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ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES
FOR WOMEN AND MINORITIES

by

John Porter Lee

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Art
Department of Sociology

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to my mother, Nettie, whose belief in me was instrumental to its successful completion.

I would also like to express deep appreciation to the members of my Thesis Committee.

John Porter Lee

ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS TOWARD AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES
FOR WOMEN AND MINORITIES

John Porter Lee, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1989

This study used two contrasting theoretical perspectives in an assessment of college students' attitudes toward affirmative action policies for women and minorities. One perspective was Wellman's (1977) Interest Theory of Discrimination and the other one was based on the Minority Identity Development Model constructed by Atkinson, Morten and Sue (1989). Survey methods were utilized to gather data from 479 undergraduate students enrolled in a midwestern university. Following the development model, it was argued that white female students and black students (both males and females) would have favorable attitudes toward affirmative action policies because of their minority status. Conversely, following Wellman's "interest theory of discrimination," the attitudes of white male college students would be unfavorable toward affirmative action policies.

The minority identity/true consciousness perspective explains many, but not all, of this study's findings. That the white female and black college students have not developed "true consciousness" regarding their mutual minority status is suggested by the data. Likewise, Wellman's (1977) interest theory was also useful in explaining some of the findings.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Although the American republic was founded on the principle that "all men are created equal," translation of this valued concept into a reality has been problematic for many individuals and groups, especially black people and women. The literature is replete with examples that the United States, from its founding, was a racist and sexist social system. Feagin and Feagin (1978), for example, point out that "white (male) privilege became enshrined in the United States legal and philosophical tradition in the distant past and has been basic to the founding documents and to many legislative acts, administrative decrees, and court decisions from then to the present" (p. 177). They make the point that in its recognition and acceptance of slavery and in its determination of who could exercise the vote, the U.S. Constitution institutionalized racism and sexism.

The 15th and 19th Amendments granted nominal voting rights to both blacks and women, but forces conspired to deny them the true exercise of the franchise; consequently entrance into the inner circles of "white male" political power was forestalled until recent years. Moreover, in spite of the fact that the United States is among the world's leading post-industrial societies, it remains a

visibly stratified system where race and sex continue to be major determinants of one's position in a system that is manifestly unequal in its distribution of wealth, power and prestige.

The progress made in recent years, by both women and blacks, is attributed largely to affirmative action programs and policies along with anti-discrimination initiatives. These policies and programs, of course, are the direct result of the civil rights movement which was overlapped by the women's liberation movement. Both movements, however, were deliberate and systematic efforts designed to eliminate institutionalized racism and sexism in the United States.

Statement of the Problem

The extent to which racism and sexism exist in the United States, while interesting, is not the main focus of this thesis. Our focus will be on the attitudes toward affirmative action programs and anti-discrimination practices. Thus, only in a limited sense will sexism and racism be assessed in this study. One could argue, however, that those who are attitudinally opposed to affirmative action programs and anti-discrimination practices for blacks and women are indeed supporting institutionalized racism and sexism.

Specifically, we are interested in the perceptions of various groups of college students toward affirmative action programs and anti-discrimination practices designed to advance the general welfare of two oppressed groups--black people and women.

Investigations like this one allow us to ascertain the degree to which the attitudes of oppressed minority individuals toward affirmative action programs and anti-discrimination practices for members of other oppressed minority groups reflect intergroup solidarity or intragroup self-interest. This study will attempt to contribute to this area by researching the following questions:

1. In terms of the attitudes of black college students toward affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices for females, which variable--their race or sex--is the best predictor?

2. In terms of the attitudes of female college students toward affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices for nonwhites, which variable--their race or sex--is the best predictor?

3. How do the white and black female college students' attitudes on affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices compare with those of their white male counterparts?

4. How do the black male college students' attitudes on these issues compare with those of their white male counterparts?

5. Are the attitudes of white female and black college students toward affirmative action policies and practices best understood by means of an "interest" theory of discrimination or by means of the minority identity development and/or true/false consciousness perspectives?

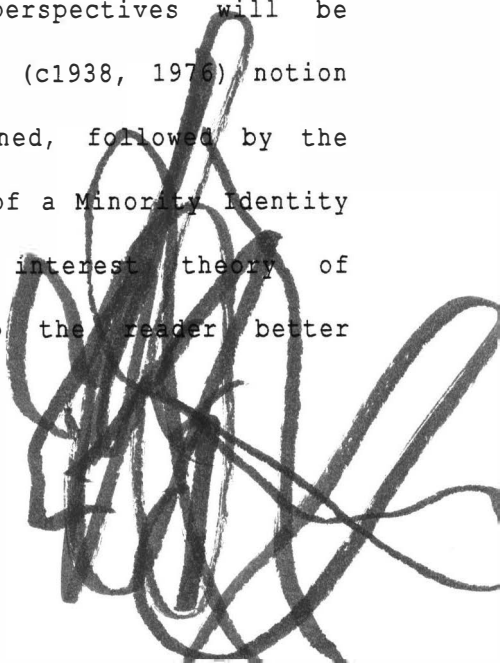
6. To what extent does an interest theory of discrimination suggest ways of looking at the attitudes of white male college students toward these policies and practices?

In sum, using attitudinal data from college students regarding affirmative action programs, the problem is to ascertain the extent to which students in oppressed categories have developed a shared awareness or consciousness about their status. Therefore, the attitudes of minority, and female, students regarding affirmative action programs and anti-discriminatory practices are examined. Two theoretical notions--minority identity/true consciousness and Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination--will be used to guide this investigation. Both are discussed in some detail in the following sections.

Although the theoretical perspectives discussed herein will not be tested per se, they do indeed play an important role in that they are instructive regarding the various types of attitudes one might find among college students when controlling for race and sex. Moreover, they should prove helpful in explaining the empirical findings of this study.

Pertinent Theoretical Background

In this section three theoretical perspectives will be discussed. Karl Marx's and Frederick Engels' (c1938, 1976) notion of true/false consciousness will be explained, followed by the Atkinson, Morten and Sue (1989) formulation of a Minority Identity Development Model and Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination. This discussion will help the reader better understand the previously raised questions.



True viz. False Consciousness

Marx (c1904, 1970) wrote about consciousness in a capitalist, stratified society; he said that "It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but their social existence that determines their consciousness" (p. 21). Marx believed that most of what people consciously think is "false consciousness," that is, a thought that is based on some ideology or rationalization. To Marx, consciousness was a social product determined by one's position in the social relationships of production. Those who own and control the forces of production and, therefore, the labor of others, do have a rational perception of the relationships between various goals and the means of their attainment. However, those who are in a subordinate position cannot appreciate their true situation.

In P. J. O'Connell (Ed.), the Encyclopedia of Sociology (1974), false consciousness is defined as "an attitude toward the social world and one's objective situation" (p. 106). This view is cogently

illustrated by Robertson (1985) in the following passage:

For example, a conflict between trade unions inside a work force might be seen as false consciousness on the grounds that workers "ought" to realize that unity in the face of capitalists is in the "true interests" of all workers. Similarly, affluent workers who see a Conservative government as more in their interests than a Socialist one that might increase their taxes to pay for welfare benefits to the less affluent would be suffering from "false consciousness" because they should realize that in the long run all workers are exploited by capitalist society and would want to support their less affluent proletarian brothers were they enjoying true consciousness.
(pp. 121-122)

From the true/false consciousness perspective, then, one would theorize that a member of an oppressed minority group is suffering from "false consciousness" when s/he possesses unfavorable attitudes toward initiatives designed to ameliorate or eliminate sexism or racism. On the other hand, "true consciousness" is expressed when a minority member has attitudes which are favorable to such initiatives as affirmative action programs and anti-discriminatory practices.

In this same connection, we further theorize that whether one has true consciousness or false consciousness is not necessarily an either/or proposition. It is possible that a continuum might well exist where some minority members are suffering from "false consciousness," while others might be rather neutral or undecided or in some other state of development, and still others might be at the "true consciousness" end of the continuum.

Atkinson et al. (1989) offer a model which addresses the various stages of development that an oppressed minority individual goes through before achieving "true consciousness." (See Table 1)

Minority Identity Development Model

According to Atkinson et al. (1989), their model "is not presented as a comprehensive theory of personality development, but rather as a schema to help counselors understand minority client attitudes and behaviors within existing personality theories" (p. 38). It is a model with five developmental stages. The stages are:

Table 1

Summary of the Minority Identity Development Model

Stages of Minority Development Model	Attitude toward self	Attitude toward others of the same minority	Attitude toward others of different minority	Attitude toward dominant group
Stage 1- Conformity	self-depreciating	group-depreciating	discriminatory	group-appreciating
Stage 2- Dissonance	conflict between self-depreciating and appreciating	conflict between group-depreciating and group-appreciating	conflict between dominant-held views of minority hierarchy and feelings of shared experience	conflict between group-appreciating and group-depreciating
Stage 3- Resistance and Immersion	self-appreciating	group-appreciating	conflict between feelings of empathy for other minority experiences and feelings of culturo-centrism	group-depreciating
Stage 4- Introspection	concern with basis of self-appreciation	concern with nature of unequivocal appreciation	concern with ethnocentric basis for judging others	concern with the basis of group depreciation
Stage 5- Synergetic Articulation and Awareness	self-appreciating	group-appreciating	group-appreciating	selective appreciation

Source: Atkinson, D.R., Morten, G., & Sue, D.W. (1989).
Counseling American minorities: a cross cultural perspective (3rd ed.).
 Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown.

1. CONFORMITY: At this stage the minority member does not value self nor his/her own group; the dominant group is appreciated.

2. DISSONANCE: During this phase the minority individual is caught in a conflict between self-depreciating and self-appreciating; also a similar conflict exists within the individual regarding his/her own group and the dominant group.

3. RESISTANCE AND IMMERSION: This is a stage where the individual has made a transition from self-depreciating to self-appreciating; also the individual's perception of the dominant group is depreciating. Conflict, however, exists between feelings of empathy for other minority experiences and feelings of culturocentricism.

4. INTROSPECTION: At this stage the individual is concerned with the basis for self-appreciation, the nature of his/her group appreciation and the basis on which he/she depreciates the dominant group.

5. SYNERGETIC ARTICULATION AND AWARENESS: Once the minority individual reaches this stage of development s/he is able to articulate the manner in which s/he appreciates self, the minority which s/he belongs along with a selective appreciation of the dominant group.

In their own words, however, Atkinson et al. (1989) state that:

The model defines five stages of development that oppressed people may experience as they struggle to understand themselves in terms of their own minority culture, the dominant culture, and the oppressive relationship between the two cultures. Although five distinct stages are presented in the model, the MID is more accurately conceptualized as a continuous process in which one stage blends with another and boundaries between stages are not clear. (p. 38)

Interest Theory of Discrimination

✓ Wellman (1977) argues that racism is more effectively analyzed as a strategy for the maintenance of privilege than prejudice. He notes that, "Racism can be seen to systematically provide economic, political, psychological and social advantages for whites at the expense of blacks and other people of color" (p. 37). A basic assumption of interest theory of discrimination is that race relations are anchored in the social structure. Wellman (1977) points out that,

Given the organization of society, there are only so many resources to go around. If race is one of the basic divisions around which access to resources is determined and if institutional changes demanded by blacks are accommodated, then some groups of whites stand to lose certain advantages. The analogy of a zero-sum game is appropriate. For blacks to gain may mean whites will lose. White people thus have an interest in maintaining their position of racial advantage. The issues that divide black and white people, then, are grounded in real and material conditions. The justifications for this division, moreover, have an element of rationality to them; they are not simply manufactured reasons, misperceptions, or defenses of the interests and privileges that stem from white people's position in a structure based in part on racial inequality. (p. 37)

Racism, says Wellman (1977), must be studied within the context of social stratification and social conflict. Wellman (1977) goes on to say that:

I view racial stratification as part of the structure of American society, much like class division. Instead of being a remnant from the past, the social hierarchy based on race is a critical component in the organization of modern American society. The subordination of people of color is functional to the operation of American society as we know it and the color of one's skin is a primary determinant of people's position in the social structure. Racism is a structural relationship based on the subordination of one racial group by another. Given this perspective, the determining feature of race relations is not prejudice toward blacks but rather the superior position of whites and the institutions--ideological as well as structural--which maintain it. (pp. 35-36)

An important concept in Wellman's (1977) theory is that sentiments can be racist regardless of intentions. Wellman (1977) characterizes racist beliefs as "culturally sanctioned, rational responses to struggles over scarce resources" and sentiments which, regardless of intentions, defend the advantages that whites gain from the presence of blacks in America" (p. 4).

According to Feagin and Feagin (1978), the interest theory perspective has yet to be applied to sex discrimination. However, Wellman's theory is applicable by merely substituting the appropriate terms or phrases. Table 2 illustrates the appropriateness of using Wellman's (1977) theory to understand the discrimination experienced by women in patriarchal America.

The terms and phrases that are in the right hand column may be added to, or substituted for, Wellman's (1977) corresponding terms and phrases in the left hand column without compromising the integrity of Wellman's interest theory. In short, not unlike racial stratification, sex stratification is also a part of the American social structure where sexism is a structural relationship based on the subordination of one sex by another.

Table 2

A Comparison of Some Racial Terms and Phrases Used by
Wellman (1977) With Analogous
Sex Terms and Phrases

Racial Terms and Phrases Used by Wellman (1977)	Sex Terms and Phrases
racial discrimination	sex discrimination
race relations	relations between the sexes
racial stratification	sex stratification
racism	sexism
racial group	gender category
racial groups	gender categories
whites	males
blacks	females
people of color	females

Two Oppressed Minorities: White Women and Blacks

This section discusses the status of white women and blacks in education and employment in order to illustrate, on a limited basis, the fact that sexism and racism are indeed structural elements of the American society.

Women

The percentage of women in the American labor force is steadily rising. There are 53.6 million women in the labor force, a half a million increase since 1986. As a result of this growth, working women today represent almost 45% of the total labor force.

Between now and the year 2000, three out of five new workers will be women (National Association of Working Women, 1988).

In the early part of the 20th Century, 35% of the women who worked did so in private households (e.g., cooks, maids). By 1980, only 1.3% of women were in those occupations. Nineteen percent of women worked on farms in the early 1900s, while less than 1% of women do so now (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984).

The roles of women and men in the American workplace are converging. Back in the early part of the 20th century, only 8% of women were in professional, technical, or similar jobs, usually teachers. By 1980, 13.5% of women were in those fields. Today women fly and navigate planes, load and unload ships, climb telephone poles, and work at almost all jobs once performed only by men (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984).

In 1980, for example, there were more than 2,000 women fire fighters, more than 1,000 pilots and navigators, and about 2,700 crane and tower operators, 12,600 professional athletes, 45,500 policewomen and detectives, 3,600 fishers, 12,000 auto mechanics, 20,200 carpenters, 12,000 electricians, 6,200 plumbers, 4,200 miners, and 44,000 heavy truck drivers (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984).

