs. Opportunity Policy) x 2 (Social Norm Present vs. Social Norm Absent) factorial design. The experimental manipulations were made on the primary survey instrument. For group one (AAP alone) the survey instrument was headed "Affirmative Action Policies," and the instructions stated: "On the next pages, **please give _your_ opinions** about Affirmative Action." Additionally, throughout the instrument were headings and parts of questions, statements, and attitude measures that specifically used the words "affirmative action."

In group two (AAP with Social Norm), the survey instrument was headed "Affirmative Action Policies" and the instructions stated the following: "Unlike any time in the past, recent research (Astin, 2007) has shown that 87.3% of American college students of both genders and all races overwhelmingly support affirmative action policies. When polled, students indicated that any perceived problems with affirmative action are more than compensated by the gains to business in the form of enhanced competitiveness and the benefits of a more diverse workforce. However, not everyone agrees. On the next pages, **please give _your_ opinions** about affirmative action." Note that the stated research (Astin, 2007) does not actually exist. Like group one, questions, statements, and attitude measures specifically used the words "affirmative action."

Group three (Opportunity Policies alone) replaced the term "affirmative action" with the more generic "opportunity policies." The survey instrument was headed "Opportunity Policies," and the instructions said: "On the next pages, **please give _your_ opinions** about employment and selection opportunity policies." Wherever

the text of the instrument in the affirmative action group said "affirmative action," this instrument used the words "opportunity policies."

In group four (Opportunity Policy with Social Norm), the same instrument as in group three.was presented with the addition of the social norm instruction from group two (with the exception of replacing the words "affirmative action" with "opportunity policies").

Participants were randomly assigned to one of the four experimental groups. Randomization was accomplished by having participants count off by fours by gender. Packets were then distributed to each set. In order to achieve equal distribution among groups, number of participants per group was tallied after each session. In subsequent sessions distribution began with any under-represented group. Following randomized distribution of the packets, experimenters read a prepared script, beginning with a reading of the consent document. Due to the use of deception in the experiment (i.e., reference to fictional research in support of the social norm statement), the term "Agreement to Participate" was used on this document in place of "Informed Consent" (see Appendix A).The next document in the packet was an instruction sheet for filling out the scantron form (see Appendix B). The experimenter also read this document aloud.

The length and number of survey items necessitated administration in two parts. Additionally, the use of manipulation check items suggested that the main survey instrument needed to be out of the participant's possession. Without separating the participant from their survey packet, it would be impossible to assess whether the

manipulation worked, since they could simply look back at their survey and check which packet they had.

Part one of the survey included the main survey instrument (see Appendix D), as well as a variety of individual differences measures to be used for future research purposes, including the Need for Cognition scale (Appendix E), the Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Appendix F), and the Self-Monitoring Scale (Appendix G). Part two of the survey consisted primarily of the Five Factor Personality Inventory (Goldberg, 1992) and a separate instruction sheet that detailed how to use the scantron with the instrument. Since the scale required a different procedure than the other instruments it was decided to include separate scantron instructions specifically for it (see Appendix H and I). When handed the second part, participants were directed to the manipulation check questions on the back of the form by the experimenter. Thus, the personality inventory served as a distraction task and as a means of administering the manipulation check questions separately from the main survey instrument.

Following completion, participants were read the debrief statement (Appendix J), after which participants were thanked for their time and allowed to leave.

Results

No significant results were found when comparing mean scores on the six-item semantic differential for the samples from the two data collection periods (late fall 2007, and early spring 2008; $F(1, 296) = 1.207$, $p = ns$), so the results were combined and analyzed as a single data set.

The correlational matrix (see Table 1) reveals that Semantic Differential (DV_1) was significantly correlated to Justice (DV_2; $r = .593, p < .001$), Knowledge ($r = -.112, p < .05$), and Intention ($r = .543, p < .001$). Justice (DV_2) was significantly correlated to Intention ($r = .449, p < .001$), but not to Knowledge ($r = -.052, p = ns$).

A 2 (AAP vs. Opportunity Policies) x 2 (Social Norm Present vs. Social Norm Absent) full factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed using the data from the full sample to compare attitude as measured by the semantic differential (DV1). In support of Hypothesis 1, main effects were significant for AAP vs. Opportunity Policies ($F(1,293) = 10.075, p = .002$). These results were significant in both Norm and No Norm groups (Norm: $t(146) = -2.94, p = .001$; No Norm: $t(148) = -1.72, p = .044$). In support of Hypothesis 2, main effects were also significant for Social Norm Present vs. Social Norm Absent ($F(1,293) = 4.721, p < .05$). These results were only significant for OP groups, not for AA groups (OP: $t(144) = -2.04, p = .02$; AA: $t(150) = -.73, p = ns$). There was no interaction between the group factors ($F(1,293) = .566, p = ns$). See Table 2.

A 2 (AAP vs. Opportunity Policies) x 2 (Social Norm Present vs. Social Norm Absent) full factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed using the data from the full sample to compare attitude as measured by the justice scale (DV_2). In support of Hypothesis 1, main effects were significant for AAP vs. Opportunity Policies ($F(1,294) = 9.353, p = .002$). These results were significant in both Norm and No Norm groups (Norm: $t(146) = -2.30, p = .01$; No Norm: $t(148) = -1.72, p = .043$). However, Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the ANOVA, as main effects for

Social Norm Present vs. Social Norm Absent were not significant (F (1,294) = 1.238, $p = ns$). There was·no interaction between the group factors (F (1,293) = .888, $p = ns$). See Table 3.

As predicted, participant mean scores in terms of DV_1 for group one (AAP alone; $n = 75$, $M = 20.4$, $SD = 6.3$) were lowest, followed by group two (AAP with norm; $n = 76$, $M = 21.5$, $SD = 7.1$), group three (Opportunity Policies alone; $n = 75$, $M = 22.2$, $SD = 7.2$), and group four (Opportunity Policies with norm; $n = 71$, $M = 24.5$, $SD = 5.6$). The same relationship between means was found using DV_2 (group one $n = 75$, $M = 33.8$, $SD = 9.2$; group two $n = 77$, $M = 34.6$, $SD = 10.1$; group three $n = 75$, $M = 36.2$, $SD = 7.9$; group four $n = 71$, $M = 38.3$, $SD = 8.5$). See Figure 2.

The manipulation check questions clearly indicated that participants knew which group (AAP or Opportunity Policies) they were in (94% correct). However, knowledge of the social norm manipulation was somewhat less clear with only 45% correctly identifying the instructions their packet used (presence or absence of the norming statement). If the participants who indicated that they were "not sure" about which instructions their packet included are added to those who correctly identified the instructions, the number recognizing the manipulation rises to 78%, which still leaves 22% incorrectly identifying their norm group. Overall, 82% of participants indicated that they were familiar with the term affirmative action and had heard it before in association with equal employment opportunity.

Post hoc analyses

A number of correlations and comparisons suggested by Bell et al. (2000) and others, but outside of the study hypotheses, were examined. For example, Kravitz and Platania (1993), among others, found that females tend to be more favorably inclined toward AAPs than males. Significant results were found when comparing mean scores on the semantic differential attitude measure (DV_1) for males and females. Females ($n = 205$, $M = 23.0$, $SD = 6.6$) were more favorable overall toward affirmative action and opportunity policies than males ($n = 89$, $M = 20.3$, $SD = 6.6$; t (292) = 3.26, $p < .001$).

