Hispanic women's views on affirmative action: Self-interest, fairness, socio-political orientation, past discrimination, and acculturation

Isabel Vargas-Machuca

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HISPANIC WOMEN'S VIEWS ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: SELF-INTEREST, FAIRNESS, SOCIO-POLITICAL ORIENTATION, PAST DISCRIMINATION, AND ACCULTURATION

A Project
Presented to the
Faculty of
California State University,
San Bernardino

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
in
Psychology: Industrial/Organizational

by
Isabel Vargas-Machuca

June 1997
HISPANIC WOMEN'S VIEWS ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION: SELF-INTEREST, FAIRNESS, SOCIO-POLITICAL ORIENTATION, PAST DISCRIMINATION, AND ACCULTURATION

A Thesis
Presented to the
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6/11/1997 Date
ABSTRACT

Much of the previous research on affirmative action has dealt with White women and other minorities; and no research has specifically targeted Hispanic women or Latinas. Because of their changing roles it is important to discover how Hispanic women or Latinas react to affirmative action plans. Five variables examined in this study are self-interest, perceived fairness, socio-political orientation, history of discrimination, and acculturation. Six hypotheses were proposed in this study: (1) Hispanic women or Latinas' attitudes toward the affirmative action plan would correlate with personal self-interest; (2) Hispanic women or Latinas' attitudes toward the affirmative action plan would correlate positively with perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan; (3) Perception of past group or personal discrimination would have an impact on the attitudes toward the affirmative action plan. Specifically, participants would more favorably evaluate an affirmative action plan when they had personally experienced or the group they belong to (ethnicity, gender) had been discriminated against; (4) Hispanic women's attitudes towards the affirmative action plan would correlate with the individual's socio-political orientation; (5) Acculturation would predict Hispanic women's attitude toward the affirmative action plan. Specifically women who are less acculturated to the Anglo-American culture would have higher positive attitudes towards the affirmative action plan; and (6) Group membership (Latinas vs. White women) would predict individual’s attitude towards the affirmative action plan.
Participants included 231 women drawn from California State University, San Bernardino (CSUSB), San Bernardino Valley College (SBVC), and organizational employees throughout Los Angeles County. The total sample consisted of 126 Hispanic women or Latinas and 105 White women. Subjects signed an informed consent, filled out a questionnaire, and were given a written debriefing. Attitudes correlated with self-interest and perceived fairness. Socio-political orientation did correlate with attitudes toward the affirmative action plan, but the variable accounted for only 3.5% of the variance. Acculturation was able to predict attitudes towards the affirmative action plan. Those who were less acculturated to the Anglo-American culture had higher positive attitudes toward the affirmative action plan. However, only one of the indicators of acculturation contributed significantly. Only partial support was found for group membership as an predictor of attitudes towards affirmative action plan. Implications and further research are discussed.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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INTRODUCTION

Literature Review

On several occasions, Congress has passed civil rights legislation that forbids discrimination. As a result of this legislature and subsequent case law, affirmative action programs have been widely introduced across the nation. Affirmative action is a response to previous discrimination of certain categories of people, most often women and ethnic minorities. In the broadest sense, affirmative action programs are designed to remove barriers that have blocked women and minority members access to opportunities and advancement within organizations.

Though many in the public may support the removal of discrimination, the mechanism of affirmative action has been controversial. The success or failure of affirmative action programs depends in part on the acceptance or rejection by the public. For instance, at California’s general election of November 1996, Proposition 209 was passed, eliminating affirmative action programs for qualified women and minorities. Those who were against Proposition 209 believed eliminating affirmative action programs would permit gender discrimination by state and local government. On the other hand, supporters wanted to end government-sponsored discrimination by abolishing preferential treatment. The controversy generated by the debate of Proposition 209 suggests that it is important to analyze individuals’ attitudes and beliefs on affirmative action.
A number of studies have assessed the reaction of women toward affirmative action programs directed at women (e.g. Dietz-Uhler & Murrell, 1993; Graves & Powell, 1994; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; Matheson, Taylor & Chow, 1994; Taylor, 1994). There have also been a number of studies on African Americans attitudes toward affirmative action programs (e.g. Kravitz, Stinson, & Mello, 1994; Taylor, 1994). There have been a few studies on Hispanics (Kravitz et al., 1994; Kravitz & Bjorn Meyer, 1996), but no studies examining Hispanic women’s reactions to affirmative action plans.

Hispanics are one of the fastest growing ethnic groups in the United States (Day, 1996; Schick & Schick, 1991). In Los Angeles alone, Hispanics or Latinos make up more than 40% of the county’s population (California Department of Finance, 1994). Yet, only 16.5% of Hispanics hold managerial or professional positions (Zate, 1994). In 1993, local governments in Los Angeles employed over 150,000 workers and only 15.9% of female managers were Hispanic (Los Angeles County Government, 1994). The relative difference between the total number of Hispanic women in Los Angeles and their percentages in managerial occupations might suggest that affirmative action has not been instrumental in improving Hispanic women’s movement into higher level jobs. Given their current underrepresented state it would be helpful to explore Latinas’ reactions toward affirmative action programs.

Increasingly important to understanding Latinas’ or Hispanic women’s attitudes toward affirmative action is to understand their cultural ethnic legacy.
Latinas have been routinely portrayed as submissive and passive. Hispanic women or Latinas are assumed to live more traditional lives, such as taking care of the home and family, than other American women (Welch & Sigelman, 1992). As indicated by Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (1993), one reason that Latinas are portrayed as submissive is that most commentators use "machismo" to describe traditional Latino culture. However, the multiple efforts of Hispanic women to improve their occupational status and income also must be taken into consideration (Romero, 1992; Zavella, 1987). Even though Hispanic women are employed in private households, most are employed in service work and factories. According to Segura (1992), in the past two decades, more Hispanic women have moved into white collar jobs. Reddy (1993), indicates that Hispanic women work outside the household at rates slightly lower than the rates of non-Hispanic women. Moreover, many Latinas or Hispanic women are the main providers of the household (Montoya, 1996). Thus, it is no longer sufficient to think of Latinas or Hispanic women as having passive roles in society. They have become and continue to be active participants in organizations; thus, their evaluation of political issues such as affirmative action is important to explore. Therefore, this study will investigate how self-interest, perceived fairness, and political orientation influence Hispanic women's attitudes towards affirmative action selection strategies.
Reactions to Affirmative Action Programs

Affirmative action was introduced in our society with the intent to eliminate structural differences between men and women (and ethnic minorities) in the labor force and to give women (and ethnic minorities) access to jobs for which they were qualified but for which they were previously denied. Although women are typically in favor of affirmative action (Dovidio, Mann, & Gaertner, 1989), there are diverse reactions among women to the consequences of affirmative action programs. For example, Chacko (1982) reported that women managers who believed that gender played an important role in their selection had less favorable job attitudes than those who felt that sex was not an important criterion. Similarly, several studies (Heilman, Rivero, & Brett, 1991; Heilman, Simon, & Repper, 1987) found that women who were preferentially selected for a leadership role had a less favorable self-perception and chose less challenging tasks than women who were selected based on merit. These negative expectancies, in turn, created a self-fulfilling prophecy, leading to lowered performance, negative evaluations of the task, and lowered self-esteem.