In 1970, there were only 20,239 women who were engineers. By 1980 that number had increased to 64,809. Women have been attracted to the world of the press in great numbers. There were 61,478 female editors and reporters in 1970; there were 74,037 in 1980 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984). One woman was added to the U.S. Supreme

Court. Women have joined the ranks of the shuttle pilots and the astronauts. There has been a female candidate for the office of the Vice President of the United States. In 1970 there were only 35,057 female computer-equipment operators and in 1980 women numbered 249,052, an increase of 610% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1984).

Despite the convergence in male/female roles in the work place, women still maintain a high profile in traditionally female jobs. Fifty-two percent of all working women are employed in only two occupational categories: clerical and service work (National Association of Working Women, 1988). Almost 40% of employed women are concentrated in only ten occupational categories: (1) Secretaries and receptionists, (2) Retail Clerks, including cashiers, (3) Teachers, pre-kindergarten through H.S., (4) Bookkeepers, (5) Registered Nurses, (6) Nurses Aides, (7) Waitresses, (8) Private household workers, (9) Typists, (10) Child care workers (National Association of Working Women, 1988).

Even within "women's fields," women are confined to lower paying and less prestigious occupations. For example, women comprise: 95% of nurses vs. 20% of doctors, 98% of kindergarten and pre-kindergarten teachers vs. 37% of college professors, 83% of apparel sales vs. 9% of "big ticket" items, 98% of dental assistants and hygienists vs. 9% of dentists, 79% of legal assistants vs. 20% of lawyers (National Association of Working Women, 1988).

More than four out of five (84%) women have incomes of less than \$19,000 a year. Median weekly earnings for women are \$303 a

week, while for men it is \$433 a week. Median earnings for black women is \$275. Full-time women workers only made 70% of male earnings in 1987, dropping to only 69% in the last quarter of 1987. Female managers earn a median \$416 a week, 64% of male managers' \$647 a week (National Association of Working Women, 1988). Kenneth J. Neubeck (1986) reminds us that this huge gap between the median weekly earnings of full-time, year-round male and female workers has actually been growing since World War II.

According to U.S. Bureau of the Census (1984), in 1950, women made up only 32% of all college students. In the early 1970s, that figure had increased to 43% and by 1980 women made up more than half, 52%, of the total college student body! What's more, 46% of all graduate students under 35 years old in 1980 were women, compared with 32% in 1970.

Most of the growth in college enrollment between 1970 and 1980 occurred among women. College enrollment of women under 35 rose from 3.0 million to 5.2 million, while the increase for men was from 4.4 million to 5.0 million. Many of the large number of women who entered the work force wanted to increase their chances for advancement in their chosen fields. As a result, these women were among those who enrolled in college.

It is not women's lack of education that is responsible for their low earnings. Women with four or more years of college earn less than men who only have high school diplomas. Women with high school diplomas earn roughly the same as men who dropped out of elementary school. 43% of women workers have at least some college,

compared to 46% of men (National Association of Working Women, 1988).

Blacks

The number of blacks in occupations which have traditionally been the exclusive province of whites is growing. The number of black airplane pilots and navigators jumped from 77 in 1970 to 678 in 1980. The number of black judges rose from 297 to 1,683 between 1970 and 1980. The number of black lawyers moved from 3,406 to 13,594 during the 1970s (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986). However, black representation in the professions and some high-skilled jobs is still small. In 1980 blacks comprised only 7% of all professionals and 8% of all technicians and related support workers (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1986).

Black Americans remain heavily concentrated in certain jobs. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1986) has documented that blacks accounted for more than half (54%) of private household cleaners and servants and about one-fourth of all postal clerks, and of all nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants in 1980.

According to the American Council on Education (1986), fewer blacks went to college in 1986 than in 1976. Moreover, "Fewer blacks participated in graduate studies in 1984 than in 1980" (American Council on Education, 1986, p. 8). The number of black faculty and administrators at four-year institutions is decreasing. "Of the 12,000 full time-faculty employed in traditionally black institutions, 8,200 are black...Overall representation of blacks in

predominately white institutions is only 2.3 percent" (ACE, 1986, p. 10). These things are true despite the fact that traditionally white, middle-class colleges are making efforts to enroll more minority students and to hire more minority faculty and administrators. Minority enrollment on traditionally white campuses began to increase in the mid-1960s, peaked in the mid-1970s and has been declining ever since. The American Council on Education (1986) has documented that:

In 1984, as in recent years, there were more women than men enrolled at both two-year and four-year institutions at the undergraduate and graduate levels for all groups except Asians. However, men outnumbered women in all racial/ethnic groups in professional school enrollments. (p. 8)

In The Campus Climate Revisited: Chilly for Women Faculty, Administrators, and Graduate Students (Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1986) we find the situation for women is similarly dismal. Although women earn approximately half of the degrees at the undergraduate and master's level, they earn only 32% of the doctoral degrees. Women are still concentrated in a limited number of fields and at lower levels. The hiring and promotion of women faculty and administrators lags far behind the enrollment of women students. It is uncommon for women to be department chairs, and rarer still for them to be academic deans. The compilers of The Campus Climate Revisited (Association of American Colleges, Project on the Status and Education of Women, 1986) resound:

For the most part, women administrators remain concentrated in a small number of low-status areas that are traditionally viewed as women's fields (such as nursing and home economics) or in care-taking roles (such as in student

affairs and affirmative action) or in other academic support roles (such as admissions officer, registrar or bookstore manager). Women who are in more central administrative areas frequently find themselves locked into "associate" or "assistant-to" positions with little chance of advancing upward. (p. 2)

Using insights garnered from the three theoretical perspectives, (true/false consciousness, the MID model and the interest theory), why various categories of college students possess certain attitudes will be discussed, followed by a set of derived hypotheses.

Attitudes of College Students Toward Affirmative Action Policies and Anti-Discrimination Practices

White males are the dominant sex/race category not only because they have the greatest power and vested interest in the American status quo. They are the dominant sex/race category because white male supremacy is intricately woven into the American social fabric. Feagin and Feagin (1978) explain,

White and male privileges, once entrenched, are rationalized by ideologies of preserving the status quo, individual "merit," and genetically superior ability. The fact that these privileges have been enjoyed for a long time not only insures that the descendents of the privileged will have greater access to them but also gives rise to notions that these privileges have come "by right." Those with greater economic and political resources can often insure the same for their descendents. (p. 178)

Racism and sexism in America serve to perpetuate white male dominance. According to Feagin and Feagin (1978):

If 60 percent of the people, (sic) or more are hamstrung by discrimination, tokenism, or ineffective remedies, the remainder will have higher profits, status, salaries, and benefits than they otherwise might have. Unhampered competition would reduce the role of white males in running

the society. Attempts to accelerate removal of discrimination, or to compensate those groups which have suffered large-scale discrimination in the past, will likely continue to be vigorously attacked, particularly as those attempts reach into ever higher levels of privilege and power in the society. The underlying concern, however hidden, continues to be the protection of privilege. (p. 178)

For these reasons, we expect white males will be well represented among the ranks of those with the most conservative attitudes on affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices. Moreover, we expect this profuse representation to be reflected in the white male sample in this study.

White females and blacks have much to gain from affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices which target them as beneficiaries. We expect that this fact will be reflected among the sampled white female, black female and black male, college students in this study.

If the true/false consciousness and minority identity development perspectives hold true, then, minority identification will take precedence over majority identification in each instance in this study which involves a subordinate group member. Specifically, the responses of black male college students should be more similar to those of white and black females than to those of white male college students. The responses of white female college students should be more similar to those of black male and black female college students than to white male college students. Likewise, the responses of black female college students should be more similar to those of white female and black male college students than to white male college students. This should be true in

each case across all the research variables.

Theoretically, respondents from subordinate sex/race categories should thereby acknowledge that the fates of respective members of diverse oppressed minority groups are ultimately interrelated. White females have not achieved socioeconomic equality with white males until nonwhite females have done so and vice versa. Furthermore, neither sex/race category has achieved this goal until nonwhite males have also done so. No one subordinate sex/race category has achieved socioeconomic equality with white males until all subordinate sex/race categories have done so. The realization of this fact is "true consciousness" and is expressed by uniform expression across all the research variables among all the subordinate sex/race categories and between them when they are being compared with the dominant sex/race category. Holding race constant and controlling for sex, we should find that white, and black, female college students are likely to respond in a similar fashion across all the research variables.

Due to the patriarchal nature of American society, with its occupational segregation of women, black and white females are likely to perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices as forces for progressive social change. They are more likely to perceive each other as "sisters in the struggle for social justice" than as potential academic and workplace threats. Indeed, as members of the oppressed sex, black and white females have more in common than they have in difference. Lips (1981) makes the point that women, regardless of individual

difference or race, are viewed as less competent than men. She states that:

Laboratory studies overwhelmingly show that, in the absence of any other information but sex, women are considered less competent than men (for example, Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Brovermann 1968; Sherriffs & Jarrett, 1953), and that male success is more likely to be attributed to ability than is female success (for example, Deaux & Emswiller, 1974)...a large body of evidence asserts that sex is, in fact used in determining an individual's value or status, and that maleness is more highly valued than femaleness. (pp. 160-161)

Females experienced the conditions of adverse ascription which require the development of a minority identity earlier in history than nonwhite males. The subordination of the female to the male is older than the subordination of one race to another race, e.g. the black, to the white, race. As Lerner (1986) observes,

Men learned to institute dominance and hierarchy over other people by their earlier practice of domination over the women of their own group. This found expression in the institutionalization of slavery, which began with the enslavement of women of conquered groups. (p. 9)

Holding race constant and controlling for sex, the theoretical perspectives suggest that white male college students are likely to respond in a dissimilar fashion from black male college students across all the research variables.

Again, due to the patriarchal nature of American society, white and black males are more likely to perceive each other as potential academic and workplace threats than as "brothers in the struggle for social justice." [Consequently, white males are more likely than black males to perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices as factors which narrow their educational and career options. Some white males perceive the

successes of affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices solely as personal liabilities--infringements by members of competing races, and/or the competing sex, into the domain of white males.

While some white females may share the perception of some white males that the successes of affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices are solely personal liabilities, others may opt to perceive their success as personal assets--advancements for other members of the subordinate sex.

One of the patriarchal features of American society is that males are socialized to achieve the satisfaction of their occupational goals primarily by means of direct participation. This fact makes it hard for American men to feel rewarded by the affirmative achievements of women. If the true/false consciousness and minority identity development perspectives hold true, then, the minority identification of black males with females will supercede black male chauvinism.

American women have traditionally been socialized to achieve the satisfaction of their occupational goals primarily by means of vicarious identification with the academic and career achievements of men (e.g., their husbands, brothers, boyfriends). In some women, this vicariously derived sense of satisfaction serves to neutralize polarizing feelings brought on by affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices.

The following hypotheses have been derived from the foregoing theoretical discussion. Again, it should be mentioned that, while the three theoretical perspectives are not being tested directly in this study, given the nature of the empirical data, they have been useful guidelines. They suggested ways of looking at college students regarding affirmative action policies and anti-discriminatory practices. The following hypotheses are formulated with this in mind.

When comparing the variables in the following hypotheses a statistical interaction effect is expected. In summary, black and white females are expected to be more favorable toward affirmative action than black and white males. Black males and females are expected to be more favorable toward affirmative action than white males and females. However, we expect an interaction between sex and race. Black males are expected to be more favorable toward affirmative action than white males. But, the attitudes of black females are expected to be about the same as those of white females on affirmative action.

Hypothesis 1. Attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females will vary among male college students by race. White male college students will be more favorable toward these policies than black male college students.

Hypothesis 2. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward public policies which discriminate against females. They will be unfavorable toward these policies.

Hypothesis 3. Attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females will vary among white college students by sex. White male college students will be more favorable toward these policies than white female college students.

Hypothesis 4. Black male and female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward public policies which discriminate against females. They will be unfavorable toward these policies.

Hypothesis 5. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward public policies which discriminate against females. They will be unfavorable toward these policies.

Hypothesis 6. Attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females will vary among white male and black female college students. White male college students will be more favorable toward these policies than black female college students.

Hypothesis 7. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black male college students.

Hypothesis 8. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. They will have a "perception of no threat."

Hypothesis 9. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will white female college students. White males are likely to have a "perception of threat."

Hypothesis 10. Black male and female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. They are likely to have a "perception of no threat."

Hypothesis 11. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. They are likely to have a "percpetion of no threat."

Hypothesis 12. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black female college students. They will have a "perception of threat."

Hypothesis 13. Attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment will vary among male college students by race. Black male college students will acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment more strongly than will white male college students.

Hypothesis 14. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward dominant groups which received special treatment. They will strongly acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Hypothesis 15. Attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment will vary among white college students by sex. White female college student will acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment more strongly than will white male college students.

Hypothesis 16. Male and female black college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward dominant groups which received special treatment. They will strongly acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Hypothesis 17. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward dominant groups which received special treatment. They will strongly acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Hypothesis 18. Attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment will vary among white male and black female college students. Black female college students will acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment more strongly than will white male college students.

Hypothesis 19. Attitudes of college students toward the perception of the existence of past and present inequality will vary among male college students by race. Black male college students will have a stronger perception of the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students.

Hypothesis 20. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. They will have a strong perception of its past and present existence.

Hypothesis 21. Attitudes of college students toward the perception of the existence of past and present inequality will vary among white college students by sex. White female college students will have a stronger perception of the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students.

Hypothesis 22. Male and female black college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. They will have a strong perception of its past and present existence.

Hypothesis 23. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. They will have a strong perception of its past and present existence.

Hypothesis 24. Attitudes of college students toward the perception of the existence of past and present inequality will vary among white male and black female college students. Black

female college students will have a stronger perception of the existence of past and present inequality than white male college students.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE PERTINENT LITERATURE

In an effort to give the reader a sense of continuity in regards to the legislative and theoretical underpinnings of affirmative action policies, this chapter begins with a legislative overview and progresses through a discussion of the the derivation of affirmative action as a concept, the U.S. Constitution and color and sex, and affirmative action during the Reagan administration. It ends with a review of the theoretical literature.

The Derivation of Affirmative Action

In the words of Bass (1981),

The concept of affirmative action derives from the Civil War amendments to the Constitution as refined by decisions of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals which has served as the legal battleground in shaping the nation's civil rights laws. (On Affirmative Action, p. 19)

The concept grew to fruition with the help of a series of statutes and Supreme Court decisions.