These results were àlsô ŝèën when comparing males to females using DV_2, Justice. Females ($n = 209$, $M = 36.4$, $SD = 9.1$) were more favorable overall toward affirmative action and ópportunity policies than males ($n = 89$, $M = 34.1$, $SD = 8.9$; t (296) = 1.99, $p = .024$).

Similarly, participants identifying themselves as Caucasian ($n = 249$, $M = 21.8$, $SD = 6.5$) provided lower mean scores on the semantic differential attitude measure (DV_1) than those identifying themselves as African American ($n = 20$, $M = 25.1$, $SD = 7.0$; t (267) = 2.20, $p = .014$). This result was also seen on DV_2, Justice: Caucasians ($n = 253$, $M = 35.1$, $SD = 8.6$) were less favorable than African-Americans ($n = 20$, $M = 40.3$, $SD = 10.7$; t (271) = 2.54, $p = .005$)

Belief Structure of Attitude

Ajzen's (2005) Theory of Planned Behavior examines the relationship between beliefs and evaluations of salient attributes of attitude objects (in this case AAPs); these elements are central to the model proposed in the theory. In order to test

the relationship, Bell et al. (2000) presented participants with belief items followed by evaluation items. According to Ajzen (2005), the relationship can be expressed as Σb_l x e_l, where b_l is beliefs associated with salient attributes of AAPs (e.g., Improving the job opportunities of women and minorities is good) and e_l is evaluations of whether the object in question fulfills the corresponding belief (e.g., It is likely that affirmative action programs improve the job opportunities of females and minorities). This relationship should correlate with other measures of attitude, such as a semantic differential.

Following Bell et al. (2000), measures of belief and evaluation are included in the primary survey instrument and serve to replicate that research, adding strength to Ajzen's model. An analysis of Σb_l x e_l was performed using the belief and evaluation measures collected in the first two sections of the main survey instrument. The correlation with attitude as measured with the semantic differential (DV_1) was .31, p < .001. The correlation with attitude as measured with the justice scale (DV_2) was .26, p < .001. These results are similar those found by Bell et al. (2000), but with a weaker correlation; Bell et al. found a significant correlation equal to 0.78, p < .001.

Table 1

Summary of correlations

		Semantic Differential	Justice	Knowledge	Intention
Semantic Differential	Pearson Correlation Sig (1-tailed) N	1 298	.593** .000 298	-.112* .026 298	.543** .000 298
Justice	Pearson Correlation Sig (1-tailed) N	.593** .000 298	1 298	-.052 .186 298	.449** .000 298
Knowledge	Pearson Correlation Sig (1-tailed) N	-.112* .026 298	-.052 .186 298	1 298	-.026 .328 298
Intention	Pearson Correlation Sig (1-tailed) N	.543** .000 298	.449** .000 298	-.026 .328 298	1 298

$* p < .05$ $** p < .001$

Table 2

Summary of 2x2 Between Subjects Analysis of Variance (DV: Semantic differential)

Source	Type IV Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	Partial Eta²
Corrected model	653.201	3	217.734	5.010	.002	.049
Intercept	145546.550	1	145546.550	3348.885	.000	.920
AA vs. OP	437.871	1	437.871	10.075	.002	.033
Norm vs. No Norm	205.189	1	205.189	4.721	.031	.016
AA/OP * Norm/No Norm	24.611	1	24.611	.566	.452	.002
Error	12734.132	293	43.461			
Total	158591.000	297				
Corrected Total	13387.333	296				

Table 3

Summary of 2x2 Between Subjects Analysis of Variance (DV: Justice)

Source	Type IV Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	p	Partial Eta²
Corrected model	535.622	3	178.541	3.753	.011	.037
Intercept	178399.238	1	178399.238	3750.159	.000	.927
AA vs. OP	444.935	1	444.935	9.353	.002	.031
Norm vs. No Norm	58.903	1	58.903	1.238	.267	.004
AA/OP * Norm/No Norm	42.044	1	42.044	.884	.348	.003
Error	13985.908	294	47.571			
Total	192564.000	298				
Corrected Total	14521.530	297				
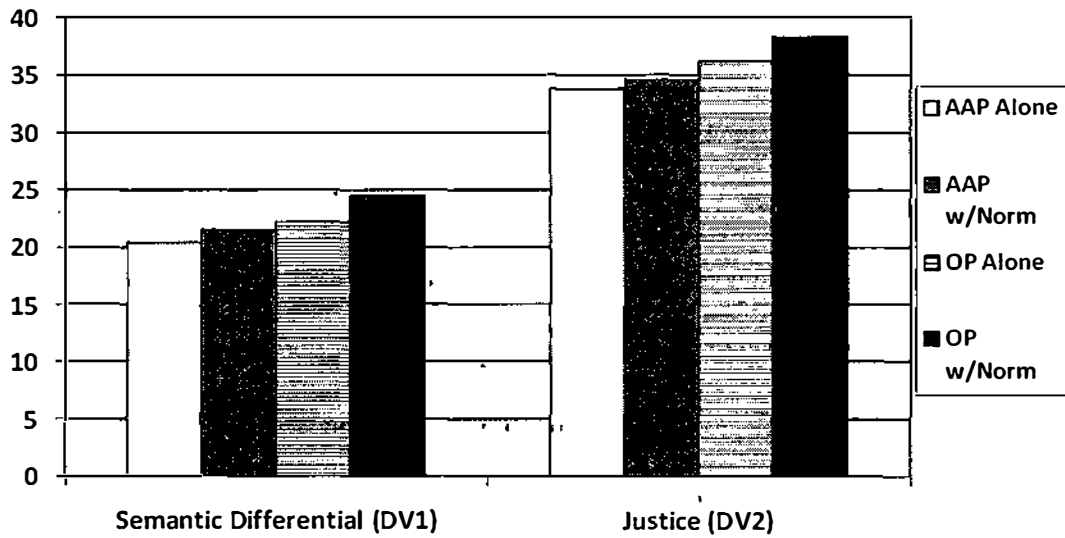
Figure 2. As predicted, participant mean scores for both DV1 and DV2 were lowest

(more negative attitudes) for AAP alone, followed by AAP·with Norm, OP alone, and

most positive for OP with Norm.

Discussion

The primary goal of this study was to show that attitudes toward AAPs have more to do with the term *affirmative action* than they do with the goals, strategies, or ideals actually embodied in those policies. The first hypothesis, that individuals will have a more favorable attitude towards AAPs when the term "opportunity policies" is used compared to use of the term "affirmative action," was well supported by the results. A possible explanation for the significant result is that the schema associated with affirmative action was not activated, resulting in a more favorable and open-minded assessment of the defining terms and characteristics of the policies as described in the survey instrument. Note that both the six-item semantic differential (DV_1) and the eleven-item justice scale (DV_2) were significantly correlated in this comparison which may indicate the presence of several schema components, including *justice* as measured with DV_2, as well as a more general component as measured with DV_1.