In line with the effects of affirmative action, the implementation of the affirmative action plan may also influence women's attitudes towards the affirmative action plan. For instance, Tougas and Veilleux (1988) found the strongest predictor of women's attitudes toward affirmative action programs was the type of affirmative action being used. Women were more supportive of affirmative action programs that helped them to prepare for job interviews, and
gave them information about career paths. Women were less likely to accept affirmative action plans that entailed giving female candidates preference over males if their qualifications for the job were similar (p. 20). Tougas and Veilleux's results were consistent with Matheson, Taylor, and Chow's study (1994), in which women accepted nondiscrimination measures and rejected affirmative action plans involving preferential treatment (p. 2083). Contrary to these findings, Tougas and Beaton (1993), found that women, as opposed to men, supported preferential treatment plans. In their study, they evaluated the attitudes of men and women to different affirmative action plans. Their results indicated that women were more favorable to the implementation of preferential treatment "provided they are given preference over equally qualified male candidates" (p. 262).

In addition, several studies that have examined ethnicity have also revealed that affirmative action programs were accepted when less weight was given to demographic status (Barnes & Nacoste, 1993; Singer, 1991). In other words, when more weight was given to merit than demographic status, an affirmative action program was more acceptable. As found with women, minorities supported affirmative action programs that emphasize recruitment and training but not for preferential treatment or quota hiring (Kluegel & Smith, 1983; Kravitz & Platania, 1993). Consistent with these findings, Kravitz and Meyer (1996) discovered Hispanics preferred affirmative action programs that entailed training rather than preferential treatment. This is an important finding to the
current study since 61% of the Hispanic subjects were women. Their research, however, did not focus on affirmative action plans directed at Hispanic women and included only undergraduate students. The present study will focus not only on affirmative action plans directed at Hispanic women or Latinas, but will also include respondents from local organizations.

Survey data suggests that men have negative attitudes toward affirmative action. For example, Rosen and Jerdee (1979) found that male employees held negative views of affirmative action programs favoring women. The authors suggested that males' negative feelings would cause women negative outcomes such as lowered satisfaction and performance and increased turnover. Past studies pertaining to the self-interest model have revealed that perceptions of the effects of affirmative action strategies are largely determined by considerations of personal and collective interests (Bobo, 1983; Jacobson, 1985; Kluegal & Smith, 1983; Veilleux & Tougas, 1989). For instance, white males claimed that their personal and collective opportunities were greatly reduced by the introduction of these selection strategies. Personal self-interest refers to the amount of negative or positive impact on the individual; collective self-interest refers to the amount of negative or positive impact on the individual's demographic group.

Overall, affirmative action programs make it necessary that a criterion other than merit, that is, ethnic, racial or gender group membership, be used as a basis for making personnel selection decisions. Therefore, women selected
through affirmative action strategies may not be selected through merit alone but because of their group membership. According to Nacoste (1990), “This use of group membership is problematic because criterion and in whatever way non merit criteria are used in personnel selections, the people selected will be uncertain that they were chosen because of their qualifications.” Nacoste refers to the process as stigmatizing in that it discredits individuals’ qualifications. Likewise, other individuals who know that affirmative action was involved in the selection process will question the competence level of those who were chosen (Heilman, Block & Lucas, 1992). Heilman and Herlihy (1984) in a previous study showed that when an increase in the number of women in an occupation was due to affirmative action, observers made the assumption that the qualifications of the new women were not strongly evaluated, and that the women were not qualified for the job.

Personal Self-Interest

When looking at the issue of affirmative action, self-interest is the feeling of unfair or fair economic competition due to minority gains (Jacobson, 1985). In other words, a person’s self-interest will vary to the extent that the outcome of the affirmative action plan will have a direct economic or physical comfort and convenience effect upon the person. Previous studies have revealed more positive attitudes towards affirmative action among women and other minorities who feel that their personal self-interests are being met through affirmative action plans. Thus, individuals may have a negative attitude towards affirmative
action if the procedure prompts feelings of unfair competition and seems threatening. For example, Veilleux and Tougas's study (1989) indicated that white males believed that their personal and collective opportunities were greatly reduced by the introduction of preferential selection. These results were replicated in Tougas and Beaton's study (1993) in which self-interest was a significant predictor of attitudes toward affirmative actions. They found that men were highly critical of the affirmative action program because they believed women were compensated at their (males') expense.

Kravitz and Meyer (1996), found a positive relation between attitudes and personal self-interest on affirmative action plans. Their study indicated that Hispanics (both male and females) were more supportive of the affirmative action plan when both fairness and self-interest were positively correlated. Other studies have also supported the notion that attitudes toward affirmative action are positively related to self-interest (Kravitz et al., 1994; Kravitz & Meyer, 1996; Tyler & Allen, 1980).

Perceived Fairness

In line with affirmative action being related to self-interest, the perceived fairness of the affirmative action being used has been found to affect the individual's acceptance or rejection of an affirmative action plan (Barnes Nacoste, 1990, 1994; Kravitz & Meyer, 1996; Nacoste, 1987; Songer, 1990; Tyler & McGraw, 1986). Lind (1992) and Peterson (1994) have supported the "fairness heuristic" principle, which states that "people form impressions of the
general fairness of an organization, authority, or policy and use that as a major
criterion for support or opposition to the policy” (Peterson, 1994, pg. 99). This
indicates that if an affirmative action plan is seen as fair, people are more likely
to accept the affirmative action plan regardless of the outcome. Thus, the
judgment is defined as what is fair and not what should be fair. For instance,
what is fair asks the question, “Does affirmative action help women and
minorities?” On the other hand what should be fair asks, “Does affirmative
action hurt white men (outcome)?”