Affirmative Action: A legislative Overview

The affirmative action/anti-discrimination debate centers, in general, around legal interpretations of the Constitution and, in particular, around the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

From the very onset of litigation concerning affirmative action/anti-discrimination, the legal interpretations of the Constitution regarding these policies and practices have shifted across two poles. Those at the one end of the continuum tend to hold the view that the Constitution is inherently "color blind," while those at the opposite end see it as inherently "color conscious." Consequently, the attitudes of American citizens toward affirmative action and anti-discrimination are more often the result of their perceptions of higher court interpretations, and shifts in interpretations, of the Constitution and where they align themselves on the issues. For this reason, it is important for the reader to have a fuller understanding of the judicial interpretations and shifts that have occurred along with a brief overview of other pertinent literature.

The U.S. Constitution: Color and Sex

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) was a test of the constitutionality of an 1890 Louisiana law providing for separate railway carriages for whites and blacks. In the majority opinion of the court, "separate but equal" accommodations for blacks constituted a "reasonable" use of state police power. Furthermore, it was said that the Fourteenth Amendment

Could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based on color, or to enforce social...equality, or a co-mingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. (Plessy v. Ferguson, p. 258)

Justice John Marshall Harlan delivered a dissenting opinion in Plessy v. Ferguson (1896),

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth, and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the case of the law there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens...the thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railway coaches will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done. (163 U.S. 537, pp. 263-265)

Opponents of affirmative action policies and practices who refute its constitutionality often do so on the basis of their interpretation of Justice Harlan's contention that "our Constitution is color-blind." Proponents of affirmative action policies and practices often reference an opinion by a Fifth Circuit court judge, John Minor Wisdom, in United States v. Louisiana (1963)¹ when arguing the constitutionality of affirmative action. This case,

Became the basis upon which for the first time the Supreme Court in 1965 validated the concept of a 'reparative injunction.' This expanded the role of the law by providing a means to eliminate the effects of a past wrong rather than to merely end such conduct and prevent its recurrence. (Bass, 1981, p. 19)

Bass further notes,

¹ United States v. Louisiana, 225 F. Supp. 353 (E.D. La. 1963), aff'd, 380 U.S. 145 (1965).

This seed for affirmative action germinated in 1966 in Judge Wisdom's landmark opinion that transformed the law of school desegregation. The broad meaning of Brown v. Board of Education (1954). Judge Wisdom wrote, "It's important meaning, is its revitalization of the national constitutional right the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments created in favor of Negroes...to share the privileges and immunities only white citizens had enjoyed as a class"... The unmalleable fact transcending in importance the harm to individual Negro children is that the separate school system was an integral element in the Southern States' general program to restrict Negroes as a class from participating in the life of the community, the affairs of the State, and the mainstream of American life: Negroes must keep their place. (Bass, 1981, p. 19)

Wisdom advocates "the organized undoing of the effects of past discrimination" to "redress the wrong" (in Bass, 1981, p. 19). With that, Wisdom "went beyond" Justice John Marshall Harlan's notion that "our Constitution is color-blind" (in Bass, 1981, p. 19).

In United States v. Jefferson County School Board (1966)²

Judge Wisdom asserted:

The Constitution is both color blind and color conscious. To avoid conflict with the equal protection clause, a classification that denies benefit, causes harm, or imposes a burden must not be based on race. In that sense, the Constitution is color blind. But the Constitution is color conscious to prevent discrimination being perpetuated and to undo the effects of past discrimination. (p. 876)

As Bass (1981) notes, Wisdom has said:

The criterion is the relevancy of color to a legitimate government purpose. The Fifth Circuit thus defined the constitutional framework from which affirmative action laws and policies developed. (p. 19)

² United States v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 372 F.2d 836 (5th Cir. 1966), aff'd and modified en banc, 380 F.2d 385 (5th Cir.), cert. denied, 389 U.S. 840 (1967).

Judge Wisdom's cases have set precedents for Supreme Court decisions in favor of affirmative action. In Bass' (1981) words:

In two subsequent opinions, Judge Wisdom established basic law in employment discrimination. On June 29, 1979, the Supreme Court in Steelworkers of America v. Weber rejected the reverse discrimination argument and adopted Judge Wisdom's basic rationale to uphold a hiring plan to overcome the effects of past discrimination. (p. 19)

Civil War Amendments and Anti-Discrimination

The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1865. It forbid slavery or involuntary servitude anywhere in the United States or any place subject to its jurisdiction (Plano and Greenberg, 1985). The Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1868. It defined U.S. citizenship and reversed the traditional federal-state relationship by providing for the intervention of the federal government in cases where state governments were accused of violating the Constitutional rights of the individual (Ploski & Williams, 1983). Adopted in 1870, the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution forbids a state to deny a person the right to vote because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude (Plano & Greenberg, 1985).

Executive Orders and Anti-Discrimination

The first in a series of three executive orders on job discrimination was Executive Order 8802, issued by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on June 25, 1941. The Order was intended to eliminate discrimination practices in all government departments and agencies involved in defense production. Moreover, it

established equal employment as a national policy, and the Committee on Fair Employment Practices were created to investigate complaints. Order 8802 had no enforcement power.

Executive Order 10925, signed by President John F. Kennedy on March 6, 1961, created the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The Executive Order required all government contractors to bar employment discrimination by the contractor and required "affirmative action" to insure that workers were employed without regard to race, creed or color. The term "affirmative action" first appeared in a 1935 labor law, but this marked the first time the term was used in a job bias order (Fleming, Gill & Swinton, 1978). The Order also stipulated that a contract could be canceled and the contractor declared ineligible for further contracts for failure to comply.

President Lyndon B. Johnson initiated affirmative action legislation when he signed Executive Order 11246 on September 24, 1965. However, the affirmative action requirement was not made clear until the 1971 Department of Labor's issuance of Revised Order No. 4. Fleming, Gill and Swinton (1978) highlight the significance of the Revised Order which "called for colleges and universities...previously exempt as federal contractors from developing affirmative action plans, to do so" (p.67).

Executive Order 11246 created the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) to monitor both contract compliance discrimination based on sex, and the Labor Department's regulations requiring goals and timetables were put into effect. According to

Cohodas (1985), Executive Order 11246 has resulted in "extensive employment gains for minorities and women" since it became effective (p.2106).

President Richard M. Nixon signed Executive Order 11478 on August 8, 1969. The Executive Order is concerned with equal employment opportunity in the federal government. It gave the responsibility of assuring that the executive branch of the U.S. government leads the way as an equal opportunity employer to the Civil Service Commission. It had no enforcement power.

On December 28, 1978, President Jimmy Carter issued Executive Order 12106. The Executive Order transferred certain functions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission which relate to the enforcement of equal employment opportunity programs to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. It had no enforcement power.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the
Education Amendments of 1972

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 has had widespread impact on virtually all areas of American life and addresses itself to both de facto and de jure segregation and discrimination. The major provisions of this Act are: (a) sixth grade education was established as a presumption of literacy for voting purposes; (b) segregation and discrimination in places of public accommodation (hotels, motels, restaurants, etc.) were outlawed; (c) public facilities (parks, swimming pools, stadiums, etc.) were desegregated; (d) the attorney general was authorized to file desegregation suits; (e) discrimination was outlawed in federally

assisted activities; (f) virtually all discrimination by all employers and unions was outlawed; (g) the attorney general was authorized to intervene proactively in suits in which persons alleged denial of equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment (Fleming, Gill & Swinton, 1978).

Until the Civil Rights Act of 1964 there was little significant fair employment legislation on the federal level. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became U.S. law on July 2. It prohibited racial discrimination in any programs or activities receiving federal funds. Federal departments or agencies could terminate or refuse funds upon finding discrimination (Fleming, Gill & Swinton, 1978). As Plano, Greenberg, Olton and Riggs (1973) show,

A dramatic jump in southern school integration took place when the national government threatened to withhold federal funds from schools failing to comply with desegregation orders. (p. 73)

Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibited racial discrimination in employment by employers of twenty-five or more persons. Title VII was enforced by a Commission with the following purposes: (1) to investigate and to resolve complaints of discrimination; and, (2) to bring suits against those employers found guilty of discrimination (Fleming, Gill & Swinton, 1978).

Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 prohibits sex discrimination in all federally assisted education programs and amends certain portions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Hook and Cohodas (1985) state that Title IX "has been credited with greatly expanding opportunities for women in areas ranging from engineering and medicine to athletics" (p.146).

Affirmative Action and the Reagan Administration

The Reagan Administration has been foremost in its opposition to the goals and timetables of affirmative action. In the words of Ploski and Williams (1983),

The 1980s under the Reagan Administration saw the relaxing of affirmative action controls that had been built up so carefully during the 1960s and 1970s. (p. 543)

On May 7, 1981, Republican congressman Robert S. Walker of Pennsylvania, introduced legislation that would bar the use of numerical quotas to increase the hiring or school enrollment of women and members of minority groups. The bill, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (1972), was intended to amend the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It reflected the views of the Reagan administration on quotas. Ploski and Williams (1983) concur remarking,

Specifically, the bill called for no timetables for integration and less affirmative action requirements on government contracts. Walker said his bill would cut away the paperwork. He noted that the previous requirement had been imposed by President Johnson's executive order, not constitutional amendment (p. 544).

On August 24, 1981 the Reagan administration moved to relax anti-discrimination rules for federal contractors and to ease requirements for remedial action.

The proposals would eliminate the requirement for a review of an employer's hiring patterns before a Federal contract is awarded, for example, and, in the construction trades, would reduce the number of affirmative action steps required of contractors (Shribman, 1981, p.1).

On September 23, 1981, Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, head of the Justice Department's civil rights division, indicated that the Reagan administration was breaking with the policies of the three previous administrations. The Reagan administration, he said,

No longer would insist upon or in any respect support the use of quotas or any other numerical or statistical formulas designed to provide nonvictims of discrimination preferential treatment based on race, sex, national origin or religion. ("New U.S. Policy," 1981)

Reynolds acknowledged that the Reagan administration,

would seek to redress the grievances of individual members of minority groups who could demonstrate that they had personally been the victims of discrimination. ("New U.S. Policy," 1981)

The preferential hiring used by previous administrations to compensate for past discrimination smacks of "meeting discrimination with discrimination," Reynolds concluded ("U.S. Realigning Policy," 1981). Since 1983, the executive branch of the U.S. government had consistently interpreted Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments as covering an entire affected institution, not just particular programs at each school or college (Witt, 1984).

On February 28, in the Grove City College v. Bell (1984) civil rights case, the Supreme Court adopted a narrow view of Title IX. The Court ruled that Title IX applied only to the specific operation or that part of the school actually receiving the aid. Following the decision, the Justice Department, which had sided with Grove City College, interpreted the ruling to encompass other federal laws barring discrimination on account of race, age, or disability.

The Civil Rights Restoration Act (1987) passed the U.S. House of Representatives on March 2, 1988. It had passed the Senate in almost identical form on January 28, 1988. The Act overturned the effects of the Grove City College vs. Bell decision and restored the original intent of Congress. Specifically, it extended the reach of anti-discrimination laws to the entire institution which received any federal dollars.

The Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978) was the first full-dress review of affirmative action in the U.S. Supreme Court. It was also the first of nine affirmative action cases decided by Supreme Court to date. Six affirmative action cases have come to the Supreme Court during President Reagans term of office. Since 1978 the Supreme Court has upheld more affirmative action plans than it has stuck down. In Regents of the University of California v. Bakke (1978) a medical school was the defendant and the issue was a voluntary admissions quota for blacks. There was no judicial finding of prior discrimination. The basis of the challenge was Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court decided 5-4, that the quota was impermissible and that some consideration of race, however, was permissible.

The defendant was a labor union in United Steelworkers of America v. Weber (1979) and a private employer in Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation United States v. Weber (1979). The issue was a voluntary quota for blacks in a training program. There was no judicial finding of prior discrimination. The basis of the challenge was Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court, by

5-2, found the quota permissible.

In the Fullilove v. Klutznick (1980) case, the defendants were the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Secretary of State, the issue was a set-aside of federal funds for minority firm contracts. There was no judicial finding of prior discrimination. The basis of the challenge was the equal protection and due process guarantees of the Constitution. The court decided by a 6-3 vote that when spending federal funds, Congress may use racial quotas to remedy past discrimination.

In Firefighters Local Union #1784 v. Stotts (1984), the defendant was a public employer (a city fire department). The issue was a court order overriding seniority rights in layoffs to preserve the jobs of blacks. There was no judicial finding of prior discrimination, but a consent decree was entered to settle charges of bias. The basis of the challenge was Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The 6-3 decision was that the court order was not permissible. In other words, the Supreme Court ruled that federal courts may not override the "last hired, first fired" rules of valid seniority systems in order to protect recently hired minority employees from layoffs. The decision was a major victory for the Reagan Administration.

The Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education (1986) defendant was a public employer (a school board), the issue a voluntary agreement to modify the seniority rule for layoffs to preserve the jobs of blacks. There was no judicial finding of past discrimination. The basis of the challenge was the equal protection guarantee of the

Constitution. The court decided 5-4 that seniority modification for layoffs was not permissible. Again, the court decided that a voluntary affirmative action plan, for a variety of reasons, denied citizens (i.e. teachers) their right to the equal protection of the laws. At the same time, however, the court made it clear that affirmative action plans giving blacks or white women preferential treatment are not inherently unconstitutional.

A labor union was the defendant in Local #28 of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association v. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (1986). The issue was a court-ordered quota for admitting blacks into the union. There was a judicial finding of past discrimination. The basis of the challenge was Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the due process guarantee of the Constitution. The court decided 5-4 that the quota was permissible.

In Local #93, International Association of Firefighters, AFL-CIO v. Cleveland (1986), the defendant was a public employer (a city fire department). The issue was a consent decree providing for a promotions quota for blacks. There was a judicial finding of prior discrimination. The basis of the challenge was Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. By 6-3, the court decided that the promotions quota was permissible.

A public employer (a state department of safety) was the defendant in United States v. Paradise (1987). The issue was a court ordered promotions quota for blacks. There was a judicial finding of prior discrimination. The basis of the challenge was the

equal protection guarantee of the Constitution. The justices upheld the promotions quota 5-4.

In Johnson v. Santa Clara County Transportation Agency (1987) the defendant was a public employer (a county transportation agency). The issue was a voluntary plan to promote women. There was no judicial finding of prior discrimination. The basis of the challenge was Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. By a 6-3 vote, the justices upheld the voluntary action plan. In sum, the court has decided that it is legal under the 1964 Civil Rights Act for a public employer to voluntarily give women an edge in promotions to rectify their under-representation in its work force.

The last four Supreme Court decisions, which occurred during the Reagan years, taken together, signal a significant rejection of his administration's onslaught on the use of numerical goals and timetables and its support for those who characterize affirmative action as "reverse discrimination." Supreme Court cases like Weber sanctioned race-conscious relief. But, these last four decisions went further than merely such sanction. They signaled that the Supreme Court of the time may have been impatient with the state of minority and female progress in the workplace and in higher education.