Although not directly measured, this result may also indicate that the reason for the negative interpretation of the term affirmative action has to do with the misconception that such policies are inevitably quotas, activating a "fear of quota" policy schema in the majority. The section of the survey that most closely measured this fear and the associated belief that life is a "zero-sum game" was the eight items (item numbers 71-78) taken primarily from Jacobson (1985). Because of the low reliability of this measure, it was not used in the analysis. However, based on these

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results it may be important to re-examine such items to determine the most salient belief that leads.to.negative attitudes toward the term affirmative action.

The second goal was to examine the use of a norm statement to provide guidance in the face of ambiguous terms or in the absence of strong preexisting opinions. In this case the results only partially support the second hypothesis, that individuals will have a more favorable attitude towards AAPs when exposed to a favorable social norm example compared to those who are not. On both DV_1 and DV_2 the application of a norm did not significantly improve attitudes in the AAP group. In fact, only the semantic differential (DV_1) produced significant results, and only for the OP group.

This may suggest a difference between the two DVs. Using such terms as negative vs. positive and wise vs. foolish, the semantic differential may provide more room for interpretation than the justice scale, which seemed to tap more specific concepts such as "generally unjust," and "fairness in hiring" One possibility is that more room for interpretation (i.e., greater ambiguity), may lead to increased reliance on a norm. In addition, the term affirmative action is perhaps similarly unambiguous, at least perceptually; perhaps participants did not accept the guidance of a norm when the term affirmative action was used, possibly believing that they understood well enough what such policies represent and generally have negative feelings toward them.

Opportunity policies may have been such a vague concept that no strong preexisting attitudes could have been held, forcing participants to rely on the norm for

guidance when assessing whether such policies were negative or positive, wise or foolish. Without the presence of the norm, opportunity policies may have sounded enough like affirmative action to skew the attitude measure toward the more negative side of the scale. However, it is possible that when the dependent variable is Justice, participants need less guidance, relying on their beliefs about, and feelings toward the concepts of fairness.

Other interesting results arose from the *post hoc* analyses. For example, the failure of the Knowledge items to significantly correlate with Justice (DV_2) or with Intention, while negatively correlating to the semantic differential (DV_1) is a particularly interesting finding. It is possible that this is similar to Fletcher and Chalmers (1991) findings that indicated that the more information a participant had (or had access to) the less flexible and labile were their attitudes about affirmative action. It might be stated that the more people know (or think that they know) about affirmative action, the less they like it.

While Bell et al. (2000) provided the guiding concepts behind the present study, there are several important differences. Bell's results were obtained using a far more racially diverse population than that of the present study. While their demographic sample was less than 60% White, the sample in the present study was nearly 86% White. The Bell study was also conducted during a period of public debate over the efficacy of AAPs and their continued social relevance. There was no such active public discourse in recent time either before or during the present study. It

should be noted that data collection was completed prior to Senator Barrack Obama's presidential candidacy and the resulting renewed interest in racial issues.

In addition, Bell et al. (2000) did not manipulate either the words describing the policies in question (DV_1) nor did they introduce a norm model (DV_2). It is possible that the difficulty Bell et al. (2000) had in changing attitudes for the better in Whites was thus a result of several confounding variables, for example, increased public discourse (and the resulting introspection as to ones feelings, beliefs and attitudes; a "freshness" of schema activation) and/or long term exposure to increased competition with minorities for employment and advancement as a result of their more diverse sample population. Living as a member of a slight (60%) numerical majority is perhaps different than being a member of a clear (86%) majority. It may be that majority members in our sample population felt that they could afford to be altruistic and open-minded toward AAPs, at least publically, since it is somewhat unlikely that they will feel personally impacted by them.

Implications

The research reported here suggests that it may not be the aspects or goals of AAPs that are offensive to the majority. Rather it may simply be that the *term* calls to mind unfairness, preferential treatment, quotas, or the stigma of incompetence. Avoidance of the AAP schema is an effective way to influence attitudes toward those policies. The results of this study suggest that increased support for AAPs may be realized by emphasizing the goals and methods of the policies rather than leading with or emphasizing that the policies are in compliance with *affirmative action*.

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The results also suggest that the use of a norm model is less effective when the term affirmative action is used. Although it may be useful to provide a positive norm model for those without well-established beliefs and attitudes to follow (rather than leaving selection of a suitable norm up to chance), it is possible that most people already have a set of beliefs concerning affirmative action. As seen in the study, fairness is an important aspect to consider when framing and enacting policies or policy changes; the idea that fairness is a good thing, especially in selection and hiring is not something that people feel unsure of. The use and publication of the strategy used to ensure policy fairness should be shared with employees.

Particularly in selection processes, emphasis of the qualifications of the applicants may result in more feelings of fairness, and reduced concern about the stigma of incompetence. Although disclosure of selection criteria is not generally made, benefits might be seen in terms of attitudes if they were generally known and understood.

Limitations

Whenever psychological research is conducted using college students the question of whether or not the results will generalize to the population at large is raised. However, one can be reasonably confident in the generalizability of results using college student participants in social research overall. Anderson, Lindsay, and Bushman (1999) performed a meta-analysis of field vs. laboratory experiments on the same topic and found a remarkably high correlation between results ($r = .73$), indicating that laboratory studies using college students align very strongly with field

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experiments. Nevertheless, in the case of research related to the beliefs, attitudes, and intentions of working adults toward social policies that impact their economic wellbeing, this question of generalizability is of particular interest. In order to answer it, future research should be conducted using a similar set of instruments administered to a sample of adults working full time.

The question of whether these results will generalize to other regions of the country is also a matter of concern. In fact, given that the present study was able to show some success in changing attitudes toward AAPs where Bell et al. (2000) failed may already provide a clue as to the answer to that question, since the regional and demographic differences between the two studies are significant. It would be interesting to repeat this experiment with another predominantly white population perhaps·in a mid-western or north-western college. It seems likely that there are regional differences in attitudes toward AAPs and that they are more or less firmly held depending on the area in which a person was raised, and the experiences they and members of their shared social network have had related to fairness in employment.

Another potential issue with the present study has to do with the norm manipulation. Using the survey instrument instructions to apply the norm manipulation was perhaps not as effective as some other method (e.g., verbal instructions or a separate written background sheet given to each participant to read). Even the generous interpretation of the manipulation check results (i.e., that 78% knew or may have suspected which instructions they read) indicates a problem with

the clarity or the poignancy of the manipulation. It may be that the instructions were too long or that, in spite of repeated admonitions to the contrary, participants simply didn't read them. This concern is borne out by the relatively weaker statistical significance of the results, compared to the affirmative action vs. opportunity policies manipulation.

There may also have been a problem with the manipulation check itself, since the words "social policies" in the question might have been confusing to those who were in the groups (group 1 and 2) where the term affirmative action was used. A better manipulation check might be to tailor the question to the group, using the words affirmative action for the manipulation check question for groups 1 and 2 and opportunity policies for the manipulation check question for groups 3 and 4.

One area not explored in the present study concerning the social norm manipulation regards the affective direction of the manipulation. For the sake of brevity and simplicity, only a positive social norm model was provided. One direction for future research would be the inclusion of a negative social norm model (e.g., "Unlike any time in the past, college students overwhelmingly reject affirmative action policies as being..."). It is possible that such a model might result in more clarity regarding the strength of social norms in influencing attitudes toward AAPs.