Nacoste (1989) proposed that attitudes about preferential treatment are
contingent upon one’s preexisting belief about the fairness of the affirmative
action plan being implemented. According to this hypothesis, individuals will
experience self-doubt if the affirmative action plan through which they were
selected violates the fairness principle (Tougas, Joly, Beaton & St. Pierre, 1996).
For example, if a woman is selected through an affirmative action plan that she
thinks is unfair, she may have doubts about her qualifications for the job. The
fairness principle based in procedural justice theory states “that the more a
procedure is perceived to be fair, the more it will be supported, and the more it
will be supported regardless of the consequences” (Lind, Kurtz, Musante, &
Thibaut, 1980; Lind & Tyler, 1988). Furthermore, Kravitz and Meyer (1996) in
their study concluded that “attitudes toward the affirmative action plan were most
closely related to perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan, and that both
attitudes and perceived fairness will vary with details of the affirmative action
plan" (p. 4). Their study indicated that Hispanic respondents preferred an affirmative action plan that entailed training to be fairer than an affirmative action plan that entailed preferential treatment (p. 2). Consistent with Kravitz and Meyer's findings (Tougas & Veilleux 1988; Matheson et al. 1994; Nacoste, 1990), it is suggested that women's attitudes to affirmative action plan will be a function of the type of program being implemented. For instance, women may be more supportive of "soft" strategies which include the individual's qualifications instead of "hard" strategies based strongly on preferential treatment (Matheson et al., 1994). In other words, women seem to support affirmative action plans which entail the individual's previous background and skills (soft strategies) instead of preferential treatment based on gender alone (hard strategies).

**Past Discrimination**

Another variable that may affect how fair an affirmative action plan is one where having negative effects is contingent upon the individual's awareness of the history of discrimination against members of the individual's group (Nacoste & Lehman, 1987). It has been argued that reactions of individuals selected through preferential treatment can be better predicted by the dissatisfaction with an organization's history of discrimination against one's group (Tougas, Joly, Beaton, & St. Pierre, 1996, p. 456). In other words, attitudes towards affirmative action plans are influenced by the organization's history of how the individual's ethnic/gender group has been treated. Tougas et al. (1996) found individuals
who were dissatisfied with the way their group had been treated in the company were more supportive of the affirmative action plan because they felt more positive about their own qualifications (p. 461). Thus, "to be more positive about oneself as an affirmative action beneficiary, one has to feel that what was done to one's group in the past was definitely wrong" (p. 461). A study by Yaffe (1995), found that 90% of Latinas working for Los Angeles county in management positions felt underrepresented, and 66% felt that Latinas were discriminated in appraisals, promotional exams, salaries and career advancement (p. 340). However, the attitudes towards affirmative action plans were not addressed in Yaffe's study. Therefore, providing history of employee selection may influence an individual's attitude toward the affirmative action plan being implemented.

**Socio-Political Orientation**

Another variable that may affect attitudes toward affirmative action strategies is the social-political viewpoint of the individual examining the affirmative action plan. According to Linder (1977), there are two social-political orientations in the United States, conservatism and liberalism. The author had subjects rank order a list of values, and indicate whether they accepted or rejected the value. The results indicated that while liberals and conservatives similarly rank ordered the values, they disagreed about accepting or rejecting specific values. Furthermore, McBroom and Reed (1990) found that not all conservatives followed the same trend, "but also the results demonstrated that
convergence on the aggregate level is not paralleled at the individual level" (p. 355). In other words, although the trends of political-economic conservatism and opposition to abortion (an issue that divides conservatives and liberals) remained consistent with measures of conservatism, the attitude towards abortion by the group is not reflected by all the members of the group. More specifically, however, the current study is interested in the difference between liberals’ and conservatives’ attitudes toward affirmative action strategies.

Sniderman and Tetlock (1986) have argued that race conscious policies like affirmative action cause value conflicts between aspects such as meritocracy and equality. Meritocracy means that individuals should succeed in life through ability and hard work, not on who they are or whom they know (Kleugel & Smith, 1986). Furthermore, Sidanius, Pratto, and Bobbo’s study (1996) found that support for affirmative action is higher among self-identified liberals than conservatives. Conservatives may oppose affirmative action since they value social and economic freedom over equality (Rokeach, 1960). On the other hand, liberals may support affirmative action since they value freedom and social equality.

Acculturation

In addition, both Latino and Anglo-American styles are likely to influence a Latina’s attitude toward an affirmative action plan. According to Dana (1996), acculturation refers to “the process of adaptation or assimilation by an ethnic or racial group to a host culture and can occur in sedentary or migrant individuals”
(p. 317). In other words, individuals change their behavior and attitudes toward those of the dominant culture.

Acculturation measurement has helped explain as well as update mechanisms used within the Hispanic population. For instance, Altarriba and Santiago-Rivera’s study (1994) revealed that acculturation is a critical dimension influencing effective treatment plans. The process of acculturation was presented as an important dimension influencing language, cultural beliefs, and mental health.

Gomez and Fassinger (1994), investigated the relationship between acculturation and achieving styles for 244 undergraduate Latinas at an Eastern State University. Their results indicated that acculturation predicted the use of 6 out of 9 achieving styles. Those who were less acculturated to the Anglo-American culture used contributory-relational achieving styles, and those who had acculturated to the Anglo-American culture used competitive-direct achieving styles. They also explained the relationship between Hispanicism and achieving styles:

The findings that Hispanicism had a significant positive relationship with the contributory-relational and entrusting-instrumental styles supports the theory that Latino culture has social norms for women that emphasize reciprocity in achieving, which is accomplished by contributing to the achievement of others (Gomez & Fassinger, 1994, p.213).

Therefore, since achieving styles may be learned through acculturation, then attitudes towards affirmative action, which can be a mechanism used towards achievement, may also be influenced by acculturation.
Hypotheses

Although Hispanic women are one of the fastest growing groups in the United States, there are no studies examining Hispanic women's reactions to affirmative action plans. This study will research Hispanic women or Latinas' reactions to affirmative action in general. One purpose of this study is to investigate if personal self-interest influences Hispanic women's attitudes towards an affirmative action plan. Previous research has indicated that attitudes toward affirmative action are related to one's own self-interest (Jacobson, 1985; Kravitz et al., 1994; Kravitz & Meyer, 1996; Tougos & Beaton, 1993). Thus, it is hypothesized that this effect will be replicated in this study.