The Supreme Court, in essence, has indicated that "race" matters is an important factor in the workplace and in higher education, and that race should be taken into account to either remedy past wrongs or to achieve the goal of integration. The court indicated that, under certain circumstances, it supports the

provision of relief to minority individuals who are not themselves the past victims of discrimination in hiring and education.

As a result of these executive, judicial and legislative shifts, the public reaction to affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices has been mixed, i.e., to some the new laws and new interpretations are anti-white male, others see them as preferential to undeserving categories of individuals based on their sex and race, still others view these new laws and interpretations as long overdue. The following section of this chapter provides some of the important positions taken by those who either oppose or support affirmative action.

Review of the Theoretical Literature

The literature on affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices typically manifests points of view which are consonant with either the "color/sex blind," or the "color/sex conscious" interpretations of the U.S. Constitution. Authors whose works are consonant with the "color/sex blind" interpretation tend to operate at the microscopic level of social analysis, e.g., they place a big premium upon "individual rights." They oppose the use of numerical goals for the recruitment, hiring, training and promotions of nonwhites and white women, and the use of timetables because, to them, they represent forms of forced social change. Additionally they argue that affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices will lead to discrimination against white males and to the exercise of dual standards of screening whites and nonwhites, men

and women. They predict that these policies and practices will result in a loss of self-esteem and severe feelings of self-doubt among white women and nonwhites, that they will reinforce race and sex hostility and stereotypes among whites and males.

On the other hand, authors who advocate ideas that are consonant with the "color/sex conscious" interpretation tend to operate at the macroscopic level of social analysis, e.g., they place greater emphasis upon "human rights" than they do upon "individual rights." They tend to believe that ultimately society is a structural reality and that individuals routinely interpret that reality, both correctly and incorrectly. They believe that unequal societies like the American are marked by inherent conflicts between and among groups with opposing interests. Since human nature and human society are perfectable, universal socioeconomic equality in America is a concrete possibility. However, it will not be attained solely by means of altruism. It will require, instead, a concerted effort on the part of the federal government, one which entails the force of law. To people who share these beliefs, affirmative action goals and timetables are seen as a preferred means of upgrading the life chances of white women and nonwhites in America.

According to Chafe (1977), "Probably no analogy has been used more frequently by women's rights advocates than that of sex and race" (p. 45). Although there are both major strengths and weaknesses to the sex/race analogy, Chafe (1977) argues that, "The strongest parallel between women and blacks, then, has been their

ascribed status and shared relationship of dependency and powerlessness vis-a-vis white men" (p. 50). Chafe (1977) asserts that both blacks and women "have historically been characterized as 'ineffectual,' 'frivolous,' 'naturally passive,' and incapable of performing effectively in the white male world" (p. 48). The best way to view the sex/race analogy, according to Chafe (1977), is to "look at sex and race as examples of how social control is exercised in America, with the primary emphasis on what the analogy tells us about the modes of control emanating from the dominant culture" (p. 58).

One of the forms by which women have traditionally been, and continue to be, kept in "their place" and prevented from challenging patriarchy is through male and female acceptance of an androcentric worldview, a view that takes as a basic assumption the "natural" and even "divinely sanctioned" subordination of women.

The people most likely to have unfavorable attitudes toward affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices for women may well be those who have this androcentric worldview. At any rate, the cornerstone of the androcentric worldview are the myths of male dominance, a myth often propagated by means of traditional studies. In this connection, Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983) contend that:

Although conventional anthropologists have largely ignored women's independence in societies existing in the recent past, a feminist trend is now calling for the reexamination of ethnographic data about women's status. Mina Caulfield (1977), Ruby Rohrlich-Leavitt, Barbara Sykes, and Elizabeth Weatherford (1975), Eleanor Leacock (1981) and Peggy Sanday (1981) and others suggest that women in some societies should now be considered far more independent than they have

been made out to be. They insist that traditional studies of these women are based on culturally biased observations made especially but not exclusively by anthropologists who were men. The studies have projected androcentric biases onto observations of tribal relations and, as a result, they discount and distort the role of women. Women's dignity, independent thinking, rituals, and associations are ignored. In these traditional studies, evidence of egalitarian relations is minimized while the spheres of masculine domination are exaggerated. (p. 94)

For black Americans, the "blame the victim" approach to socioeconomic inequality in American is one of the forms by which they have been, and continue to be, kept in "their place" and prevented from challenging white racism. Advocates of the "color/sex blind" interpretation of the U.S. Constitution tend to take the "blame the victim" approach, in that socioeconomic inequality is characterized by the perception that socioeconomic disparities are not the result of structural discrimination and inequality. Rather, social inequality is seen as the result of the lack of individual motivation and/or social integration. Therefore, the continuing poverty and unequal opportunity of black people in America demands changes in individuals and families and not more equitable life chances. Thinkers who take this approach are likely to conclude that black individuals and families are to blame for socioeconomic disparities between blacks and whites, not an American opportunity system that is blocked largely because of racial discrimination.

Willie (1979) is one of the social scientists who challenges the "blame the victim" approach to socioeconomic inequality between white and black people in America. Willie (1979) sees a "blame the victim" trend in publications, a trend that begins with The Negro Family: A Case for National Action by Daniel Patrick Moynihan (U.S.

Labor Department, 1965). Willie (1979) says, "The Negro Family ...suggested that poverty might be perpetuated among black people in the United States largely because of their alleged unstable family structures" (pp. 8-9). The report did not preclude the strategy of increasing the economic resources of the black family as a way of making it more viable (Willie, 1979). However, in Moynihans' analysis it is clear that the social integration of black family members is the first priority (Willie, 1979).

Inequality by Jencks et al. (1972) is another book that "had to be challenged to prevent permanent harm of public policy based on its conclusion" (in Willie, 1979). Jencks et al. (1972) discuss the effects of integration, segregation, race, etc. upon occupational and income inequality, and clearly infer "that education is not related to success for black people; that if blacks want more money, then more education will not get it" (Willie, p. 10). That Jencks et al. (1972) is flawed is noted by Willie (1979) who states that, "Thus, the ideas discussed in Inequality are inappropriate as the basis of public policy as far as blacks are concerned" because "Jencks committed the error of projecting his findings about inequality upon blacks without including them in his study" (p. 10).

Pinkney (1984) is yet another social scientist who challenges the apologists for American racial injustices. According to Pinkney (1984), Glazer's (1975) Affirmative Discrimination "blames blacks for their economic plight" (p. 9). Pinkney (1984) elaborates,

In his view much of black unemployment stems, not from the scarcity of jobs or employment discrimination, but from "the alternative attractions of welfare" and the refusal of young blacks to accept available jobs because of the attraction of "illicit activities." He is strongly opposed to affirmative action in employment, education, and housing...The black community is seen as a tangle of pathology. (p. 9)

Pinkney (1984) goes on to characterize Glazer as "opposed to compensation for past injustices" and that he maintains that historically in the United States "the group characteristics of an individual were of no concern to government" (p. 9). To Pinkney (1984), this assertion is simply incorrect.

Pinkney (1984) also objects to the Wattenburg and Scammon (1973) findings that,

For the first time in the history of the republic, truly large and growing numbers of American blacks have been moving into the middle class, so that by now these numbers can reasonably be said to add up to a majority of black Americans--a slender majority, but a majority nevertheless. (p. 9)

In his objection, Pinkney (1984) cites data which concur with the findings of Hill (1978) who found that:

There is no evidence of a significant increase in the proportion of middle-income blacks in recent years. If anything, the data suggest that the economic gains of many middle and upper income blacks may have eroded under the twin evils of record-level inflation and recession. Between 1972 and 1975, the proportion of black families with incomes of \$15,000 or more fell from 25 to 23 percent. (p. 27)

In The Black Elite, author Freeman looks at the socioeconomic disparities between white and black workers through rose-colored lens. In Pinkney's (1984) estimate, Freeman (1976),

Emphasizes the progress that some black workers have made without considering the enormous gap that remains between black and white earnings. He characterizes blacks between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age as a 'black elite.' He maintains that class differences are becoming more

important among blacks, most notably the relationship between family background and occupational success. Family background, he maintains, is particularly important in terms of the probability of professional-managerial job attainment by black males. (p. 13)

Pinkney (1984) concludes that the "major problem with Freeman's (1976) analysis and that of others" is,

The measurement process. It is accurate that younger blacks moved into higher-status occupations in the late 1960s. However, by not identifying types of employment sectors and providing comparisons with white males and the structure of the occupational groupings, a misleading interpretation of progress is provided. Specifically, by employing occupational categories utilized by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Freeman shows by comparing entering black workers (twenty-five to thirty-four years of age) with retiring workers (fifty-five to sixty-four years of age) that significant numbers of blacks moved from lower-level to upper-level occupations between 1960 and 1970. (p. 13)

Pinkney (1984) characterizes Wilson's The Declining Significance of Race (1978) as "one of the more recent works to paint an erroneous picture of the plight of Afro-Americans" (p. 13). In this work Wilson (1978) identified three stages of black/white interaction and asserted, "each stage embodies a different form of racial stratification structured by the particular arrangement of both the economy and the polity" (p. 2). Wilson's (1978) first stage corresponds to the period of antebellum slavery and the early post-bellum era and is designated as the "period of plantation economy and racial-caste Uloppression." Stage two end with the New Deal era. It is identified as "industrial expansion, class conflict, and racial oppression." Stage three manifested during the 1960s and 1970s and is the period of progressive transition from racial inequalities to class inequalities. In this final period class supercedes race as the

determining factor in the life chances of blacks (Wilson, 1978, pp. 2-3).

Pinkney (1984) contends that "There are so many faulty (even naive) interpretations in this short book that it is an amazing piece of work coming from a black sociologist" (p. 13). Pinkney (1984) continues, "there is evidence that the economic gap between black and white workers is widening rather than narrowing, and discrimination against blacks, regardless of class, continues to be widespread" (pp. 13-14). In his chastisement of Wilson, Pinkney (1984) wrote that:

As a sociologist Wilson should understand that he is writing about a very small fraction of black people, and that even in this case, it is impossible to separate one aspect of society (employment) from the many institutions that continue to discriminate against people of color. For example, there is every reason to believe that the best -educated and most economically mobile blacks have as much difficulty in obtaining housing in most sections of the country as their low-income fellow blacks. (p. 15)

Boston is still another social scientist who is critical of the "blame the victim" approach to socioeconomic inequality between whites and blacks in America. In Race, Class and Conservatism (1988), Boston responds to Wilson's The Declining Significance of Race (1978) as well as to the investigations of four other authors, i.e. Sowell, (1981) (1984), Gilder (1981), and Williams (1982), who contend that the disadvantaged position of blacks in American society cannot be attributed to racial discrimination. Boston (1988) asserts, "Although Wilson is not a conservative, his hypothesis, along with those of Sowell (1981, 1984) and Williams (1982) constitutes the foundation of neoconservative ideas on race" (p. 1).

Boston (1988) in explaining why Wilson's (1978) hypothesis is both necessary and compelling to conservatives, contends that:

In neoclassical analyses of racial income inequality, one controls for human capital factors, and the unexplained differences in income between blacks and whites constitute discrimination. To conservatives this residual difference reflects not discrimination but the so-called social pathologies, family instability and low-achievement ethos of the underclass. As such, class location rather than racial discrimination accounts for residual income differences. Besides, they claim, everyone should know and agree that in a competitive free market system class status is based solely upon one's individual initiative--or lack thereof. One dare not speak of race as a determining feature of this impersonal process. (p. 3)

Boston's (1988) contention is antithetical to the conservative position in that he argues that "discrimination does not disappear when one controls for human capital and demographic differences between races..."the disproportionate representation of blacks among the lower-classes is itself a product of racial discrimination" (p. 3).

According to Boston (1988), the distinction between Wilson (1978) and the conservatives is that Wilson does admit that "racism still persists in social institutions" but, the "conservatives are not so inclined" (p. 3). The conservative position, according to Boston (1988), is in

Highlighting the convergence between the upper tiers of the black and white class structures, and attributing the absence of convergence among the black lower class to cultural or human capital deficiencies, they dismiss almost completely racial discrimination as a causal factor. (p. 3)

Boston (1988) contends that, "Current studies of race and class, even those not embracing the conservative position, have four fundamental shortcomings," namely:

First, the stratification of classes...is inaccurately defined. Second, the internal structure of each class is completely ignored. Third, a pervasive problem is the rigidity of approaches. Most authors assert that the status of black society is determined by either race or class, without an explanation of the interaction between the two. Finally, they fail to grasp fully the historic role of race in forming and regenerating the disarticulated class configuration of black society (Boston, 1988, pp. 3-4).

Boston (1988) effectively challenges the "blame the victim" approach to socioeconomic inequality in America in these five books by demonstrating that,

- (1) significant changes have occurred within the black class structure since the Civil Rights Movement, but contemporary class analyses have failed to grasp correctly the structure of these changes;
- (2) without an appropriate delineation of classes, one cannot accurately assess the relative importance of class or race on black opportunity; and
- (3) racial conflict has produced a contemporary black class structure that is quite different and unequal to that of whites. The most obvious differences are: the absence of a viable black bourgeoisie, the relatively small size of the new black middle class and the disproportionate number of marginalized black workers. (p. 52)

Willie (1979), Pinkney (1984) and Boston (1988) are among the social scientists who "blame the systemic structure" for American socioeconomic inequality between whites and blacks, i.e. they locate the foundations of socioeconomic inequality in the legal and bureaucratic structures.

Despite the gains of the anti-sexist and anti-racist movements, enormous quantitative and qualitative disparities exist in America between indicators of the respective socioeconomic statuses of whites and blacks and of men and women. These disparities are primarily the result of racism and sexism.

With the achievement of formal political equality, white women and

blacks have progressed from the stage of demanding "civil rights" to the stage of demanding "economic rights." They understand that, in American society, the struggle for women's equality cannot be separated from the struggle for economic and racial equality because each is a facet of the larger struggle for social justice. All are parts of a movement to end all inequities and oppression. Social justice cannot be achieved for some people at the expense of social justice for other people. No one is truly free until all are free.

In this chapter interpretations of the U.S. Constitution were dichotomized into the "color/sex blind" and the "color/sex conscious" viewpoints. The theoretical literature on affirmative action was similarly categorized. One point of view of socioeconomic inequality in America, the "blame the victim," falls under the "color/sex blind" interpretation. The other point of view, the "blame the systemic structure," falls under the "color/sex conscious" interpretation. It was noted that American patriarchy is rationalized by myths of male dominance. Chapter three examines the research design used in this study.