Another area for future research would be to examine the source of the negativity toward AAPs by developing a scale based on Jacobson (1985). The hypothesis that members of the majority view AAPs as de-facto quotas and that

selection and employment represent a "zero-sum game" where someone has to lose for someone else to win might be tested by such a scale.

From a practical perspective, expecting that a new human resources policy or a change to an existing policy can be introduced or implemented without alerting employees that the policy has an impact on, or is in compliance with the affirmative action requirements of the company is likely to be difficult at best. The avoidance of a schema powerful enough to influence a person's attitude and to summon possibly defensive or strongly held beliefs seems unlikely. The mere labeling of a policy using words other than affirmative action may be judged to be evasive or deceitful.

Nevertheless, shifting the emphasis from the term *affirmative action policy* to the fairness aspects and goals of the policies can have a positive influence on their acceptance. The use of a norm may seem similarly artificial and contrived, so care should be exercised in selecting and applying a norm model. Comparisons between, and the opinions of employees in other departments, locations, or branches of the company at which the policies are already in place might be used as a positive influence, but only if the fairness of the policies in question is highlighted.

Conclusion

The data collected and analyzed for this research generally support the hypotheses. Attitudes toward affirmative action policies, as indicated by two separate measures, are more positive when the term affirmative action is not present. This may be because the schema for AAPs is not activated by a description of the policies themselves, which tend to speak of and promote fairness above all. There are

historical reasons that might help to explain why members of the majority seem to associate the words affirmative action with quotas or other unfair employment-related practices and why they tend to have negative beliefs and attitudes toward AAPs. An emphasis on the ideals of such policies and a de-emphasis on the term would seem to be beneficial.

Additionally, the data suggest that the efficacy of a positive social norm model may be limited to providing clarity for ambiguous terms. For those without a firm opinion of their own, a social norm can provide the guidance needed to make a decision about their feelings. For managers in a position to oversee compliance to government policies, to frame and disseminate a business's strategy for such compliance, and to ensure that the policies are adhered to, the information in this study may be especially useful.

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APPENDIX A

Statement of Agreement To Participate In Research

The following information describes the research study in which you are being asked to participate. Please read the information carefully. Afterwards, you will be asked to sign if you agree to participate.

This study involves experimental research to collect and evaluate opinions on social issues. This research project is also part of the requirements for the primary investigator's masters thesis for the Department of Psychology at the State University of New York College at Brockport.
In order to participate in this study, your agreement to participate is required. You are being asked to make a decision whether or not to participate in the project. If you want to participate in the project, and agree with the statements below, please sign your name in the space provided at the end. You may change your mind at any time and leave the study without penalty, even after the study has begun.

I understand that:

1.   My participation is voluntary and I have the right to refuse to answer any questions.
2.   My confidentiality is guaranteed. My name will not be written on the survey. There will be no way to connect me to my written survey packet. If any publication results from this research, I will not be identified-by name.
3.   There will be no anticipated personal risks or benefits because of my participation in this project (except for research participation credit or extra credit depending on course and instructor).
4.   My participation involves reading and completion, in writing, of a survey, demographic data, and personality and trait questionnaires. It is estimated that it will take 45 – 60 minutes to complete all of the instruments.
5.   Approximately 250 people will take part in this study. The results will be used for the completion of a masters thesis by the primary investigator and possible publication in a psychological journal.
6.   Data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet by the investigator. Data and consent forms will be destroyed by shredding when the research has been accepted and approved.

I am 18 years of age or older. I have read and understand the above statements. All my questions about my participation in this study have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in the study realizing I may withdraw without penalty at any time during the survey process. Returning the completed survey packet indicates my consent to participate.

If you have any questions you may contact:
Primary researcher: Andrew Knapp ███████████████████████
Faculty Advisor: Dr. Laurel McNall, PhD, Psychology Dept
Questions about your rights as a participant can be directed to the Institutional Review Board representative: (585) 395-2779

_____
Participant Name (please print)

_____   _____
Participant Signature   Date

Scantron Instructions

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THE SCANTRON!

In each section of the survey instrument the individual statements are numbered.
These numbers correspond to the numbers on the scantron.

Here is an example of how to score items from the survey packet.

Survey Form

	Extremely Bad	Quite Bad	Slightly Bad	Neither	Slightly Good	Quite Good	Extremely Good
15) Studying for a subject that you don't really like is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) Going on vacation and enjoying oneself during break is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) This would be the next statement for you to consider...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

If you think that the answer for #15 is **Slightly Bad** then bubble in "2" on the
scantron for #15.
If you think that the answer for #16 is **Quite Good** then bubble in "5" on the scantron
for #16.

Scantron Answer Sheet

Check your question packet and scantron frequently to be sure you haven't skipped
any entries.

**If you have any questions concerning filling out the scantron in general or for
filling out the scantron for specific sections, please raise your hand and ask the
experimenter.**

**NOTE: The instructions in the packets vary. It is extremely important to the
study that you carefully read the instructions before answering the questions.
Take your time and answer each one giving your own opinion.**

APPENDIX C
Demographic Information

Please use scantron sheet to record your answers. Fill in the scantron with the number in parenthesis that best represents you. For example, if you are a 19 year old female, fill in "0" for number 1 on the scantron, "1" for number 2 on the scantron, and "9" for number 3 on the scantron. If you are Asian, fill in "1" for number 4, etc.

Participant code:_____

1) Gender:

_____ Female (0)

_____ Male (1)

2) Age: _____ 18 – 19 (0); 20 – 21 (1); 22 – 24 (2); over 24 (3)

3) How would you describe your race/ethnicity (Optional):

_____ American Indian or Alaska Native (0)

_____ Asian (1)

_____ Black or African-American (2)

_____ Latino/Hispanic (3)

_____ Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander (4)

_____ White/Caucasian (5)

_____ Other. Please indicate: _____ (6)

4) Year in college: _____ Freshman (0); Sophomore (1); Junior (2); Senior (3)

5) Major: Psychology (0); Education (1); Criminal Justice (2); PhysEd (3); Nursing (4); Other/Undeclared (5)

6) General GPA

_____ First semester, no cumulative GPA (0)

_____ <2.0 (1)

_____ 2.0-2.5 (2)

_____ 2.6-3.0 (3)

_____ 3.1-3.5 (4)

_____ 3.6-4.0 (5)

Employment History

7) I have had ____ full time jobs: none (0); 1-2 (1); 3-4 (2); more than 4 (3)

8) I have had ____ part time jobs: none (0); 1-2 (1); 3-4 (2); more than 4 (3)

9) I am currently employed full time: Y (0)   N (1)

10) I am currently employed part time: Y (0)   N (1)

Instructions: *On the next pages,* **please give *your* opinions** *about affirmative action.*

<u>Check your Scantron: you should be on #11</u>

	Extremely Bad	Quite Bad	Slightly Bad	Neither	Slightly Good	Quite Good	Extremely Good
11) Improving the job opportunities of women and minorities is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12) Giving everyone who's qualified an equal chance at a job is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
13) Reducing discrimination in historically segregated jobs is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14) Creating a greater awareness of discriminatory practices is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
15) Producing a more diverse workforce is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) Diversifying most companies' markets for goods & services is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) Enhancing the competitiveness of most businesses is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
18) Reducing racial tensions among employees is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
19) Hiring less qualified (rejecting more qualified) employees is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
20) "Reverse" discrimination against some people is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
21) Restricting the freedom a business has for making decisions is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
22) Creating higher unemployment rates overall is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
23) "Quota" systems for filling jobs are...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
24) Taking time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
25) Perceptions that minorities can't qualify on their own merit are	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

IT IS _____ THAT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS...