H1: Hispanic women or Latina's attitudes towards the affirmative action plan will correlate positively with perceived implication of the affirmative action plan for the individual's personal self-interest.

Another variable that may influence attitudes towards an affirmative action plan is perceived fairness. Perceived fairness of an affirmative action being used has been found to influence the acceptance or rejection of the affirmative action (Barnes, Nacoste, 1990, 1994; Kravitz & Meyer, 1996; Songer, 1990; Tyler & McGraw, 1986). As stated by Kravitz and Meyer, "attitudes toward the affirmative action plan are most related to perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan" (p. 4). This suggests the following hypothesis:
H2: Hispanic women or Latinas' attitudes toward the affirmative action plan will correlate positively with perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan.

In addition, perceived fairness may be contingent upon the individual's knowledge of the history of discrimination against members of the individual's group (Nacoste & Lehman, 1987). As Tougas et al.'s (1996) findings indicate, participants who were more dissatisfied with the way their group had been treated in the organization had a more positive outlook towards the affirmative action. Consistent with this research it is suggested that:

H3: Perception of past group or personal discrimination have an impact on Hispanic women's attitudes toward the affirmative action plan implemented. Specifically, participants will more favorably evaluate an affirmative action plan when there has been a history of past discrimination.

Another purpose of this study is to investigate if social-political orientation has an effect towards affirmative action. It has been found that conservatives and liberals have different value systems (Linder, 1977).

H4: Attitudes towards the affirmative action plan will correlate with the individual's socio-political orientation. Specifically liberals will have more positive attitudes towards the affirmative action plan.
It has been found that acculturation may have an impact on certain aspects of the Hispanic culture. For instance, Gomez and Fassinger (1994) study showed that acculturation predicted the use of six out of nine achieving styles. Thus, the acquisition of a second culture may have an impact on how individuals evaluate employee selection procedures.

H5: Acculturation will predict Hispanic women's attitude toward the affirmative action plan. Specifically women who are less acculturated to the Anglo-American culture will have higher positive attitudes towards the affirmative action plan.

H6: Group membership (Latinas vs. White women) will predict individual's attitude towards the affirmative action plan.
METHOD

Participants

Participants included 231 women drawn from California State University, San Bernardino, San Bernardino Valley College and organizational employees throughout the Los Angeles County; specifically, 141 participants were students and 90 were organizational employees. The student sample was obtained through psychology classes at two colleges (community college, SBVC and state university, CSUSB). The organizational employee sample was obtained through eight different locations in Los Angeles County (Downtown L.A. and San Fernando Valley). The total sample consisted of 126 Hispanic women or Latinas and 105 white non-Hispanic women. Of the 126 Hispanics, 62.7% were born in the United States, 28.6% in Central-America, 7.1% in South-America, and 1.6% in Puerto Rico or Cuba. Most of the White women were born in the United States (95.2%) with a few born outside of the United States (2.9%). Ages ranged from 18 to 73 with a mean of 27.97. The education of subjects reflected 78.7% had some college education and 16.5% had finished high school. Most of the women were employed (68.4). For further information on education and employment, refer to Table 1. Data also indicated that 169 (73.2%) supported Proposition 209, 58 (25.1%) did not support Proposition 209, and 4 (1.7%) did not answer this question. Of the Hispanic women who answered this question, those who did not support Proposition 209 had more positive attitudes (M= 35)
towards the proposed affirmative action plan used in the study material than those who did support Proposition 209 (M = 30).

Table 1

Demographic Descriptives of Latinas and White Women Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Hispanic Women</th>
<th>White Women</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency</td>
<td>Percent</td>
<td>Frequency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than high school</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school diploma</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>61.1%</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Grad. B.A.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some graduate school</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master Degree</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job Held</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative/Professional</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary/Customer Serv.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales/Retail/Cashier</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service/Police, etc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance/Cleaning</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educator</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not employed</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Procedure and Questionnaire

Respondents read and signed an informed consent form, completed the questionnaire, and were offered a written explanation for the debriefing (See Appendices A-D). The first page of the questionnaire consisted of demographic characteristics. The subjects were asked their age, gender, education completed, ethnicity and working status.
Participants were then asked to read a statement referring to employee selection for a management position. There was one description of the affirmative action plan which read as followed. Note that it's a soft strategy:

All selection decisions are to be based primarily on the person's qualifications as indicated by past experience, test scores, and past performance. In addition, if a woman and a man applicant are fully and equally qualified, the woman is to be preferred. If the man is better qualified, then he will be preferred.

After reading the statement, participants rated the affirmative action plan on four items on fairness, six items on attitudes, and four items on self-interest. Kravitz's four-item fairness and four-item self-interest scales were used in the study. Internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's Alpha) for both of his scales in his previous study were .86 for the fairness scale and .91 for the self-interest scale. The six-item attitude scale (attitudes towards the affirmative action plan) was developed by the researcher. This was followed by a 15-item socio-political orientation scale. Two questions on the Socio-political orientation scale were modified from the Political-Economic conservatism scale (PEC) and the other thirteen items were developed by the researcher. The PEC was adopted from the Newcomb et al. (1967) scale by McBroom and Reed (1990) and it measures an individual's level of conservatism. A high score on the socio-political orientation scale means a liberal orientation, and a low score, conservative. Nine-point bipolar response scales were used for these four scales.

The participants then rated their own political-orientation from a five point scale that ranged from 1 (very conservative) to 5 (very liberal). They were also
asked if they supported Proposition 209. This was followed by twenty questions pertaining to past-group or past-personal discrimination developed by the researcher. These questions asked the respondents if they had encountered discrimination in the past or if they had knowledge the group they belonged to (gender, ethnicity) ever having encountered discrimination.

Participants then answered questions pertaining to acculturation. There were seven questions on language and four questions on relationships, adopted from Barona and Miller (1994). There were fourteen questions on assimilation, fifteen on integration, and twenty questions on separation adopted from Reynoso, Tovar, Kottke, and Pfahler (1996). There were also fourteen questions on ethnic identity adopted from Phinney (1990). Six-point bipolar response scales were used for all acculturation scales. A sample of the questionnaire is found in Appendix A.