CHAPTER III

POPULATION, SAMPLE AND INSTRUMENTATION

Population and Sample

The population of this study consisted of full-time college undergraduates at a midwestern University during the academic year 1984-1985. During the Fall semester (1984) the total on-campus head count was 18,237 students. At that time, there were also 1,996 students enrolled in continuing education programs off campus. In the Fall of 1984 there were 12,382 full-time undergraduates enrolled. There were 10,895 white and black full-time undergraduates and, of this number, there were 321 black male students and 421 black female students, or 2.9% and 3.9%, respectively. By comparison, there were 5,297 full-time white male undergraduates and 4,856 full-time white female undergraduates, or 49% and 44.6%, respectively. The sample for this study was taken from this population. Table 3 shows the number of white and black undergraduates by class status enrolled full-time in Fall, 1984.

The University is located in an industrialized urban area of approximately 80,000 persons, and it draws its students primarily from the southwestern and southeastern sections of the state. The University recruits most of its black student population from the Metro Detroit area.

Table 3

White and Black Full-Time Undergraduates By Class Status,
Fall, 1984

	WHITE		BLACK	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
FRESHMEN	1328 (25%)	1351 (28%)	140 (43%)	175 (42%)
SOPHOMORE	1240 (23%)	1170 (24%)	69 (22%)	87 (21%)
JUNIOR	1363 (26%)	1168 (24%)	69 (22%)	86 (20%)
SENIOR	1366 (26%)	1167 (24%)	43 (13%)	73 (17%)
	5297 (100%)	4856 (100%)	321 (100%)	421 (100%)
	48.6%	44.6%	2.9%	3.9% (100%)

Race and sex were important demographic variables in the selection of the sample for this study, especially since a major goal was to compare the attitudes of black and white as well as male and female students. Consequently, a purposive sample of 479 students was used in order to obtain a specific proportion of cases from each academic class level. In the Fall semester, 1984, black students represented approximately 6.8% of the full-time student body population. However, in order to insure a sufficient number of black students, efforts were made to include a larger proportion of black students than their actual representation in the student body. The oversample of black students was achieved only with special effort, i.e. black students in Black Americana Studies classes were surveyed.

With regards to other major demographic characteristics, the sampling strategy was to obtain a group representative of the total University population. Table 4 reveals the characteristics of the sample.

Data Collection

Collection of the data involved the administration of the questionnaire to college students from September, 1984 through April, 1985. The questionnaire was administered to all student volunteers present during the regular class periods. Students were informed of the nature of the study and their cooperation was solicited. Students were told that the questionnaire was not mandatory but only a negligible number of students refused to participate.

The questionnaire was primarily administered to students enrolled in General Education required classes because these classes render the most varied distribution of students throughout the colleges of the University.

According to Table 4, there are 378 white students of which 54% are male and 46% are female; 101 black students, of which 51.5% are male and 48.5% are female. The same table indicates that the sample includes 223 female students, 174 white females and 49 black females. White females comprise 78%, and black females comprise

Table 4
White and Black Full-Time Undergraduate Respondents
by Class Status, Fall, 1984

	WHITE		BLACK		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
FRESHMEN	36 (17.6%)	42 (24.1%)	14 (26.9%)	23 (46.9%)	
SOPHOMORE	46 (22.5%)	41 (23.6%)	9 (17.3%)	8 (16.3%)	
JUNIOR	64 (31.4%)	50 (28.7%)	15 (28.8%)	9 (18.4%)	
SENIOR	58 (28.4%)	41 (23.6%)	14 (26.9%)	9 (18.4%)	
	204 (100.0%)	174 (100.0%)	52 (100.0%)	49 (100.0%)	
	42.6%	36.3%	10.9%	10.2%	100%

22.0%, of the female sample. The sample includes 256 male students, 204 white males and 52 black males. White males comprise 79.7%, and black males comprise 20.3%, of the male sample.

Instrumentation

Questionnaire

The questionnaire consisted of ninety-nine items. The first eleven items elicited demographic data, followed by eighty-eight items which pertained to attitudes regarding antidiscrimination public policies. The attitudes portion of the questionnaire was divided into five sections. Sections one through four were concerned with attitudes about affirmative action programs in general and in education, business, and government. Section five asked respondents questions about their perceptions regarding equality.

Independent Variables

The theoretical perspectives developed in this paper suggest that two variables, race and sex, are important in predicting the attitudes of college students toward antidiscrimination public policies favoring blacks and the attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females. A principle research objective was to determine whether or not these variables are significant as predictors.

The instrument Tong (1981) used in her dissertation, College Students' Attitudes Toward Affirmative Action Policies for Non-whites and Women, offered an opportunity to compare the attitudes of blacks and white women toward antidiscrimination practices and affirmative action policies designed for their respective groups. Parenthetically, this study was initially intended to be a replication of the Tong (1981) study. Tong (1981) utilized 1974 data. This study used the Tong (1981) instrument to collect 1984 data. The initial intention was to compare the findings of the two studies "ten years later." However, Tong (1981) offered an incomplete discussion of her statistical techniques and she was not available to contact for clarification. Therefore, a decision was made to abandon the replication goal and to test a set of separate, but related, hypotheses in the present study.

Conceptual Variables

This study concerns four conceptual variables: (1) public policies which discriminate against females, (2) perceived personal

threat, (3) dominant groups which received special treatment, and (4) perception of the existence of past and present inequality.

Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females Variable

White women and blacks will be steadfast in their opposition to institutionalized female discrimination. The questionnaire included five items (22, 34, 55, 59, 63) which were constructed to measure respondents' attitudes toward various forms of discrimination public policies directed at females.

22. In considering admission to college, some colleges and universities require female applicants to have a higher grade point average than male applicants. These universities pursue this policy in order to maintain an equal ratio of male to female enrollment. How do you feel about this policy?

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

34. In considering applicants for financial aid, some universities limit the number of female applicants to a given percentage. This policy is pursued in order that both sexes are equally benefited. How do you feel about this policy?

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

55. Although qualified females have applied, a business prefers to hire a man for a certain position. How do you feel about this practice?

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

59. Some businesses and industries limit the number of female employees in order to maintain a high ratio of male employees to female employees. What do you think of this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
63. If two equally qualified employees are up for promotion, some companies prefer to award it to the male employee. So you approve or disapprove of this practice?
- 1) strongly approve
 - 2) approve
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disapprove
 - 5) strongly disapprove

For purposes of data analysis, the response categories for the "public policies which discriminate against females" conceptual variable were collapsed into "favorable," "undecided," and "unfavorable."

Perceived Personal Threat Variable

White males make up the sex/race category most likely to feel personally threatened by, and thus oppose, antidiscrimination public policies. Through a process of self-defined self interest, white and black females might feel threatened by, and thus oppose, antidiscrimination public policies whose hypothetical main beneficiaries are black males. Black males, likewise, might feel threatened by, and thus oppose antidiscrimination public policies designed to protect females. In this respect, threat can be seen as a liability to minority identity/true consciousness. Items 76 and 77, respectively, were included in the questionnaire to measure perceived personal threat in regards to work and education.

76. Do you feel that a policy of preferring racial minorities and/or women which some institutions have adopted will hurt your chances for the job which you eventually hope to obtain?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
77. Do you feel that a policy of preferring racial minorities and/or women which some institutions have adopted will hurt your chances of getting into the graduate college of your choice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

For purposes of data analysis, again, the response categories for the "perceived personal threat" conceptual variable were collapsed. This time they were collapsed into "perception of threat," "undecided," and "perception of no threat."

Dominant Groups Which Received Special Treatment Variable

If one is a white female or black who is aware that compensatory policies have historically benefited specific groups, then one is likely to be more favorable towards compensatory policies for nonwhites and/or women. Items 79 and 81, respectively, in the questionnaire focused upon one's awareness of compensatory policies designed to benefit whites and men.

In your opinion which of the following groups, if any, have received special treatment comparable to what nonwhites are receiving today in the United States?

79. Whites
81. Men

The response categories used on the "dominant groups which receive special treatment" conceptual variable were "acknowledged,"

"undecided," and "not acknowledged."

Perception of the Existence of Past and Present
Inequality Variable

Those white female and black individuals who perceive the United States, both in the past and the present, to be a racist and sexist society will be more inclined to favor antidiscrimination public policies in order to overcome inequality for nonwhites and women. Items 90 to 99 on the questionnaire were constructed to measure the perception of the existence of past and present inequality.

The following are criticisms that have been made in recent years about aspects of American society. For each statement, could you indicate whether you strongly agree, disagree, strongly disagree or are undecided.

1) strongly agree 2) agree 3) undecided 4) disagree 5) strongly disagree

90. Economic well-being in this country is unjustly and unfairly distributed.
91. Basically we are a racist nation.
92. The effort to end discrimination against nonwhites has resulted in discrimination against whites.
93. This country has failed to eliminate discrimination against its nonwhite citizens.
94. Those nonwhites who don't make it in American society have no one to blame but themselves.
95. Historically, the cruel treatment of black people in this country has been exaggerated.
96. Nonwhites have always suffered oppression in this country.
97. Most women don't want equal opportunity.
98. Men are just naturally superior to women.

99. Which of the following views of American society and American life best reflects your own feelings (single answer).
- (1) the American way of life is superior to that of any other country.
 - (2) there are serious flaws in our society today but the system is flexible enough to solve them.
 - (3) the American system is not flexible enough, radical change is needed.
 - (4) the whole system ought to be replaced by an entirely new one; the existing structures are too rotten for repair.

The response categories for the "existence of past and present inequality" conceptual variable were collapsed, for purposes of data analysis, into "perception of inequality," "undecided," and "no perception of inequality." Since the "undecided" category was the only neutral response available in the questionnaire, the new response categories on these four conceptual variables were treated as "low," "medium," and "high" toward particular points of view.

Dependent Variables

The research strategy utilized to assess college students' attitudes toward antidiscrimination public policies and affirmative action practices for women and minorities was to assess the expression of their attitudes toward the conceptual variables. The attitudes of college students in this regard depend upon, or are determined by, their race and sex.

Tables 5 and 6 contain the sample distribution for race and sex.

Table 5

Race of Respondent		
	Number	Percent
Black	101	21.1
White	378	79.0
TOTAL	479	100.0

Table 6

Sex of Respondent		
	Number	Percent
Female	234	46.6
Male	256	53.4
TOTAL	479	100.0

Data Analysis Procedures

The University's VAX computer was utilized to analyze the data. The Computer Center at the University had available the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences Extended (SPSSX), a nationally recognized system of computer programs for analyzing social science data. Most of the items in the questionnaire had Likert-type response categories. The SPSSX crosstabs procedure was used to analyze the four conceptual variables across race and sex. The chi-square statistic was used in a number of tests of significance.

In addition to blacks, the nonwhite sample included Hispanic, Asian, and Native American respondents as well as those in the "other" category. It turned out, however, that there were too few students in the latter categories for any meaningful comparisons. Consequently, SPSSX was used to compute the variable "race" and recode it into "white" and "black." This effectively omitted the other nonwhite categories.

The respective items comprising the four conceptual variables were summed and computed into FEMDIS (public policies which discriminate against females), PERTHR (perceived personal threat), DGWRST (dominant groups which received special treatment), and PPPI (perception of the existence of past and present inequality). These computed variables were then recoded into scaled variables (NFEMDIS, NPERTHR, NDGWRST AND NPPPI).

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Findings

Chapter III provided a discussion of the population and sample used in this study. This chapter will present the statistical findings as they relate to the twenty-four hypotheses. To help the reader, data pertinent to each of the four conceptual variables will be presented in a separate section. Chapter V will discuss the interpretations and implications of the findings in this chapter.

Six hypotheses were formulated and tested with respect to college students' attitudes toward those public policies which discriminate against females. Specifically they are:

Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females

Hypothesis 1. Attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females will vary among male college students by race. White male college students will be more favorable toward these policies than black male college students.

Table 7 shows that, although the majority of both white and black male college students were unfavorable toward public policies which discriminate against females, they are significantly different at the 0.05 level in their attitudes. This finding is supportive of hypothesis 1.

Table 7

College Students' Attitudes Toward Public Policies Which
Discriminate Against Females by Race Controlling for Sex

	Male		
	White	Black	
Favorable	4.6% (9)		
Undecided	12.8% (25)	25.5% (12)	
Unfavorable	82.7% (162)	74.5% (35)	
	100.0 (196)	100.0 (47)	(243)
Chi-Square	Significance		
6.53584	0.0381		

Hypothesis 2. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward public policies which discriminate against females. They will be unfavorable toward these policies.

The fact that the data in Table 8 are not significant at the 0.05 level is supportive of hypothesis 2. The majority of both the white and black female college students' attitudes were unfavorable toward public policies which discriminate against females.

Table 8

College Students' Attitudes Toward Public Policies Which
Discriminate Against Females by Race Controlling for Sex

	Female		
	White	Black	
Favorable	.6% (1)		
Undecided	3.5% (6)	8.7% (4)	
Unfavorable	96.0% (166)	91.3% (42)	
	100.0 (173)	100.0 (46)	(219)
Chi-Square	2.52322	Significance 0.2832	

Hypothesis 3. Attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females will vary among white college students by sex. White male college students will be more favorable toward these policies than white female college students.

Table 9 shows a significant difference between white male and white female college students at the 0.05 level. This finding is supportive of hypothesis 3. While the majority of both the white male and the white female college students responded unfavorably, it is interesting to note that only a negligible percentage of the white females, compared to nearly 13% of the white males, were undecided. In the same connection, nearly 5% of the white males viewed favorably those public policies which discriminate against

females, less than 1% of the females held such an attitude.

Table 9

College Students' Attitudes Toward Public Policies Which
Discriminate Against Females by Sex Controlling for Race

White			
	Male	Female	
Favorable	4.6% (9)	.6% (1)	
Undecided	12.8% (25)	3.5% (6)	
Unfavorable	82.7% (162)	96.0% (166)	
	100.0 (196)	100.0 (173)	(369)
Chi-Square	Significance		
16.72532	0.0002		

Hypothesis 4. Black male and female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward public policies which discriminate against females. They will be unfavorable toward these policies.

As is clear in Table 10, the black male and female college students are not significantly different at the 0.05 level in their attitudes toward these policies. This finding is supportive of hypothesis 4. None of the black college students expressed favorable attitudes toward these policies; the majority responded unfavorably.

Table 10

College Students' Attitudes Toward Public Policies Which
Discriminate Against Females by Sex Controlling For Race

	Black	
	Male	Female
Undecided	25.5% (12)	8.7% (4)
Unfavorable	74.5% (35)	91.3% (42)
	100.0 (47)	100.0 (46)
		(93)
Chi-Square 3.51969	Significance 0.0606	Corrected Chi-Square

Hypothesis 5. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward public policies which discriminate against females. They will be unfavorable toward these policies.