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
26)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... improve the job opportunities of females and minorities.
27)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... give everyone who is qualified an equal chance at a job.
28)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... reduce discrimination in historically segregated jobs.
29)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create greater awareness or recognition of discriminatory practices.
30)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... help to produce a more diverse workforce.
31)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... diversify most companies' markets for their goods and services.
32)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... enhance the competitiveness of most businesses.
33)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... reduce racial tensions among employees.
34)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... cause employers to hire less qualified (and reject more qualified) employees.
35)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... can produce "reverse" discrimination against some people.
36)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... restrict the freedom a business has for making decisions.
37)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create higher unemployment rates overall.
38)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... frequently operate as though they were "quota" systems for filling jobs.
39)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... take a lot of time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies.
40)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create perceptions that minorities can't qualify on merit.

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree	**Check your Scantron: you should be on #41**
41)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs are generally unjust.
42)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs increase fairness in hiring and promotions.
43)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs are unbiased to everyone involved.
44)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action is a good policy.
45)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	The goals of affirmative action are good.
46)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Once affirmative action programs are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against non-minorities.
47)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs that help minorities to get ahead should be supported.
48)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	If there are no affirmative action programs helping minorities in employment, then they will continue to fail to get their share of jobs, thereby continuing past discrimination into the future.
49)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	I would be willing to work at an organization with an affirmative action plan.
50)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	All in all, I oppose affirmative action plans in industry for minorities.
51)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Employees should be actively involved in attempts to improve affirmative action conditions where they work.

IN GENERAL, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS ARE:
SELECT THE DOT CLOSEST TO YOUR RATING BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES

	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
52) IMPORTANT	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	UNIMPORTANT
53) WORTHLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	VALUABLE
54) NEGATIVE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	POSITIVE
55) WISE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	FOOLISH
56) MEANINGLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	MEANINGFUL
57) KIND	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	CRUEL

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
58) I know a great deal about affirmative action and how it operates.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
59) I have read/studied specifics of affirmative action laws and executive orders.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
60) I have received training on affirmative action by a lawyer, manager, or Human Resources professional	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
61) I have often submitted goals and timetables reports under an affirmative action Plan.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
62) I have never heard about affirmative action programs from the media (television, radio, newspapers).	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

63) My current employer is an affirmative action Employer (Check one only) Yes (0) No (1) Don't know (2) or not employed

IT IS _____ THAT I ...

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
64)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will complain to my co-workers or boss about affirmative action Programs.
65)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... intend to vote for candidates who support affirmative action Programs.
66)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will say positive things about affirmative action programs to friends/family.
67)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will resist any affirmative action Programs on my job.
68)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will try to convince others that affirmative action programs are unfair.
69)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... would help recruit someone as part of an affirmative action Program.
70)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will be searching for a new job in the next 1-2 years.

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	
71)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that in business, without set quotas, there will be a slowing down in the hiring of minorities?
72)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that unless quotas are used, minorities just won't get a fair shake?
73)	0	1	2	After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment.
74)	0	1	2	Minorities have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit.
75)	0	1	2	As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to minorities so that they can perform better on the job.
76)	0	1	2	Employers should set aside a certain number of places to hire qualified minorities.
77)	0	1	2	Preferential treatment for minorities is fair.
78)	0	1	2	Blacks should receive racial entitlement and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America.

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APPENDIX D (Group 2)
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES

Instructions: Unlike any time in the past, recent research (Astin, 2007) has shown that 87.3% of American college students of both genders and all races overwhelmingly support affirmative action policies. When polled, students indicated that any perceived problems with affirmative action are more than compensated by the gains to business in the form of enhanced competitiveness and the benefits of a more diverse workforce. However, not everyone agrees. On the next pages, **please give _your_ opinions** about affirmative action.

Check your Scantron: you should be on #11

	Extremely Bad	Quite Bad	Slightly Bad	Neither	Slightly Good	Quite Good	Extremely Good
11) Improving the job opportunities of women and minorities is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12) Giving everyone who's qualified an equal chance at a job is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
13) Reducing discrimination in historically segregated jobs is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14) Creating a greater awareness of discriminatory practices is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
15) Producing a more diverse workforce is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) Diversifying most companies' markets for goods & services is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) Enhancing the competitiveness of most businesses is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
18) Reducing racial tensions among employees is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
19) Hiring less qualified (rejecting more qualified) employees is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
20) "Reverse" discrimination against some people is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
21) Restricting the freedom a business has for making decisions is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
22) Creating higher unemployment rates overall is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
23) "Quota" systems for filling jobs are...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
24) Taking time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies is...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
25) Perceptions that minorities can't qualify on their own merit are	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

IT IS _____ THAT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS...

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
26)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... improve the job opportunities of females and minorities.
27)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... give everyone who is qualified an equal chance at a job.
28)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... reduce discrimination in historically segregated jobs.
29)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create greater awareness or recognition of discriminatory practices.
30)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... help to produce a more diverse workforce.
31)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... diversify most companies' markets for their goods and services.
32)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... enhance the competitiveness of most businesses.
33)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... reduce racial tensions among employees.
34)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... cause employers to hire less qualified (and reject more qualified) employees.
35)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... can produce "reverse" discrimination against some people.
36)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... restrict the freedom a business has for making decisions.
37)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create higher unemployment rates overall.
38)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... frequently operate as though they were "quota" systems for filling jobs.
39)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... take a lot of time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies.
40)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create perceptions that minorities can't qualify on merit.

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree	
41)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs are generally unjust.
42)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs increase fairness in hiring and promotions.
43)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs are unbiased to everyone involved.
44)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action is a good policy.
45)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	The goals of affirmative action are good.
46)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Once affirmative action programs are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against non-minorities.
47)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Affirmative action programs that help minorities to get ahead should be supported.
48)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	If there are no affirmative action programs helping minorities in employment, then they will continue to fail to get their share of jobs, thereby continuing past discrimination into the future.
49)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	I would be willing to work at an organization with an affirmative action plan.
50)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	All in all, I oppose affirmative action plans in industry for minorities.
51)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Employees should be actively involved in attempts to improve affirmative action conditions where they work.