Data Analysis

Frequencies for each scale and box plots were examined to determine the existence of any outliers. The box plot for the fairness scale showed one outlier which was deleted from the analysis. Additional analyses were performed to determine whether differences occurred with respect to age, education, occupation, and between students and organizational employees for each group (Hispanic and White women). No significant differences were found between student and organizational employee and participants were categorized into one of the two ethnic groups for subsequent analyses.
Internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) were easily within acceptable levels for the fairness scale (.86), the attitude scale (.93), and the self-interest scale (.93) (Nunnally, 1978). Scale scores were computed by averaging responses across items, and could range from one to nine. High scores indicated high levels of perceived fairness, attitude, and personal self-interest towards the affirmative action plan. Due to the low reliability of the 15-item socio-political orientation scale (.69), seven items were deleted, increasing Cronbach's alpha to .78 (see Appendix E for item statistics and scale).

Internal reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alpha) for the acculturation scales were acceptable for the integration scale (.79), language (.91), ethnic identity scale (.84), and separation scale (.81) (Nunnally, 1978). Due to low reliability of the assimilation scale (.68) and relationship scale (.74), four questions were deleted from the assimilation scale and one from the relationship scale, to increase Cronbach's alpha to .75 for the assimilation scale and .78 for the relationship scale.
RESULTS

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis predicted that Hispanic women or Latinas’ attitudes toward the affirmative action plan would correlate positively with the individual’s self-interest. The descriptive statistics are shown in Table 2. The mean for the 126 Hispanic women completing the attitude scale was 32.08 with a standard deviation of 14.09. The mean for the 126 Hispanic women completing the self-interest scale was 26.82 with a standard deviation of 8.04. A bivariate correlation between attitude and self-interest (Table 4) indicated a significant positive correlation ($r = .43$, $p < .01$), supporting hypothesis one. The effect size indicated that 23% of the variability of the scale scores can be attributed to Latinas’ attitudes toward the affirmative action plan.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis predicted that Hispanic women’s attitudes toward affirmative action would correlate positively with perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan. The mean for the 126 Hispanic women completing the four-item fairness scale was 20.80, with a standard deviation of 9.03. A bivariate correlation between attitude and fairness (Table 4) indicated a high positive correlation ($r = .82$, $p < .01$); hypothesis 2 was supported. The effect size indicated that 67% of the variability of the scale score can be attributed to the Latinas’ attitudes towards the affirmative action plan.
Table 2

Hispanic Women Measures of Central Tendency for Scales.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Average # of Items</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Overall Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>32.08</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>14.09</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
<td>20.80</td>
<td>5.20</td>
<td>9.30</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-interest</td>
<td>26.82</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political</td>
<td>34.06</td>
<td>5.67</td>
<td>10.94</td>
<td>9.00</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: A higher score on Attitude, Fairness, Self-Interest and Socio-Political Orientation indicates positive attitudes toward the affirmative action plan, higher levels of perceived fairness, personal self-interest, and a liberal orientation.

Table 3

White Women Measures of Central Tendency for Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Average # of Items</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Overall Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>27.92</td>
<td>4.65</td>
<td>16.26</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>54.00</td>
<td>.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
<td>17.87</td>
<td>4.46</td>
<td>10.44</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Interest</td>
<td>28.07</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>7.59</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>36.00</td>
<td>.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political</td>
<td>26.72</td>
<td>4.45</td>
<td>9.52</td>
<td>6.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis stated that perceptions of past group discrimination would have an impact on the attitudes toward the affirmative action plan. The mean for group gender discrimination was 7.2, with a standard deviation of 2.17. The mean for group ethnicity discrimination was 6.9, with a standard deviation of 2.18.
Table 4
Pearson Product-Moment Correlations of Scales for Hispanic Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Fairness</th>
<th>Self-interest</th>
<th>Socio-Political Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairness</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.8220**</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-interest</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.4812**</td>
<td>0.3067</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socio-Political</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.1880*</td>
<td>0.2149*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01.

Of the 126 Hispanic women or Latinas, 42% indicated no past group gender discrimination, 27% indicated past group gender discrimination, 61% indicated no past group ethnicity discrimination, and 34% indicated past group ethnicity discrimination.

The mean for personal gender discrimination was 5.79, with a standard deviation of 1.35. The mean for personal ethnicity discrimination was 5.70, with a standard deviation of 1.24. Of the 126 Hispanic women or Latinas, 66.7% indicated no personal discrimination, 2.4% indicated personal gender discrimination, 63.5% indicated no personal ethnicity discrimination, and 3.2% indicated no personal-ethnicity discrimination.

A standard multiple regression was performed using attitudes toward the affirmative action plan as the dependent variable, group-gender, group-ethnicity, personal-gender and personal-ethnicity discrimination as the independent
variables. The analysis was performed using SPSS regression. The $R^2$ indicated that only 1% of the variance in the attitude variable was attributed to the predictor variables. The predictor variables (group-gender, group-ethnicity, personnel-gender, personnel-ethnicity discrimination) did not contribute significantly to the regression, $F(4, 121) = .57, p > .05$. Thus, hypothesis three was not supported.

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis four stated that Hispanic women’s attitudes towards the affirmative action would correlate with their socio-political orientation. The mean for the 126 Hispanic women completing the six-item socio-political orientation scale was 34.06, with a standard deviation of 10.94. A higher score on the scale indicated a liberal political orientation. A bivariate correlation indicated socio-political orientation significantly correlated with attitude ($r = .18, p < .05$). See Table 4 for correlations. About 3.5% of the variability of the scale scores can be attributed to the individual’s attitude towards the affirmative action plan. Socio-political orientation also correlated with fairness ($r = .21, p < .05$), indicating that 4.5% of the variability of the scale scores can attributed to the individual’s attitude towards the affirmative action plan. Although hypothesis four was supported, the small effect sizes must be taken into consideration.

Hypothesis 5 and 6

The fifth hypothesis stated that acculturation would predict Hispanic women’s attitudes towards the affirmative action plan. Descriptive statistics of all scales
A standard multiple regression was performed using attitude towards the affirmative action plan as the dependent variable, and indicators of acculturation (assimilation, integration, language, ethnic identity, relationships, separation) as the independent variables. Table 6 displays the correlations between the variables, unstandardized regression coefficients (B), the standardized regression coefficient (β), the semi-partial correlations (sr²), R², and adjusted R². R for the regression was significantly different from zero, F (5, 116) = 2.66, p < .05. The R² indicates that 11% of the variance in attitude may be attributed to the variability in acculturation. Only one of the IVs (ethnic identity) contributed significantly (β = -.378) to the prediction of attitude towards the affirmative action plan. Although integration and assimilation correlated with attitudes (integration r = -.20, p < .05; assimilation r = .19, p < .05), they did not contribute significantly to the regression.