Table 11 shows there is a significant difference at the 0.05 level between the attitudes of black male and white female college students concerning "public policies which discriminate against females." This finding is not supportive of hypothesis 5. Although the majority of both the black male and the white female respondents had unfavorable attitudes toward these policies, black males were less likely than white females to be opposed to them.

Table 11

Black Male and White Female College Students' Attitudes
Toward Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females

	BLACK MALE	WHITE FEMALE	
Favorable		.6%	
		(1)	
Undecided	25.5%	3.5%	
	(12)	(6)	
Unfavorable	74.5%	96.0%	
	(35)	(166)	
	100.0	100.0	
	(47)	(173)	(220)
Chi-Square	Significance		
24.129	0.0000		

Hypothesis 6. Attitudes of college students toward public policies which discriminate against females will vary among white male and black female college students. White male college students will be more favorable toward these policies than black female college students.

According to Table 12, there is not a significant difference at the 0.05 level between the attitudes of white male and black female college students concerning "public policies which discriminate against females." This finding is not supportive of hypothesis 6. The majority of both the white male and the black female respondents had unfavorable attitudes toward these policies.

Table 12

White Male and Black Female College Students' Attitudes
Toward Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females

	WHITE MALE	BLACK FEMALE	
Favorable	4.6% (9)		
Undecided	12.8% (25)	8.7% (4)	
Unfavorable	82.7% (162)	91.3% (42)	
	100.0 (196)	100.0 (46)	(242)
Chi-Square	Significance		
2.955	0.2282		

Hypotheses 1 through 6 concerned the attitudes of college students toward "public policies which discriminate against females." Four of the hypotheses were supported. Two of the hypotheses were not supported.

Perceived Personal Threat

Hypothesis 7. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black male college students.

In Table 13 we see there is a significant difference at the 0.05 level in the attitudes of white and black male college students on the variable of "perceived personal threat." Hypothesis 7 is therefore supported. A greater percentage of white male than black male college students perceived affirmative action policies

and anti-discrimination practices as posing a threat. More than twice the percentage of black male than white male respondents did not perceive these policies and practices as threat posing. A plurality of the black male respondents who were decided had a perception of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as posing no threat. The majority of the white male respondents were undecided.

Table 13

College Students' Perceptions of the Personal Threat Potential of Affirmative Action Policies by Race Controlling for Sex

	Male	
	White	Black
Perception of Threat	28.5% (47)	19.6% (9)
Undecided	52.7% (87)	34.8% (16)
Perception of No Threat	18.8% (31)	45.7% (21)
	100.0 (165)	100.0 (46)
		(211)
Chi-Square	Significance	
13.98510	0.0009	

Hypothesis 8. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. They will have a perception of no threat.

Table 14 shows there is no significant difference between the attitudes of white and black female college students at the 0.05

level. This finding is supportive of hypothesis 8. A greater percentage of black than white female college students perceived affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as posing a threat. A greater percentage of white than black female college students perceived these policies and practices as posing no threat.

Table 14

College Students' Perceptions of the Personal Threat Potential of
Affirmative Action Policies by Race Controlling for Sex

	Female	
	White	Black
Perception of Threat	9.0% (13)	15.2% (7)
Undecided	52.4% (76)	54.3% (25)
Perception of No Threat	38.6% (56)	30.4% (14)
	100.0 (145)	100.0 (46)
		(191)
Chi-Square Significance		
	1.96672	0.3741

Hypothesis 9. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will white female college students. White males are likely to have a perception of threat.

Table 15 displays a significant difference in the attitudes of white male and white female college students toward "perceived personal threat." Hypothesis 9 is therefore supported. The majority

of both the white male and white female college students were undecided. Of the white male respondents who were decided, a plurality expressed a perception of threat. More than three times the percentage of white male than white female respondents perceived these policies and practices as posing a threat. Of the white female respondents who were decided, a plurality expressed a perception of no threat. Slightly more than twice the percentage of white female than white male college students perceived these policies and practices as posing no threat.

Table 15

College Students' Perceptions of the Personal Threat Potential of
Affirmative Action Policies by Sex Controlling for Race

	White	
	Male	Female
Perception of Threat	28.5% (47)	9.0% (13)
Undecided	52.7% (87)	52.4% (76)
Perception of No Threat	18.8% (31)	38.6% (56)
	100.0% (165)	100.0% (145)
		(310)
Chi-Square	Significance	
26.01085	0.0000	

Hypothesis 10. Black male and female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. They are likely to have a perception of no

threat.

Table 16 shows that black male and female college students are not significantly different at the 0.05 level in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. Hypothesis 10 is therefore supported.

Table 16

College Students' Perceptions of the Personal Threat Potential of
Affirmative Action Policies by Sex Controlling for Race

	Black	
	Male	Female
Perception of Threat	19.6% (9)	15.2% (7)
Undecided	34.8% (16)	54.3% (25)
Perception of No Threat	45.7% (21)	30.4% (14)
	100.0 (46)	100.0 (46)
		(92)
Chi-Square 3.62561	Significance 0.1632	

Hypothesis 11. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. They are likely to have a perception of no threat.

We find a significant difference at the 0.05 level in the perceptions of black male and white female college students on the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-

discrimination practices. This finding is not supportive of hypothesis 11. The majority of the white female college students were undecided. Of the white female and black male respondents who were decided, a plurality had a perception of no threat.

Table 17

Black Male and White Female College Student Perceptions of the
Personal Threat Potential of Affirmative Action Policies

	BLACK MALE	WHITE FEMALE	
Perception of Threat	19.6% (9)	9.0% (13)	
Undecided	34.8% (16)	52.4% (76)	
Perception of No Threat	45.7% (21)	38.6% (56)	
	100.0 (46)	100.0 (145)	(191)
Chi-Square	Significance		
6.08836	0.0476		

Hypothesis 12. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black female college students. They will have a perception of threat.

We see in Table 18 that white male and black female college students are not significantly different at the 0.05 level toward the perception of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as a personal threat. Hypothesis 12 is therefore not supported.

Table 18

White Male and Black Female College Student Perceptions of the
Personal Threat Potential of Affirmative Action Policies

	White Male	Black Female	
Perception of Threat	28.5% (47)	15.2% (7)	
Undecided	52.7% (87)	54.3% (25)	
Perception of No Threat	18.8% (31)	30.4% (14)	
	100.0 (165)	100.0 (46)	(211)
Chi-Square 4.77990	Significance 0.0916		

Hypotheses 7 through 12 concerned college student perceptions of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. Four of the hypotheses were supported. Two of the hypotheses were not supported.

Dominant Groups Which Received Special Treatment

Hypothesis 13. Attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment will vary among male college students by race. Black male college students will acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment more strongly than will white male college students.

In Table 19 it is evident that the black male college students more strongly acknowledged the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment than did the white male college students. The attitudes of white and black male college students on this conceptual variable are significantly different. This finding is supportive of hypothesis 13. The majority of the black male respondents were undecided. Of the black male respondents who were decided, a plurality acknowledged in their responding. A greater percentage of black than white male respondents acknowledged the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment. A plurality of the white male college students were undecided. Of the white male respondents who were decided, a plurality failed to acknowledge in their responding. A greater percentage of white than black male college students failed to acknowledge in their responding the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Table 19

College Students' Attitudes Toward Dominant Groups Which Received
Special Treatment by Race Controlling for Sex

	Male	
	White	Black
Acknowledged	25.0% (49)	40.0% (18)
Undecided	42.9% (84)	51.1% (23)
Not Acknowledged	32.1% (63)	8.9% (4)
	100.0 (196)	100.0 (45)
		(241)
Chi-Square 10.64201	Significance 0.0049	

Hypothesis 14. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward dominant groups which received special treatment. They will strongly acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Table 20 shows there is no significant difference at the 0.05 level between white and black female college students' acknowledgement of dominant groups which received special treatment. Hypothesis 14 is therefore supported.

Table 20

College Students' Attitudes Toward Dominant Groups Which Received
Special Treatment by Race Controlling for Sex

	Female	
	White	Black
Acknowledged	25.2% (41)	38.8% (19)
Undecided	47.2% (77)	44.9% (22)
Not Acknowledged	27.6% (45)	16.3% (8)
	100.0 (163)	100.0 (49)
		(212)
Chi-Square	Significance	
4.43211	0.1090	

Hypothesis 15. Attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment will vary among white college students by sex. White female college students will acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment more strongly than will white male college students.

It is clear in Table 21 that the acknowledgement of dominant groups which received special treatment by white female college students is not significantly different at the 0.05 level from that of white male college students. Hypothesis 15 is therefore not supported.

Table 21

College Students' Attitudes Toward Dominant Groups Which Received
Special Treatment by Sex Controlling for Race

White			
	Male	Female	
Acknowledged	25.0% (49)	25.2% (41)	
Undecided	42.9% (84)	47.2% (77)	
Not Acknowledged	32.1% (63)	27.6% (45)	
	100.0 (196)	100.0 (163)	(359)
Chi-Square	Significance		
0.99040	0.6094		

Hypothesis 16. Male and female black college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward dominant groups which received special treatment. They will strongly acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Table 22 shows that the black female college students' acknowledgements of "dominant groups which received special treatment" is, likewise, not significantly different from those of the black male college students. Hypothesis 16 is therefore supported.

Table 22

College Students' Attitudes Toward Dominant Groups Which Received
Special Treatment by Sex Controlling for Race

Black		
	Male	Female
Acknowledged	40.0% (18)	38.8% (19)
Undecided	51.1% (23)	44.9% (22)
Not Acknowledged	8.9% (4)	16.3% (8)
	100.0 (45)	100.0 (49)
		(94)
Chi-Square	Significance	
1.21457	0.5448	

Hypothesis 17. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes toward dominant groups which received special treatment. They will strongly acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment.

Table 23 shows there is a significant difference at the 0.05 level between black male and white female college students' acknowledgements of "dominant groups which received special treatment." This finding is not supportive of hypothesis 17. The majority of the black male college students were undecided. Of the black male respondents who were decided, a plurality acknowledged in their responding. A greater percentage of black male than white female respondents acknowledged in their responding. A plurality of

white female respondents were undecided. Of the white female respondents who were decided, a slight plurality failed to acknowledge in their responding. A greater percentage of white female than black male college students failed to acknowledge "dominant groups which received special treatment" in their responding.

Table 23

Attitudes of Black Male and White Female College Students Toward Dominant Groups Which Received Special Treatment

	Black Male	White Female	
Acknowledged	40.0% (18)	25.2% (41)	
Undecided	51.1% (23)	47.2% (77)	
Not Acknowledged	8.9% (4)	27.6% (45)	
	100.0 (45)	100.0 (163)	(208)
Chi-Square 8.09529	Significance 0.0175		

Hypothesis 18. Attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment will vary among white male and black female college students. Black female college students will acknowledge the existence of dominant groups which received special treatment more strongly than will white male college students.

As Table 24 shows, black female college students' acknowledgement of the existence of dominant groups which received

special treatment is significantly stronger than that of white male college students. This finding is significant at the 0.05 level and supportive of hypothesis 18. The percentages of white male and

Table 24

Attitudes of White Male and Black Female College Students Toward Dominant Groups Which Received Special Treatment

	White Male	Black Female	
Acknowledged	25.0 (49)	38.8 (19)	
Undecided	42.9 (84)	44.9 (22)	
Not Acknowledged	32.1 (63)	16.3 (8)	
	100.0 (196)	100.0 (49)	(245)
Chi-Square	Significance		
6.10169	0.0473		

black female college students who were undecided was nearly equivalent. A plurality of both the white male and black female college students were undecided. Of the white male respondents who were decided, a plurality failed to acknowledge in their responding. Of the black female respondents who were decided, a plurality acknowledged in their responding. The percentage of white male college students who failed to acknowledge in their responding was nearly twice as large as the comparable percentage of their black female counterparts.

Hypotheses 13 through 18 concerned the attitudes of college students toward dominant groups which received special treatment.

Four of the hypotheses were supported. Two of the hypotheses were not supported.

Perception of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality

Hypothesis 19. College students' perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality will vary among male college students by race. Black male college students will have a stronger perception of the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students.

Table 25 displays no significant difference at the 0.05 level between the perceptions of white and black male college students toward the existence of past and present inequality. This finding is not supportive of hypothesis 19.

Table 25

College Students' Perceptions of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality by Race Controlling for Sex

	Male	
	White	Black
Perception of Inequality	6.2% (12)	14.6% (7)
Undecided	90.2% (175)	83.3% (40)
No Perception of Inequality	3.6% (7)	2.1% (1)
	100.0 (194)	100.0 (48)
		(242)
Chi-Square	Significance	
3.93160	0.1400	

Hypothesis 20. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. They will have a strong perception of its past and present existence.

It is clear in Table 26 that a significant difference at the 0.05 level does not exist between white and black female college students' "perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality." This finding is supportive of hypothesis 20.

Table 26

College Students' Perceptions of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality by Race Controlling for Sex

	Female	
	White	Black
Perception of Inequality	1.8% (3)	2.3% (1)
Undecided	96.3% (157)	90.9% (40)
No Perception of Inequality	1.8% (3)	6.8% (3)
	100.0 (163)	100.0 (44)
		(207)
Chi-Square	Significance	
3.10177	0.2121	

Hypothesis 21. The perceptions of college students of the existence of past and present inequality will vary among white college students by sex. White female college students will have a

stronger perception of the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students.

Table 27 shows that white male and white female college students' perceptions of the "existence of past and present inequality" are not significantly different at the 0.05 level. Hypothesis 21 is therefore not supported.

Table 27

College Students' Perceptions of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality by Sex Controlling for Race

	White	
	Male	Female
Perception of Inequality	6.2% (12)	1.8% (3)
Undecided	90.2% (175)	96.3% (157)
No Perception of Inequality	3.6% (7)	1.8% (3)
	100.0 (194)	100.0 (163)
		(357)
Chi-Square	Significance	
5.32417	0.0698	

Hypothesis 22. Male and female black college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. They will have a strong perception of its past and present existence.

We see in Table 28 that the black male and black female college students' perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality are, likewise, not significantly different at the 0.05

level. Hypothesis 22 is therefore supported.

Table 28

College Students' Perceptions of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality by Sex Controlling for Race

	Black		
	Male	Female	
Perception of Inequality	14.6% (7)	2.3% (1)	
Undecided	83.3% (40)	90.9% (40)	
No Perception of Inequality	2.1% (1)	6.8% (3)	
	100.0 (48)	100.0 (44)	(92)
Chi-Square Significance			
	5.33617	0.0694	

Hypothesis 23. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. They will have a strong perception of its past and present existence.

In Table 29 it is evident that the distribution of cases is insufficient for a calculation of the chisquare.