IN GENERAL, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS ARE:
SELECT THE DOT CLOSEST TO YOUR RATING BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES

	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
52) IMPORTANT	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	UNIMPORTANT
53) WORTHLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	VALUABLE
54) NEGATIVE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	POSITIVE
55) WISE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	FOOLISH
56) MEANINGLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	MEANINGFUL
57) KIND	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	CRUEL

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
58) I know a great deal about affirmative action and how it operates.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
59) I have read/studied specifics of affirmative action laws and executive orders.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
60) I have received training on affirmative action by a lawyer, manager, or Human Resources professional	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
61) I have often submitted goals and timetables reports under an affirmative action Plan.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
62) I have never heard about affirmative action programs from the media (television, radio, newspapers).	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

63) My current employer is an affirmative action Employer (Check one only) Yes (0) No (1) Don't know (2) or not employed

IT IS _____ THAT I . . .   <u>Check your Scantron: you should be on #64</u>

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
64)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… will complain to my co-workers or boss about affirmative action Programs.
65)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… intend to vote for candidates who support affirmative action Programs.
66)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… will say positive things about affirmative action programs to friends/family.
67)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… will resist any affirmative action Programs on my job.
68)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… will try to convince others that affirmative action programs are unfair.
69)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… would help recruit someone as part of an affirmative action Program.
70)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… will be searching for a new job in the next 1-2 years.

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	
71)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that in business, without set quotas, there will be a slowing down in the hiring of minorities?
72)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that unless quotas are used, minorities just won't get a fair shake?
73)	0	1	2	After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment.
74)	0	1	2	Minorities have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit.
75)	0	1	2	As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to minorities so that they can perform better on the job.
76)	0	1	2	Employers should set aside a certain number of places to hire qualified minorities.
77)	0	1	2	Preferential treatment for minorities is fair.
78)	0	1	2	Blacks should receive racial entitlement and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America.

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APPENDIX D (Group 3)
OPPORTUNITY POLICIES

Instructions: On the next pages, **please give _your_ opinions** about employment and selection opportunity policies.

Check your Scantron: you should be on #11	Extremely Bad	Quite Bad	Slightly Bad	Neither	Slightly Good	Quite Good	Extremely Good
11) Improving the job opportunities of women and minorities is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12) Giving everyone who's qualified an equal chance at a job is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
13) Reducing discrimination in historically segregated jobs is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14) Creating a greater awareness of discriminatory practices is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
15) Producing a more diverse workforce is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) Diversifying most companies' markets for goods & services is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) Enhancing the competitiveness of most businesses is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
18) Reducing racial tensions among employees is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
19) Hiring less qualified (rejecting more qualified) employees is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
20) "Reverse" discrimination against some people is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
21) Restricting the freedom a business has for making decisions is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
22) Creating higher unemployment rates overall is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
23) "Quota" systems for filling jobs are ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
24) Taking time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies is ...	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
25) Perceptions that minorities can't qualify on their own merit are	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

IT IS _____ THAT OPPORTUNITY POLICIES ...

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
26)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... improve the job opportunities of females and minorities.
27)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... give everyone who is qualified an equal chance at a job.
28)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... reduce discrimination in historically segregated jobs.
29)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create greater awareness or recognition of discriminatory practices.
30)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... help to produce a more diverse workforce.
31)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... diversify most companies' markets for their goods and services.
32)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... enhance the competitiveness of most businesses.
33)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... reduce racial tensions among employees.
34)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... cause employers to hire less qualified (and reject more qualified) employees.
35)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... can produce "reverse" discrimination against some people.
36)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... restrict the freedom a business has for making decisions.
37)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create higher unemployment rates overall.
38)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... frequently operate as though they were "quota" systems for filling jobs.
39)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... take a lot of time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies.
40)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... create perceptions that minorities can't qualify on merit.

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree	
41)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies are generally unjust.
42)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies increase fairness in hiring and promotions.
43)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies are unbiased to everyone involved.
44)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity for all is a good policy.
45)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	The goals of opportunity policies are good.
46)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Once opportunity policies are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against non- minorities.
47)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies that help minorities to get ahead should be supported.
48)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	If there are no opportunity policies helping minorities in employment, then they will continue to fail to get their share of jobs, thereby continuing past discrimination into the future.
49)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	I would be willing to work at an organization with an opportunity policy.
50)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	All in all, I oppose opportunity policies in industry for minorities.
51)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Employees should be actively involved in attempts to improve opportunity conditions where they work.

IN GENERAL, OPPORTUNITY POLICIES ARE:
SELECT THE DOT CLOSEST TO YOUR RATING BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES

	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
52) IMPORTANT	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	UNIMPORTANT
53) WORTHLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	VALUABLE
54) NEGATIVE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	POSITIVE
55) WISE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	FOOLISH
56) MEANINGLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	MEANINGFUL
57) KIND	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	CRUEL

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
58) I know a great deal about opportunity policies and how they operate.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
59) I have read/studied specifics of opportunity policies, laws, and executive orders.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
60) I have received training on opportunity policies by a lawyer, manager, or Human Resources professional	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
61) I have often submitted goals and timetables reports under an opportunity policies plan.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
62) I have never heard about opportunity policies programs from the media (television, radio, newspapers).	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

63) My current employer conforms to opportunity policies (Pick one only) Yes (0) No (1) Don't know (2) or not employed

IT IS _____ THAT I ...

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
64)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will complain to my co-workers or boss about opportunity policies.
65)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... intend to vote for candidates who support opportunity policies.
66)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will say positive things about opportunity policies to friends/family.
67)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will resist any opportunity policies on my job.
68)	0	-1	2	3	4	5	6	... will try to convince others that opportunity policies are unfair.
69)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... would help recruit someone as part of an opportunity policy.
70)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will be searching for a new job in the next 1-2 years.

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	
71)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that in business, without set quotas, there will be a slowing down in the hiring of minorities?
72)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that unless quotas are used, minorities just won't get a fair shake?
73)	0	1	2	After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment.
74)	0	1	2	Minorities have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit.
75)	0	1	2	As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to minorities so that they can perform better on the job.
76)	0	1	2	Employers should set aside a certain number of places to hire qualified minorities.
77)	0	1	2	Preferential treatment for minorities is fair.
78)	0	1	2	Blacks should receive racial entitlement and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America.

APPENDIX D (Group 4)
OPPORTUNITY POLICIES

Instructions: Unlike any time in the past, recent research (Astin, 2007) has shown that 87.3% of American college students of both genders and all races overwhelmingly support opportunity policies. When polled, students indicated that any perceived problems with opportunity policies are more than compensated by the gains to business in the form of enhanced competitiveness and the benefits of a more diverse workforce. However, not everyone agrees. On the next pages, **please give _your_ opinions** about opportunity policies.

<u>Check your Scantron: you should be on #11</u>

	Extremely Bad	Quite Bad	Slightly Bad	Neither	Slightly Good	Quite Good	Extremely Good
11) Improving the job opportunities of women and minorities is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
12) Giving everyone who's qualified an equal chance at a job is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
13) Reducing discrimination in historically segregated jobs is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
14) Creating a greater awareness of discriminatory practices is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
15) Producing a more diverse workforce is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) Diversifying most companies' markets for goods & services is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) Enhancing the competitiveness of most businesses is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
18) Reducing racial tensions among employees is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
19) Hiring less qualified (rejecting more qualified) employees is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
20) "Reverse" discrimination against some people is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
21) Restricting the freedom a business has for making decisions is	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
22) Creating higher unemployment rates overall is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
23) "Quota" systems for filling jobs are …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
24) Taking time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies is …	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
25) Perceptions that minorities can't qualify on their own merit are	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

IT IS _____ THAT OPPORTUNITY POLICIES …

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
26)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… improve the job opportunities of females and minorities.
27)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… give everyone who is qualified an equal chance at a job.
28)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… reduce discrimination in historically segregated jobs.
29)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… create greater awareness or recognition of discriminatory practices.
30)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… help to produce a more diverse workforce.
31)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… diversify most companies' markets for their goods and services.
32)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… enhance the competitiveness of most businesses.
33)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… reduce racial tensions among employees.
34)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… cause employers to hire less qualified (and reject more qualified) employees.
35)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… can produce "reverse" discrimination against some people.
36)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… restrict the freedom a business has for making decisions.
37)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… create higher unemployment rates overall.
38)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… frequently operate as though they were "quota" systems for filling jobs.
39)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… take a lot of time, effort, money, and paperwork for companies.
40)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	… create perceptions that minorities can't qualify on merit.