To further explore whether this group of Hispanic women or Latinas' acculturation influenced their attitude towards the affirmative action plan, a group of 105 White women's attitudes toward the affirmative action plan was compared with the 126 Hispanic women. Latinas had significantly (t (207) = 2.06, p < .05) more positive attitudes towards the affirmative action plan (M = 32.08) than the White women (M= 27.92). The effect size was small (η² = .02), however. Hispanic women also rated ( t (210) = 2.23, p < .05) the affirmative
### Table 5

**Hispanic Women's Measures of Central Tendency for Scales**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scales</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Across # of Items</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Overall Alpha</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>39.33</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>53.00</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>35.08</td>
<td>2.51</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>58.00</td>
<td>.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>28.64</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>8.19</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>51.00</td>
<td>.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>25.73</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>7.29</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>39.00</td>
<td>.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>11.36</td>
<td>2.65</td>
<td>3.30</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>77.32</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>14.20</td>
<td>14.20</td>
<td>109.00</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note*  A lower score on the Assimilation, Ethnic Identity, Integration, Language, Relationship, and Separation scales indicates greater assimilation, ethnic identity, integration, more Spanish speaking, more Hispanic relationships, and more separation from the Anglo-American culture.

### Table 6

**Standard Multiple Regression of Indicators of Acculturation on Hispanic Women’s Attitudes Towards the Affirmative Action Plan.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Attitude (DV)</th>
<th>Assim</th>
<th>Ethnic</th>
<th>Integ</th>
<th>Laug</th>
<th>Relat</th>
<th>Separ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attitude</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>.191**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>-.276**</td>
<td>-.374**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>-.204*</td>
<td>.453**</td>
<td>.705**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>-.052</td>
<td>.342**</td>
<td>.203*</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>-.023</td>
<td>-.191*</td>
<td>.395**</td>
<td>.248**</td>
<td>.399**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.472**</td>
<td>.234**</td>
<td>.443**</td>
<td>.440**</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05.  ** p < .01.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>sr² Unique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assimilation</td>
<td>.144</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Identity</td>
<td>-.501</td>
<td>-.38</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>.163</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation</td>
<td>.107</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
action plan to be more fair (M = 20.80) than the White women (M = 17.86). However, the effect size was again small (η² = .02). Furthermore, Hispanic women or Latinas significantly scored higher (t (214) = 5.82, p < .01) on the socio-political orientation scale (M=45.18) than White women (M=36.60), indicating that Hispanic women in this study were more liberal than the White women. The effect size was moderate (η² = .11). No significant difference was found on Latinas and White women's personal self-interest (t (229) = -1.21, p > .05). Refer to Figure 1 through 4 for box plots of the mean differences by group.

To more fully explore the gap in attitude toward affirmative action, a standard multiple regression was performed using attitude towards the affirmative action plan (Attitdsc) as the dependant variable, and personal self-interest (Selfsc) and group membership (ethnic3; Latinas vs. Whites) as the independent variables. (No multivariate outliers were found. Based on an assessment of partial residual plots of the dependent variable and each of the independent variables, the assumption of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity of residuals were met. In examination of the squared multiple correlations (SMC) of the independent variables, no violations of multicollinearity or singularity were found). Table 7 displays the correlations between the variables, the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), the standardized regression coefficients (β), the semi-partial correlations (sr²) and R, R², and adjusted R². R for the regression was significantly different from zero, F (2,228)
Figure 1

Box Plots for Attitude Towards the Affirmative Action Plan

Figure 2

Box Plots for Perceived Fairness
Figure 3

Box Plots for Socio-Political Orientation

Figure 4

Box Plots for Personal Self-Interest
= 18.43, \( p < .01 \). Both regression coefficients, Ethnic3 and Selfsc differed significantly from zero with 95% confidence limits of .412 to .887 and 5.621 to 19.170.

The \( R^2 \) indicated that 14% of the variance in attitude could be attributed to the variance of self-interest (selfsc) and group membership (Ethnic3). Both variables contributed significantly to the prediction of perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan; self-interest (selfsc) (sr\(^2\) = .12), and group membership (Ethnic3) (sr\(^2\) = .03). It is important to note that these last two predictors were not significantly correlated with each other (\( r = .08, p > .05 \)).

To better analyze the prediction of group membership, a second multiple regression was performed using a third independent variable, perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan. Table 8 displays the correlations between the variables, the unstandardized regression coefficients (B), the standardized regression coefficients (\( \beta \)), the semi-partial correlations (sr\(^2\)), R, \( R^2 \), and

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Attitude (DV)</th>
<th>Selfsc</th>
<th>Ethnic3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>( \beta )</th>
<th>sr(^2) (unique)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selfsc</td>
<td>.335</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.675</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic3</td>
<td>-.136</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td></td>
<td>-5.013</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>30.19</td>
<td>27.39</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std Dev</td>
<td>15.22</td>
<td>7.86</td>
<td>.499</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( R^2 = .14 \)
\( \text{Adjusted } R^2 = .13 \)
\( R = .37^{**} \)

Note Ethnic3 = Group Membership. **\( p < .01 \)
Table 8

Standard Multiple Regression of Self-Interest, Fairness, & Group Membership (Latinas vs. White Women) on Attitudes Towards the Affirmative Action Plan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Attitude (DV)</th>
<th>Selfsc</th>
<th>Fairsc</th>
<th>Ethnic3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>sr² (unique)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selfsc</td>
<td>.34</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.295</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fair</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.264</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic3</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>-.15</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.824</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means</td>
<td>30.19</td>
<td>27.39</td>
<td>19.47</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>R² = .77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Deviations</td>
<td>15.23</td>
<td>7.86</td>
<td>9.92</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>Adjusted R² = .76</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p < .01

adjusted R². R for the regression was significantly different from zero, F (3,227) = 246.92, p < .01. However, this time group membership (Ethnic3) did not contribute significantly to the prediction of attitude towards the affirmative action plan; perceived fairness (sr²=.63), self-interest (sr²=.02), and group membership (Ethnic3) (sr²=.001). Although group membership (Ethnic3) did significantly correlate with attitude (r = -.14, p < .05), its unique contribution was not significant once perceived fairness and self-interest had been partialled out.
DISCUSSION

Hypotheses 1 and 2

The first hypothesis was supported by the current research. It was found that Hispanic women's self-interest would correlate with the individual's self-interest. This finding is consistent with previous research (Jacobson, 1985; Kravitz et al, 1994; Kravitz & Meyer, 1996; Tougas & Beaton, 1993). However, because the distribution of self-interest was negatively skewed (-.768), the correlation may be an underestimate of the relationship.