Table 29

Black Male and White Female College Students' Perceptions
of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality

	Black Male	White Female	
Perception of Inequality	14.6% (7)	1.8% (3)	
Undecided	83.3% (40)	96.3% (157)	
No Perception of Inequality	2.1% (1)	1.8% (3)	
	100.0 (48)	100.0 (163)	(211)

Hypothesis 24. The perceptions of college students of the existence of past and present inequality will vary among white male and black female college students. Black female college students will have a stronger perception of the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students.

Table 30 shows that there is no significant difference at the 0.05 level between white male and black female college students' perceptions of the existence of past and present inequality. This finding is not supportive of hypothesis 24.

Table 30

White Male and Black Female College Students' Perceptions of the
Existence of Past and Present Inequality

	White Male	Black Female	
Perception of Inequality	6.2% (12)	2.3% (1)	
Undecided	90.2% (175)	90.9% (40)	
No Perception of Inequality	3.6% (7)	6.8% (3)	
	100.0 (194)	100.0 (44)	(238)
Chi-Square 1.887	Significance 0.3893		

Hypotheses 19 through 24 concerned the perceptions of college students of the existence of past and present inequality. Two of the hypotheses were supported. Three of the hypotheses were not supported. One of the hypotheses could not be tested.

Chapter Summation

Twenty-three tests of significance were conducted across twenty-three hypotheses. Of this number, fourteen hypotheses were supported. Nine hypotheses were not supported. Chapter V will present a summary of the findings along with their implications, followed by a conclusion statement.

CHAPTER V

SUMMATION, MAJOR FINDINGS, INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Summation

Socioeconomic indicators show that the representation of white males in select areas of higher education and employment exceeds their proportional representation in the total American population. The same indicators, however, show that the white females and nonwhites have not reached parity in the same areas as their white male counterparts. Since affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices have been proposed as appropriate initiatives for the remediation of this situation, this study was conducted to assess the attitudes of a group of undergraduate students toward those policies and practices.

Chapter I discussed the relative status of white women and blacks in several areas of higher education and employment. Chapter II provided a review of the pertinent literature which dealt with the legal aspects of affirmative action as well as the controversial nature of this issue. Chapters III and IV discussed, respectively, the research design used in the collection of the data for this study and the findings. The interpretations and implications of the major findings are provided in Chapter V, along with some recommendations for the further study of this area.

Major Findings and Interpretations

In this section, the four major conceptual variables, and related hypotheses, will be discussed. Specifically, the first conceptual variable--"Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females"--was employed in this study to ascertain the extent to which college students have favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward anti-female public policies and practices. The second conceptual variable--"Perceived Personal Threat"--was included to ferret out the extent to which college students viewed affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as a personal threat. "Dominant Groups Which Receive Special Treatment" was included as the third conceptual variable for the purpose of ascertaining the extent to which college students perceived of white males as the recipients of special treatment in the United States. And, finally, the fourth conceptual variable--"Perception of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality"--was examined to find out the extent to which the respondents in the study viewed certain categories of American citizens as heirs to a legacy of racism and sexism. Several related hypotheses were formulated to test each of the above dimensions. The following sections provide a summary of the important findings, coupled with an attempt to explain or interpret them.

First Conceptual Variable: Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females

Six hypotheses were formulated to test the attitudes of college students regarding those public policies which were biased

or discriminated against females in our society. The following provides a summary of the important findings for each of the hypotheses:

1. White male college students will be more favorable toward those public policies which discriminate against females than will black male college students. Results: Supported.

2. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes in that they will be unfavorable toward those public policies which discriminate against females. Results: Supported.

3. White male college students will be more favorable toward those policies which discriminate against females than white female college students. Results: Supported.

4. Black male and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes in that they will be unfavorable toward those policies which discriminate against females. Results: Supported.

5. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes in that they will be unfavorable toward those policies which discriminate against females. Results: Not supported.

6. White male college students will be more favorable toward policies which discriminate against females than black female college students. Results: Not Supported.

In three of the six hypotheses (1, 3 and 6), it was stated that the white male college students would be more favorable toward public policies which discriminate against females than (A) black male college students, (B) white female college students and (C) black female college students. Support for such a contention was found in all cases except (C), black female college students. The students, white and black, male and female, alike, overwhelmingly expressed unfavorable attitudes toward those policies and practices. These unfavorable attitudes could very well reflect the erosion of the traditionally held notion that the male is the sole or primary breadwinner in the family. Today, the number of female-head-of-household families is growing. There are more than 10 million women heading families on their own today (Rix, 1988). Preeminent among the problems of this group is low income. As Rix (1988) points out,

Many of these women--whose median family income is less than half that of their married-couple counterparts--have incomes well below the poverty level. (p. 13)

Moreover, today many married couples find it necessary to have two wage earners in order to achieve some of their goals; in some instances, just to make ends meet.

The white male college students tended to have attitudes significantly more favorable to public policies which discriminate against females than either their black male or their white female counterparts. In America, males and whites have been socialized into an anticipation of their dominant status. In the case of American white males, then, we have an increased anticipation of dominant status. Nevertheless, the great majority of the white male

respondents did not favor public policies which discriminate against females.

Although some white males might have been experiencing a tinge of "seige mentality" over the attention given women and minorities, a recognition of the growing role that women are playing as providers and workers might have softened their attitudes about the "place of women" in the general society.

The white female college students expressed attitudes which were significantly more unfavorable toward public policies which discriminate against females than those of their black male counterparts. As noted, American black males have been as socialized into an anticipation of dominant status as males as have American white males. The attitudes of the black males in the sample toward these policies may be indicative of their male chauvinist socialization. The majority of both groups expressed unfavorable attitudes toward these policies.

Some white male, but no black female, respondents were favorable toward public policies which discriminate against females. Nevertheless, the attitudes of these groups were not significantly different. It should be noted that when compared to white male students, a greater percentage of black female than college students had unfavorable attitudes toward these policies.

Second Conceptual Variable: Perceived Personal Threat

The "perceived personal threat" variable was intended to assess the extent to which the respondents perceived affirmative

action policies and anti-discrimination practices as a threat to their life chances in higher education and/or employment opportunities. Again, six hypotheses were formulated and tested. Specifically, they were:

7. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black male college students.

Results: Supported.

8. White and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions in that they will perceive little, or no, personal threat from affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. Results: Supported.

9. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will white female college students. Results: Supported.

10. Black male and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices.

Results: Supported.

11. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions of the threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices.

Results: Not supported.

12. White male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black female college students. Results: Not

supported.

Of the six hypotheses dealing with the "perceived personal threat" variable, four were supported and two were not supported by the data. That white male college students felt more personally threatened by affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices than did either the white females or the black females or black males was supported by the data. This finding is consistent with Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination.

Affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as proposed remedies to sexism and racism, if successful, would dramatically change the status quo where white men have traditionally benefited from a system based on sexism and racism. At least potentially, this would mean that white men would encounter greater competition from women and other minorities in the workplace and in higher education. It logically follows, then, that white male college students would perceive of themselves as standing to lose the most from any reform initiatives aimed at correcting years of inequities suffered by women and minorities.

The perceptions of the black male and white female college students of the personal threat potential of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices were, surprisingly, significantly different. Not unlike his white male counterpart, the black male also felt personally threatened, although not to the same degree or in the same manner, by affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. This finding suggests that Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination may be efficacious in

explaining the attitudes of black male college students toward affirmative action policies and practices for females.

A possible explanation for the perceived threat, on the part of the black male, may be due to a realization that he must not only compete with an already advantaged white male, but with women, especially white women, who often are perceived to be given preferential treatment because of their race and sex. Additionally, social advancement for black women may be seen by black males as a personal threat to both their manhood in the family and their precarious status in the general society. Hence, strong competition between black men and women for higher status could very well account for the fact that some of the black male college students perceived of affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as personally threatening to them. Or, put differently, competition for a higher status between black males and females (especially white females) could account for the fact that they do not share similar attitudes with respect to feeling personally threatened by affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices.

No support was found for the sixth hypothesis which stated that white male college students will perceive affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices as more of a threat than will black female college students. Once again the finding was perplexing in that the attitudes of white male and black female college students were quite similar on this issue.

Third Conceptual Variable: Dominant Groups Which Received Special Treatment

A third set of six hypotheses was formulated to test the relevancy of "dominant groups which received special treatment," a variable used to determine if the respondents perceived of white males, in the past, being the recipients of special treatment; a treatment somewhat analogous to those measures now advocated for white women and minorities under affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices. Specifically, the following hypotheses were tested:

13. Black male college students will acknowledge more strongly whites and males as dominant groups which received special treatment than will white male college students. Results: Supported.

14. White and black female college students are likely to be similar in their attitudes in that they will strongly acknowledge whites and males as dominant groups which received special treatment. Results: Supported.

15. White female college students will acknowledge more strongly whites and males as dominant groups which received special treatment than will white male college students. Results: Not supported.

16. Black male and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes in that they will strongly acknowledge whites and males as dominant groups which received special treatment. Result: Supported.

17. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their attitudes in that they will strongly acknowledge whites and males as dominant groups which received special treatment. Results: Not supported.

18. Black female college students will more strongly acknowledge whites and males as dominant groups which received special treatment than will white male college students. Results: Supported.

The similarity in the acknowledgements of the white male and female students may be attributable to the fact that a plurality of both groups were undecided. The significant difference between the attitudes of the black male and the white female college students may be attributable to the fact that a majority of the black male, and a plurality of the white female, college students were undecided. The responses of the white female respondents in both cases may be indications that they chose to identify with the white males in their lives instead of their mutual minority group members.

Fourth Conceptual Variable: Perception of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality

The "perception of the existence of past and present inequality" variable was used to determine the respondents' perception that inequality has historically been, and continues to be, endemic to American society. Specifically the following hypotheses were tested:

19. Black male college students will more strongly perceive the existence of past and present inequality than will white male

college students. Results: Not supported.

20. White female and black female college students are likely to be similar in their perceptions in that they will strongly perceive of past and present inequality. Results: Supported.

21. White female college students will more strongly perceive the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students. Results: Not supported.

22. Black male and black female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions in that they will strongly perceive of past and present inequality. Results: Supported.

23. Black male and white female college students are likely to be very similar in their perceptions in that they will strongly perceive of past and present inequality. Results: Not Calculated Due To Insufficient Responses.

24. Black female college students will more strongly perceive the existence of past and present inequality than will white male college students. Result: Not supported.

The independent variable, sex, was the best predictor of the attitudes of college students toward the "perception of the existence of past and present inequality" conceptual variable. According to the minority identity/true consciousness perspective, female students will have a stronger perception of inequality than male students. On the contrary, the male students expressed a stronger perception of inequality than the female students, especially the black male students. A possible explanation of this finding may be due to the fact that much of the inequality that

exists between whites and blacks in American society today may be seen as a remnant of social policies engineered by white males against black males, e.g., the disenfranchisement of black males in the post-Reconstruction South. In responding to the items on this conceptual variable, the white and black male students may have been cognizant of this fact. One could speculate that the whites' weaker perception of past and present inequality may be due to "selective inattention" of the history and contemporary plight of minorities in America. On the other hand, blacks have a stronger perception because they are more knowledgeable about the past and current aspects of racism and sexism in this country.

Implications

Table 31 provides, at a glance, a summary of the findings of the 24 hypothesized relationships, 14 were as predicted, 9 were not, and one chi-square statistic could not be computed given the distribution of cases. Only in the comparisons of "white females and black females" and "black males and black females" were results consistently in the predicted direction across all comparisons. This finding can best be explained by the minority identity/true consciousness perspective.

Table 31 (row one, column four) shows unexpected similarities between the attitudes of the "white male and black male" college students toward the "perception of the existence of past and present inequality" conceptual variable. This finding is very difficult to explain, and, except to say that further research is needed, the

Table 31

Summary of the Findings

		1-Public Policies Which Discriminate Against Females	2-Perceived Personal Threat	3-Dominant Groups Which Received Special Treatment	4-Perception of the Existence of Past and Present Inequality
WM-BM	S.D.	+	+	+	--
WF-BF	N.S.D	+	+	+	+
WM-WF	S.D.	+	+	--	--
BM-BF	N.S.D.	+	+	+	+
BM-WF	N.S.D.	--	--	--	insufficient # cases
WM-BF	S.D.	--	--	+	--
WM-White Male			S.D.	Significant Difference	
BM-Black Male			N.S.D.	No Significant Difference	
WF-White Female			+	Hypothesis Supported	
BF-Black Female			--	Hypothesis Not Supported	

writer is unwilling to even speculate about this matter.

The same table also shows unexpected similarities (row three, columns three and four) between the attitudes of "white male and white female" college students toward the "dominant groups which received special treatment" and the "perception of the existence of past and present inequality" conceptual variables.

The unexpected similarity on the "dominant groups which received special treatment" conceptual variable (column three, row three) may be a result of a tendency on the part of the white female respondents to identify with the white males in their lives instead of showing "true consciousness" with other minority group members.

This may be interpreted to mean that white females perceive of the privileges they enjoy as accruing from their inclusion in the white race and not from their inclusion in a minority group. Moreover, they may have suspected that identification with another minority is likely to result in a reduction of their access to those privileges. Hence, "personal interest" explains why the white female students responded the way they did on these conceptual variables.

The unexpected similarity on the "perception of the existence of past and present inequality" conceptual variable (row three, column four) may have resulted from the fact that institutionalized sexism and racism exist in American society because they continue to be profitable. Because whites have the most to lose from the creation of a nonsexist and/or nonracist society, it is not hard to understand why the white students were less likely than the black students to acknowledge a perception of past and present inequality in America. This finding is consonant with Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination.

Unexpected significant differences were found (row five, columns one through three) in the attitudes of black male and white female college students toward: (a) the "female discrimination public policies," (b) the "perceived personal threat," and (c) the "dominant groups which received special treatment" conceptual variables.

That black males and white females perceive of themselves as being in more direct competition than are white males and black females for scarce positions in the job market may be a plausible

explanation for the unexpected differences between them. And, the unexpected dissimilarities in the attitudes of the white male and black female college students (toward the first three conceptual variables) may be the result of a mutual perception regarding their respective groups as likely competitors for the same scarce positions in the job market. Once again, these findings are consonant with Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination.

In the same table (row six, columns one, two and four) unexpected similarities were found in the attitudes of the "white male and black female" college students toward the "public policies which discriminate against females," the "perceived personal threat," and the "perception of the existence of past and present inequality" conceptual variables. This may be the result of a mutual perception that they have less to fear from members of their own respective groups than they have to fear from members of any of the other sex/race groups. It is interesting to note, however, that the attitudes of the white male and black female respondents toward the third conceptual variable was, as hypothesized, found to be significantly different. This contention may account for the unexpected similarities between the attitudes of the white males and black females on the first, second and fourth conceptual variables. We saw, however, that the attitudes of white males differed significantly from those of black males and white females on the "perceived personal threat" conceptual variable. This interpretation is, once again, consonant with Wellman's (1977) theory.