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree	
41)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies are generally unjust.
42)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies increase fairness in hiring and promotions.
43)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies are unbiased to everyone involved.
44)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity for all is a good policy.
45)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	The goals of opportunity policies are good.
46)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Once opportunity policies are started, the result is bound to be reverse discrimination against non- minorities.
47)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Opportunity policies that help minorities to get ahead should be supported.
48)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	If there are no opportunity policies helping minorities in employment, then they will continue to fail to get their share of jobs, thereby continuing past discrimination into the future.
49)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	I would be willing to work at an organization with an opportunity policy.
50)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	All in all, I oppose opportunity policies in industry for minorities.
51)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Employees should be actively involved in attempts to improve opportunity conditions where they work.

IN GENERAL, OPPORTUNITY POLICIES ARE:
SELECT THE DOT CLOSEST TO YOUR RATING BETWEEN THE TWO EXTREMES

	(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
52) IMPORTANT	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	UNIMPORTANT
53) WORTHLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	VALUABLE
54) NEGATIVE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	POSITIVE
55) WISE	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	FOOLISH
56) MEANINGLESS	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	MEANINGFUL
57) KIND	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	CRUEL

	Very Strongly Agree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Very Strongly Disagree
58) I know a great deal about opportunity policies and how they operate.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
59) I have read/studied specifics of opportunity policies, laws, and executive orders.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
60) I have received training on opportunity policies by a lawyer, manager, or Human Resources professional	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
61) I have often submitted goals and timetables reports under an opportunity policies plan.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
62) I have never heard about opportunity policies programs from the media (television, radio, newspapers).	0	1	2	3	4	5	6

63) My current employer conforms to opportunity policies (Pick one only) Yes (0) No (1) Don't know (2) or not employed

IT IS _____ THAT I ...

	Extremely unlikely	Quite unlikely	Slightly unlikely	Neither	Slightly likely	Quite likely	Extremely likely	
64)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will complain to my co-workers or boss about opportunity policies.
65)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... intend to vote for candidates who support opportunity policies.
66)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will say positive things about opportunity policies to friends/family.
67)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will resist any opportunity policies on my job.
68)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will try to convince others that opportunity policies are unfair.
69)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... would help recruit someone as part of an opportunity policy.
70)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	... will be searching for a new job in the next 1-2 years.

	Agree	Neither	Disagree	
71)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that in business, without set quotas, there will be a slowing down in the hiring of minorities?
72)	0	1	2	Do you agree or disagree that unless quotas are used, minorities just won't get a fair shake?
73)	0	1	2	After years of discrimination, it is only fair to set up special programs to make sure that minorities are given every chance to have equal opportunities in employment.
74)	0	1	2	Minorities have to learn that they are entitled to no special consideration and must make it strictly on merit.
75)	0	1	2	As long as there are no rigid quotas, it makes sense to give special training and advice to minorities so that they can perform better on the job.
76)	0	1	2	Employers should set aside a certain number of places to hire qualified minorities.
77)	0	1	2	Preferential treatment for minorities is fair.
78)	0	1	2	Blacks should receive racial entitlement and other forms of compensation due to the past injustices of White America.

(Need for Cognition Scale)

For each of the statements below, please indicate to what extent the statement is characteristic of you. If the statement is extremely characteristic of you (very much like you) please write a "4" on the line next to that question. Of course, a statement may be neither extremely uncharacteristic nor extremely characteristic of you; if so, please use the number in the middle of the scale that describes the best fit. Please keep the following scale in mind as you rate each of the statements below:

> 0 = extremely uncharacteristic
> 1 = somewhat uncharacteristic
> 2 = uncertain
> 3 = somewhat characteristic
> 4 = extremely characteristic

____ 79. I would prefer complex to simple problems.

____ 80. I like to have the responsibility of handling a situation that requires a lot of thinking.

____ 81. Thinking is not my idea of fun.

____ 82. I would rather do something that requires little thought than something that is sure to challenge my thinking abilities.

____ 83. I try to anticipate and avoid situations where there is likely chance I will have to think in depth about something.

____ 84. I find satisfaction in deliberating hard and for long hours.

____ 85. I only think as hard as I have to.

____ 86. I prefer to think about small, daily projects to long-term ones.

____ 87. I like tasks that require little thought once I've learned them.

____ 88. The idea of relying on thought to make my way to the top appeals to me.

____ 89. I really enjoy a task that involves coming up with new solutions to problems.

____ 90. Learning new ways to think doesn't excite me very much.

____ 91. I prefer my life to be filled with puzzles that I must solve.

____ 92. The notion of thinking abstractly is appealing to me.

____ 93. I would prefer a task that is intellectual, difficult, and important to one that is somewhat important but does not require much thought.

____ 94. I feel relief rather than satisfaction after completing a task that required a lot of mental effort.

____ 95. It's enough for me that something gets the job done; I don't care how or why it works.

____ 96. I usually end up deliberating about issues even when they do not affect me personally.

APPENDIX F
(Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale)
Please read each statement below and rate your level of agreement on the scale.

	Very Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree	Very Strongly Agree	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
115)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything.
116)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	It is wonderful that young people can protest anything they don't like, and act however they wish nowadays.
117)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion, than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
118)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance, and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral.
119)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	What our country really needs, instead of more "civil rights," is a good stiff dose of law and order.
120)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.
121)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	The sooner we get rid of the traditional family structure, where the father is the head of the family and the children are taught to obey authority automatically, the better. The old-fashioned way has a lot wrong with it.
122)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse.
123)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standards and preserve law and order
124)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody's being a homosexual.
125)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants.
126)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Obedience is the most important virtue children should learn.
127)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	There is no "one right way" to live your life. Everybody has to create his own way.
128)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Once our government leaders condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.

	Very Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly Agree	Very Strongly Agree	
129)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Government, judges and the police should never be allowed to censor books.
130)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done.
131)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up.
132)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
133)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Some young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they get older they ought to become more mature and forget such things.
134)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	There is nothing really wrong with a lot of the things some people call "sins."
135)	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Everyone should have his own life-style, Religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes him different from everyone else.

APPENDIX G
(Self-Monitoring Scale)

For each of the statements below, please indicate to what extent the statement is characteristic of you. If it is characteristic, answer **True (0)**. If uncharacteristic, answer **False (1)**.