Furthermore, it was found that Hispanic women's attitude toward the affirmative action plan did correlate positively with perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan. This finding replicates previous research involving both Hispanic and non-Hispanic participants (Kravitz & Meyer, 1996; Nacost, 1987; Singer, 1990; Tyler & McGraw, 1986). These results suggest that Hispanic women or Latinas' attitudes toward affirmative action plans are influenced by self-interest and perceived fairness much in the same way as non-hispanic whites and Hispanic men (Kravitz & Meyer, 1996).

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis indicated that Hispanic Women's perception of past group discrimination would have an impact on the attitudes towards the affirmative action plan. The results, however, indicated that overall past group discrimination did not predict the attitude toward the affirmative action plan.
One explanation for this finding may be that most participants had not been confronted with previous group or personal discrimination. A previous study by Matheson, Talor and Chow (1994) suggested that women's opposition to affirmative action plans may be due to the lack of personal experience with discrimination. Results in the present study indicated that of the 126 Hispanic women or Latinas, only 27% had been confronted with past group gender discrimination and 34% with past group ethnicity discrimination. Furthermore, of the 126 Hispanic women 2.4% had been exposed to personal gender discrimination and 3.2% to personal ethnicity discrimination. The low percentage may be the result of such a large portion of the Latina sample (56.5%) were 25 years or younger and, thus, did not have much work experience. The sample in this study may not have been representative of all working women's ages. Future research that includes a more representative sample is needed in this area.

Alternatively, it may be that, as Matheson, Taylor, Rivers, and Chow (1994) suggest, that even if participants have been confronted with a situation of discrimination, participants may be unwilling to perceive the situation as unjust or discriminatory against their own group. Thus, the Hispanic women in this study may have refused the idea that they themselves may have been threatened and, thus, refused to acknowledge their disadvantage.
Hypothesis 4

Socio-political orientation did positively correlate with attitudes towards the affirmative action plan and perceived fairness of the affirmative action plan. The results indicated that a higher score on the socio-political orientation scale, which indicates more liberalism, predicted a more positive attitude towards the affirmative action plan, as well as perceiving the affirmative action plan to be fairer. This replicates previous research involving men and women, in which self-identified liberals had higher support for affirmative action than conservatives (Sidanius, Pratto & Bobo, 1996). Although significant results were obtained, effect sizes for both correlations were small, suggesting that other unaccounted variables are contributing a large amount of the variance in attitude and fairness of the affirmative action plan.

Hypotheses 5 and 6

In this study one indicator of acculturation was able to predict attitude towards the affirmative action plan. Ethnic identity, and indicator of acculturation, contributed significantly to the prediction of attitude towards the affirmative action plan. The Hispanic women who had strong ethnic-identity (Hispanic or Latino) had more positive attitudes towards the affirmative action plan (see Appendix F for scatter plot). Previous research (Altaribba & Santiago-Rivera, 1994; James & Khoo, 1991) has found that as a function of Hispanic cultural values, Latinas prefer to work through collaboration and are willing to contribute to the achievement of others.
Figure 5

Scattergram of Ethnic Identity and Attitude Towards the Affirmative Action Plan for Hispanic Women

Lower scores on the ethnic identity axis indicates higher ethnic identity. Higher scores on the attitude axis indicates more positive attitude towards the affirmative action plan.

Furthermore, Hispanic women did have more positive attitudes towards the affirmative action plan and rated the affirmative action plan to be more fair than white women. However, the small effect size must be taken into consideration. The first multiple regression using attitude towards the affirmative action plan as the DV and personal self-interest and group membership (Ethnic3) as the IVs, did find both IVs to contribute to the prediction of attitude towards the affirmative action plan. However, group membership accounted for less of the variability than self-interest. The second multiple regression, in which a third IV (fairness) was added, indicated that group membership did not contribute to the prediction of attitude towards the affirmative action plan. Although the bivariate correlation between group membership and attitude was
different from zero, the relationship seemed to be mediated, or made redundant, by the relationship between group membership and fairness. Although hypothesis six was supported by t-tests and the first multiple regression, group membership was not a strong predictor of attitude towards the affirmative action plan. A reason for this finding may be that both Hispanic women and White women in this study have been influenced by each others culture through ethnic interactions. According to Betancourt and Lopez (1993), "as members of an ethnic group interact with each other, ethnicity becomes a means by which culture is transmitted" (p. 631). Hence, future research is needed in this area.

Recommendations for Future Research

The limitations and results of the current study lead to several recommendations for future studies on Hispanic women or Latina’s views on affirmative action. One limitation to this study is the lack of representation of the Hispanic population. The Hispanic sample of women in this study was not representative of the overall Latino population. Of the 126 Hispanic women’s ethnicity, 88.1% were from Central-America, 7.9% from South-America, and only 4% from Puerto Rican or Cuban. Therefore, the generalizability of these results is limited to a small segment of the Hispanic or Latin population. Future studies that include a more representative sample is needed in this area. Second, the results did include both students and organizational employees, but the age range was not a good representation. Thus, generalizability is questionable due to the nature of the sample.
In summary, this study should be seen as one step in the attempt to gain a better understanding of Hispanic women or Latina's views on affirmative action. Although the present study explored important issues for a population that has received minimal attention, future research is needed on the variables used in this study, as well as self-efficacy (Hattrup, 1994), measures of motivation, performance, and other variables that have been indicated as critical to the views of affirmative action (Chacko, 1982; Tougas, Joly, Beaton & St. Pierre, 1996).
APPENDIX A

Questionnaire

Please read the paragraph below and answer all 14 questions.
Company X has an opening for a top management position in their marketing department. Company X is planning on implementing an affirmative action plan in response to previous discrimination of women applying for management positions. The statement below indicates a plan that will be used by company X in filling the top management position.

"All selection decisions are to be based primarily on the person's qualification as indicated by past experience, test scores, and past performance. In addition, if a woman and a man applicant are fully and equally qualified, the woman is to be preferred. If the man is better qualified, then he will be preferred."