Used alone, neither Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination nor the minority identity/true consciousness perspective can fully explain all of the findings in this study. Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination was shown to offer reasonable explanations for only half of the attitudes of the white male sample in this study. The fact that, in half of tests of significance, the white male college students responded in a fashion that is not consonant to Wellman's (1977) theory suggests that, in responding to the items in the questionnaire, the white males were motivated by something other than self interest. The minority identity/true consciousness perspective was shown to offered reasonable explanations for more than half of the attitudes of the respective white female and black samples. The other findings indicated that the white females and blacks were motivated by self interest.

The four conceptual variables used in this study were multidimensional, a fact that precluded the possibility of the type of uniform responding which were predicted by Wellman's (1977) interest theory of discrimination and the minority identity/true consciousness perspective. Instead of reponding uniformly, different sex/race groups responded in different ways across the four conceptual variables.

Conclusions

The attitudes of white female and black college students toward affirmative action policies and anti-discrimination practices for

women and minorities are diverse. They are both different within themselves and divergent between groups.

The perplexing findings in this study suggest that further research is indeed needed. The dissimilarities in the attitudes of the black male and white female respondents regarding these policies and practices must be explored. So, too, must the similarity in the attitudes of the white males and black males, and the similarities in the attitudes of white males and black females be explored. The issue of group perceptions of other groups as competitors, as a function of mutual proximity in the American race/gender stratification system, must be explored.

More research is also needed on the issue of minority identity/true consciousness. Special interest should be given to discovering why there was an indication of minority identity/true consciousness only when the attitudes of women were compared with women or when the attitudes of blacks were compared with blacks. In order to increase the usefulness of this perspective, further research is needed on the assessment of individual and group minority identity/true consciousness development.

One of the weaknesses of this study was the numerical disparity between the white and black samples. An equal sample of whites and blacks may be necessary in order to more fully appreciate the variance in black attitudes on these issues. Another weakness of this study was seen in the fact that blacks were the only nonwhite group examined. Future research should include samples of all sex/race groups, i.e., males and females, whites and

nonwhites (including Hispanics, Asians/Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans). This will allow for more varied inter- and intra-minority group comparisons. These weaknesses limit the generalizability of the findings of this study.

Dear Student:

This study is concerned with assessing college student attitudes towards compensatory or affirmative action programs. During the last few years compensatory or affirmative action programs have been adopted by numerous business, educational and government organizations. Yet there is very little information on peoples' attitudes toward these programs. This study is intended to provide badly needed information on this subject.

The results of this study will be made available to the university administration and all academic departments in the university. Therefore, it is very important that you answer the following questions as honestly as possible; the results of this study may influence future policies concerning compensatory or affirmative action programs. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated and important for the success of this study.

Your answers are confidential. All questionnaires are anonymous. The information you provide will be coded onto IBM cards and will be reported only as statistical summaries for groups.

Thank you for your help.

GENERAL DIRECTIONS: Please select the answer for each question which best explains your feelings. Record this answer on the answer sheet starting with question 1.

First we would like to ask you some general questions about yourself so that we will know something about those students who participated in this study.

1. 1) Female 2) Male

2. My age is:

1) 17 years old	5) 23-25 years old
2) 18 years old	6) 26-29 years old
3) 19-20 years old	7) 30-35 years old
4) 21-22 years old	8) Other

3. My race or ethnicity is:

1) American Indian	5) Jewish American
2) Asian American	6) Mexican American
3) Afro-American (Black)	7) Foreign student
4) European American	8) Other

4. Father's education:

1) less than high school graduate	4) college graduate
2) high school graduate	5) post-graduate
3) some college	

5. Mother's education:

1) less than high school graduate	4) college graduate
2) high school graduate	5) post-graduate
3) some college	

6. Father's occupation:

1) professional/executive/managerial
2) white collar/salesman/accountant
3) craftsman/technician
4) clerical/salesclerk
5) blue collar/manual laborer
6) farmer

7. Mother's occupation:

1) professional/executive/managerial
2) white collar/salesman/accountant
3) craftsman/technician
4) blue collar/manual laborer
5) farmer
6) housewife

8. Parent's combined income:

1) under \$3,000 per year	5) \$15,000-\$19,999 per year
2) \$3,000-\$4,999 per year	6) \$20,000-\$29,999 per year
3) \$5,000-\$9,999 per year	7) \$30,000-\$49,999 per year
4) \$10,000-\$14,999 per year	8) \$50,000 or more per year

9. Class level:

1) Freshman	4) Senior
2) Sophomore	5) Graduate student
3) Junior	6) Unclassified

10. Are you planning to attend graduate school?
 - 1) yes
 - 2) no
 - 3) undecided

11. Academic major:
 - 1) business—accounting, marketing, finance, insurance, real estate
 - 2) education—counseling, elementary education, home economics, nursing
 - 3) creative arts—drama, music, industrial arts, radio-TV films
 - 4) health and recreation—physical education, health and safety education
 - 5) humanities—literature, philosophy, journalism, foreign language
 - 6) natural sciences—biology, chemistry, engineering, geology, math
 - 7) social sciences—anthropology, economics, history, political science, sociology
 - 8) undecided

Now we would like to ask you about your feelings towards compensatory or affirmative action programs in education.

12. Some colleges and universities have a predominately white student body and prefer to keep it that way. Is it alright for these schools to maintain this policy?
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

13. It is the practice of certain colleges and universities to consider applicants on the basis of achievement without regard to race. Do you agree or disagree with these policies.
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
14. If a college or university has a disproportionate number of white students and few racial minority students, should this university give preference to qualified minority applicants?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

Which of the following groups, if any, do you feel should be given preference if they are under-represented?

- 1) strongly agree 2) agree 3) undecided 4) disagree 5) strongly disagree

15. Afro-Americans (Blacks)
 16. American Indians
 17. Asian Americans
 18. European Americans
 19. Mexican Americans
 20. Women
 21. Men
 22. In considering admission to college, some colleges and universities require female applicants to have a higher grade point average than male applicants. These universities pursue this policy in order to maintain an equal ratio of male to female enrollment. How do you feel about this policy?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

23. Since a large number of racial minority students have been denied an adequate elementary and secondary education, these students are sometimes admitted to college without regard to admission requirements. How do you feel about this policy?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
24. Racial minority students are sometimes admitted to a college or university without meeting the admission requirements. How many universities in the United States would you guess practice this policy?
- 1) most
 - 2) about half
 - 3) about one-third
 - 4) about one-tenth
 - 5) none

Of the following groups, in your opinion, what proportion of the students representing each group enrolled at your university have not met the admission requirements?

- | | | | | |
|---------|----------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| 1) most | 2) about | 3) about | 4) about | 5) none |
| | half | one-third | one-tenth | |

25. Afro-Americans (Blacks)
26. American Indians
27. Asian Americans
28. European Americans
29. Mexican Americans
30. Do you feel that financial aid should be distributed without regard to an applicant's race?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
31. Do you feel that a college or university should provide financial aid on the basis of need rather than scholarship?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

32. In administering financial aid, some colleges and universities give preference to students who are members of racial minorities. What is your opinion of this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
33. Certain financial aid programs are only available to students who are members of specific racial minorities. What is your opinion?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
34. In considering applicants for financial aid, some universities limit the number of female applicants to a given percentage. This policy is pursued in order that both sexes are equally benefited. How do you feel about this policy?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
35. Do you feel that financial aid programs favor certain groups of students to the detriment of other students?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

Which groups, if any, do you feel receive a disproportionate amount of financial aid?

- 1) strongly agree 2) agree 3) undecided 4) disagree 5) strongly disagree

36. Whites

37. Nonwhites

38. Men

39. Women

40. Middle class

41. Lower class
42. From your experience as a college student, do you feel that black students are given more favorable, equal, or less favorable treatment by instructors?
- 1) more favorable
 - 2) equal
 - 3) less favorable
43. Generally, do you feel that black students are as academically prepared for college as white students?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
44. Do you feel that black students are given more favorable, equal or less favorable treatment in the department which you are a major in?
- 1) more favorable
 - 2) equal
 - 3) less favorable

Now we would like to ask you about your feelings towards compensatory or affirmative action programs in business.

45. Do you think that businesses and industries should consider applicants for jobs on the basis of qualifications without regard to race?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
46. If a particular business or industry has a limited representation of minority employees, should this business give preference to qualified minority applicants?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

Which of the following groups, if any, should be given preference if they are under-represented?

- 1) strongly agree 2) agree 3) undecided 4) disagree 5) strongly disagree

47. American Indians

48. Afro-Americans (Blacks)
49. Asian Americans
50. European Americans
51. Mexican Americans
52. Women
53. Men
54. Racial minority applicants are sometimes hired by a business without regard to the requirements for the job. This policy is pursued in order to integrate the firm. How do you feel about this policy?
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
55. Although qualified females have applied, a business prefers to hire a man for a certain position. How do you feel about this practice?
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
56. Some businesses prefer to hire white employees. How do you feel about this policy?
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
57. In order to insure that their firm is integrated, some businesses and industries plan, in advance, to hire a certain percentage of qualified nonwhite employees. What do you think of this practice?
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

58. In order to insure that their firm is integrated, some businesses and industries try to hire a certain number of non-whites without regard to requirements. What do you think of this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
59. Some businesses and industries limit the number of female employees in order to maintain a high ratio of male employees to female employees. What do you think of this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
60. Do you feel that a business or industry should award promotions without regard to race?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
61. If two equally qualified employees are up for promotion, it is the policy of some companies to select the nonwhite employee for promotion if there are only a few or no non-white employees who currently hold that position. How do you feel about this policy?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
62. Racial minority employees are sometimes promoted by a business or industry because these firms have an insignificant number of higher ranking nonwhite employees. How do you feel about this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

63. If two equally qualified employees are up for promotion, some companies prefer to award it to the male employee. Do you approve or disapprove of this practice?
- 1) strongly approve
 - 2) approve
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disapprove
 - 5) strongly disapprove
64. Nonwhite applicants are sometimes given preference over white applicants for jobs. How many businesses would you guess practice this policy?
- 1) most
 - 2) about half
 - 3) about one-third
 - 4) about one-tenth
 - 5) none
65. How many businesses would you guess give preference to white applicants for jobs?
- 1) most
 - 2) about half
 - 3) about one-third
 - 4) about one-tenth
 - 5) none
66. Do you feel that hiring policies which favor nonwhites are necessary to counter-balance hiring policies which favor whites?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
67. Do you feel that nonwhite applicants who are given preference in hiring are as qualified as white applicants?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

Now we would like to ask you about your feelings towards compensatory or affirmative action programs provided by government.

68. Some people feel that it is not the job of the Federal government to interfere with the hiring practices of private businesses. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
69. Do you feel that it is the job of the Federal government to insure that American citizens are considered on the basis of qualifications without regard to race by private businesses in hiring and promotions?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
70. In order to open up opportunities for nonwhites, the Federal government sometimes encourages firms which handle government contracts to hire qualified nonwhites. Do you agree or disagree with this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
71. In order to keep a government contract, firms are occasionally required by the Federal government to hire a certain percentage of nonwhites. The Federal government may demand this of firms that are not integrated. Do you agree or disagree with this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
72. Recently women are suing firms that practice sexual discrimination. Do you feel that it is the job of the Federal government to end this practice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

73. The Federal government provides job training programs for the unemployed. Do you feel that applicants for these programs should be selected without regard to race?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
74. Since the percentage of nonwhite unemployment is greater than white unemployment, should job training programs give preference to nonwhite applicants?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
75. Since the percentage of nonwhite unemployment is greater than white unemployment, should the Federal government have special job training programs for nonwhites?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

We would now like to ask you about your general feelings towards compensatory or affirmative action policies.

76. Do you feel that a policy of preferring racial minorities and/or women which some institutions have adopted will hurt your chances for the job which you eventually hope to obtain?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
77. Do you feel that a policy of preferring racial minorities and/or women which some institutions have adopted will hurt your chances of getting into the graduate college of your choice?
- 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
 - 6) does not apply, I am not planning to go to graduate school

78. In your opinion, have any groups received special treatment comparable to what nonwhites are receiving today?

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

In your opinion which of the following groups, if any, have received special treatment comparable to what nonwhites are receiving today in the United States.

- 1) strongly agree 2) agree 3) undecided 4) disagree 5) strongly disagree

79. Whites

80. Women

81. Men

82. Veterans

83. The Disabled

Which of the following do you think will be necessary to end inequality among whites and nonwhites in the United States?

84. Whites and nonwhites considered on the basis of achievement without regard to race.

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

85. Qualified nonwhites given preference over whites until the racial imbalance between the two groups is eliminated.

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

86. Nonwhites without regard to qualifications are given preference until the racial imbalance between the two groups is eliminated.

- 1) strongly agree
- 2) agree
- 3) undecided
- 4) disagree
- 5) strongly disagree

In order to end inequality between whites and nonwhites, which of the following policies would you support.

87. Whites and nonwhites considered on the basis of achievement without regard to race.
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
88. Qualified nonwhites given preference over whites until the racial imbalance between the two groups is eliminated.
 - 1) strongly agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree
89. Nonwhites, without regard to qualifications, are given preference until the racial imbalance between the two groups is eliminated.
 - 1) ~~strongly~~ agree
 - 2) agree
 - 3) undecided
 - 4) disagree
 - 5) strongly disagree

Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about your current assessment of American society so that we can more clearly understand your feelings about compensatory or affirmative action programs.

The following are criticisms that have been made in recent years about aspects of American society. For each statement, could you indicate whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree or are undecided.

- 1) strongly agree 2) agree 3) undecided 4) disagree 5) strongly disagree

90. Economic well-being in this country is unjustly and unfairly distributed.
91. Basically we are a racist nation.
92. The effort to end discrimination against nonwhites has resulted in discrimination against whites.
93. This country has failed to eliminate discrimination against its nonwhite citizens.

94. Those nonwhites who don't make it in American society have no one to blame but themselves.
95. Historically, the cruel treatment of black people in this country has been exaggerated.
96. Nonwhites have always suffered oppression in this country.
97. Most women don't want equal opportunity.
98. Men are just naturally superior to women.
99. Which of the following views of American society and American life best reflects your own feelings (single answer).
 - 1) the American way of life is superior to that of any other country.
 - 2) there are serious flaws in our society today but the system is flexible enough to solve them.
 - 3) the American system is not flexible enough, radical change is needed.
 - 4) the whole system ought to be replaced by an entirely new one; the existing structures are too rotten for repair.

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