____ 97. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of other people.

____ 98. At parties and other social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.

____ 99. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.

____ 100. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.

____ 101. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain others.

____ 102. I would probably make a good actor.

____ 103. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention.

____ 104. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.

____ 105. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.

____ 106. I am not always the person I appear to be.

____ 107. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone or win their favor.

____ 108. I have considered being an entertainer.

____ 109. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.

____ 110. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.

____ 111. At a party, I let others keep the jokes and stories going.

____ 112. I feel a bit awkward in company an do not show up quite as well as I should.

____ 113. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a good reason).

____ 114. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.

APPENDIX H
'PART II '
Scantron Instructions

DO NOT PUT YOUR NAME ON THE SCANTRON!

If you are in one of the PSH-110 classes, write "PSH110" in the NAME block.

If you are in some other class, please write the class name in the NAME block.

For this part, the numbers on the left side (0-3) are the INACCURATE scale and the numbers on the right side (5-8) are the ACCURATE scale.

Here is an example of how to score items for this part of the packet:

Part II Form

Extremely Inaccurate	Very Inaccurate	Quite Inaccurate	Slightly Inaccurate	Neither	Slightly Accurate	Quite Accurate	Very Accurate	Extremely Accurate
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

15) Cooperative
16) Creative

If you think that #15 (Cooperative) describes you **very accurately**, you would select and bubble in "7".

If you think that #16 (Creative) describes you **quite inaccurately**, you would select and bubble in "2".

Scantron Answer Sheet

15 ⓪①②③④⑤⑥●⑧⑨   65 ⓪①②③④⑤⑥⑦⑧⑨
16 ⓪①●③④⑤⑥⑦⑧⑨   66 ⓪①②③④⑤⑥⑦⑧⑨
17 ⓪①②③④⑤⑥⑦⑧⑨   67 ⓪①②③④⑤⑥⑦⑧⑨

Check your question packet and scantron frequently to be sure you haven't skipped any entries.

APPENDIX I
(Five Factor Personality Inventory and Manipulation Check)
How Accurately Can You Describe Yourself?

Please use this list of common human traits to describe yourself as accurately as possible. Describe yourself as you see yourself at the present time, not as you wish to be in the future. Describe yourself as you are generally or typically, as compared with other persons you know of the same sex and of roughly your same age.

On your scantron sheet, please fill in the number indicating how accurately that trait describes you, using the following 0-8 rating scale. **For example**, if you think "Active" is a **quite accurate** description of one of your traits, fill in the 6 on the scantron for item #1. If you think "Active" is **very inaccurate**, fill in 1 on the scantron for item #1.

Extremely Inaccurate	Very Inaccurate	Quite Inaccurate	Slightly Inaccurate	Neither	Slightly Accurate	Quite Accurate	Very Accurate	Extremely Accurate
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

1) Active
2) Agreeable
3) Anxious
4) Artistic
5) Assertive
6) Bashful
7) Bold
8) Bright
9) Careful
10) Careless
11) Cold
12) Complex
13) Conscientious
14) Considerate
15) Cooperative
16) Creative
17) Daring
18) Deep
19) Demanding
20) Disorganized
21) Distrustful
22) Efficient
23) Emotional
24) Energetic
25) Envious

26) Extraverted
27) Fearful
28) Fretful
29) Generous
30) Haphazard
31) Harsh
32) Helpful
33) High-Strung
34) Imaginative
35) Imperceptive
36) Imperturbable
37) Impractical
38) Inconsistent
39) Inefficient
40) Inhibited
41) Innovative
42) Insecure
43) Intellectual
44) Introspective
45) Introverted
46) Irritable
47) Jealous
48) Kind
49) Moody
50) Neat

51) Negligent
52) Nervous
53) Organized
54) Philosophical
55) Pleasant
56) Practical
57) Prompt
58) Quiet
59) Relaxed
60) Reserved
61) Rude
62) Self-Pitying
63) Selfish
64) Shallow
65) Shy
66) Simple
67) Sloppy
68) Steady
69) Sympathetic
70) Systematic
71) Talkative
72) Temperamental
73) Thorough
74) Timid
75) Touchy

76) Trustful
77) Unadventurous
78) Uncharitable
79) Uncooperative
80) Uncreative
81) Undemanding
82) Undependable
83) Unemotional
84) Unenvious
85) Unexcitable
86) Unimaginative
87) Uninquisitive
88) Unintellectual
89) Unintelligent
90) Unkind
91) Unreflective
92) Unrestrained
93) Unsophisticated
94) Unsympathetic
95) Unsystematic
96) Untalkative
97) Verbal
98) Vigorous
99) Warm
100) Withdrawn

Turn the page over and complete side 2

101) The survey I completed used the words:

0) Affirmative Action Programs
1) Opportunity Policies
2) Don't know or not sure

102) The instructions on the survey I completed indicated that today's college students overwhelmingly support certain social policies.

0) True
1) False
2) Not sure

103) I am familiar with the term affirmative action, and have heard it before in regards to equal employment opportunity.

0) True
1) False
2) Not sure

APPENDIX J

Debrief Statement

Dear Participant,

Thank you for participating in our study. The goal of the study is to determine whether attitudes toward social policies can be influenced by presenting them in different ways. For our purposes, there are two independent variables, each with two levels: 1) use of a title for a social policy vs. use of an alternate, more generic term that describes the social policy (Title condition), 2) indication via instructions that agreement with the named social policy is characteristic of a specific group vs. no indication of such agreement being characteristic of a specific group (Social Norm condition). The dependent variable is the score on the attitude measures making up the survey.

Participants were randomly assigned to each of the four groups or levels of the independent variables. Those in the Social Norm Present condition were read instructions that included the statements "unlike any time in the past, recent research has shown that American college students overwhelmingly support…" and "when polled, students indicated that…," while those in the Social Norm Absent condition read instructions without those statements. In fact, to the best of our knowledge, no such research exists. It was necessary to make these statements to assess whether or not participants would be influenced by identification with a peer group purported to have a particular attitude. In fact, a seven year longitudinal study of incoming college freshmen shows a nearly 50/50 split in answer to the question "Affirmative Action in colleges admissions should be abolished."

Please **DO NOT** reveal the nature of this research, as the study is ongoing and more students will be participating. If asked, you may say "I completed some surveys on social policies."

Demographic data was also collected to ensure the representativeness of the sample and for classification purposes. Personality, political views, and other data were collected for use as control variables.

Signed:

Andrew Knapp, BS

Primary researcher

Appendix K

Twenty-six terms considered to contrast with the term "Affirmative Action"

Applicant sorting strategies
Applicant sorting method
Candidate ranking strategies
Candidate ranking methods
Candidate sorting strategies
Candidate sorting methods
Diversity policies
Diversity strategies
Employment policies
Employment strategies
Equal Opportunity Policies
Hiring policies
Hiring strategies
Opportunity policies
Personnel policies
Personnel strategies
Progressive Selection Policies
Recruitment and advancement methods
Selection and advancement policies
Selection and advancement strategies
Selection methods
Selection policies
Selection strategies
Staffing methods
These policies
This type of policy

Criteria for selecting the alternate term:
- Not overly favorable or unfavorable; non-guiding
- Easily inserted grammatically into main survey instrument in place of "affirmative action"
- Sufficiently ambiguous to allow participants to draw their own conclusions about the meaning of the term
- Reflective of the goals and ideals of affirmative action policies