On the scale please circle the best number that describes how you feel in regards to the statement. Please use the following scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I cannot imagine a more just affirmative action plan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>This affirmative action plan does not treat all concerned parties fairly.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>This affirmative action plan is fair.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>This affirmative action plan is unjust.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I have a negative attitude towards this affirmative action plan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>This affirmative action plan does not make sense.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I have a positive attitude towards this affirmative action plan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I agree with this affirmative action plan.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>This affirmative action plan makes sense.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I disagree with this affirmative action plan.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hurt</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Help</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>What effect would this affirmative action plan have on your chances of being hired?</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>What effect would this affirmative action plan have on your chances of being promoted?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>What effect would this affirmative action plan probably have on your future career?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>What effect would this affirmative action plan probably have on your salary?</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For the next questions circle the number that you feel best represents your view of the statement. Please use the following scale.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>People who have been discriminated in the past succeed through hard work alone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I value social freedom (freedom to make a choice) over equality.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>The majority of the people in the lower classes are there due to lack of opportunity.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>The national government should be able to enforce national policy concerning equal rights for women and other minorities.</td>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>Human nature and society has an unlimited potential for change.</td>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>Minorities and women deserve preferential treatment.</td>
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<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>Any able-bodied person could get a job if they tried hard enough.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>States and local governments should have the right to decide if policies concerning equal rights for women and other minorities are to be used in their area.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I support affirmative action.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>Human nature and society is corrupted and generally unyielding.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>Minorities and women must be hired strictly on merit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I oppose affirmative action.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>The vast majority of people in the lower classes are there because they are lazy.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>I value equality and justice for all.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
<td>Hard working people with previous discrimination should receive preferential treatment.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
For the following two questions please circle the most appropriate word or phrase.
Please rate your perception of your own socio-political orientation: (circle one)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Liberal</th>
<th>Liberal</th>
<th>Moderately Liberal</th>
<th>Moderately Conservative</th>
<th>Very Conservative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Proposition 209** is defined as follows: "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting."

Do you support proposition 209?  Yes, I support proposition 209.  No, I do not support proposition 209.

For the following questions please circle **Yes or No**.

Have you been denied career advancement because of your gender?  Yes  No

In terms of your chances of being promoted, have you been discriminated against because of your ethnicity?  Yes  No

In terms of your salary, have you been discriminated against because of your gender?  Yes  No

Do you feel that you have been discriminated against because of your gender?  Yes  No

Have you been denied employment because of your gender?  Yes  No

Have you been denied career advancement because of your ethnicity?  Yes  No

In terms of your chances of being promoted, have you been discriminated against because of your gender?  Yes  No

Have you been denied employment because of your ethnicity?  Yes  No

Do you feel that you have been discriminated against because of your ethnicity?  Yes  No

In terms of your salary, have you been discriminated against because of your ethnicity?  Yes  No

For the following questions “Your Group” is defined as the ethnicity or gender you belong to.
Please circle **Yes or No**

Have members of your group been denied career advancement because of their ethnicity?  Yes  No

In terms of salary, have members of your group been discriminated against because of their gender?  Yes  No

Do you feel that members of your group have been discriminated against because of their ethnicity?  Yes  NO

Have members of your group been denied employment because of their ethnicity?  Yes  No

Have members of your group been denied career advancement because of their gender?  Yes  No

In terms of salary, have members of your group been discriminated against because of their
Do you feel that members of your group have been discriminated against because of their gender? Yes No

In terms of chances of being promoted, have members of your group been discriminated against because of their ethnicity? Yes No

Have members of your group been denied employment because of their gender? Yes No

In terms of chances of being promoted, have members of your group been discriminated against because of their gender? Yes No

For the next items, please use the following scale. Write the correct number on the line.

1= Only Spanish 2= More Spanish than English 3 = Both equally 4= More English than Spanish
5= Only English 6= English and another language

______ In general, which language do you read and speak?
______ What was the language you used as a child?
______ What language do you usually speak at home?
______ In which language do you usually think?
______ In what language are the TV programs you usually watch?
______ In what language are the radio programs you usually listen to?
______ In general, in what language are the movies, TV, and radio programs you prefer to watch and listen to?

For the following items, please use the following scale:

1= All Latinos/Hispanics 2= More Latinos than other ethnic groups
3= About half and half 4= More of another ethnic group than Latinos
5= All other ethnic groups

______ Your close friends are?
______ You prefer going to social gatherings/parties at which the people are?
______ The person you visit or who visit you are?
______ If you choose your children’s friends, you would want them to be?
Please use the following scale to respond to the following items. Write the appropriate number on the line.

1=Strongly Agree  2=Agree  3=Slightly Agree  4=Slightly Disagree  5=Disagree  6=Strongly Disagree

I feel that the best way for members of ethnic minority groups to get along is to play down their own culture and to become part of American society by being as much like other Americans as possible.

I believe that ethnic minority groups should maintain and practice their own cultural traditions, but also learn to get along in mainstream American society.

I think that members of different minority groups should emphasize their own cultural traditions within their communities and not try to mix with other Americans.

I have spent time trying to find out more about my own ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

Both my country of origin and the U.S. have played a role in my cultural development.

It is equally important to speak Spanish and English.

Cross-cultural friendships are good because they expose us to different perspectives.

I think it is beneficial for Latinos to listen to music in Spanish and English.

I take great pride in participating in Latino festivals.

Latinos should celebrate only traditional American holidays.

Being involved in interracial relationships separates Latinos from their cultural ties.

Bilingual education is very important.

I plan to raise my children to be able to function in the majority culture, without regard to any other culture.

I have both Latino and non-Latino friends.

It is important to Latinos to learn to enjoy the same types of foods as mainstream America.

I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

Members of the Latino community should listen to popular top-40 music instead of culturally based music.

I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

I think Latinos should listen to culturally based radio stations and music.

I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

Latinos should adhere to their own customs and rules of etiquette.
1=Strongly Agree  2=Agree  3=Slightly Agree  4=Slightly Disagree  5=Disagree  6=Strongly Disagree

When I have children, I won’t encourage them to learn about my particular heritage.

I really have not spent much time trying to learn more about the culture and history of my ethnic group.

Expressing a strong Latino identity is divisive and creates unnecessary problems.

Latinos should shop at Latino businesses.

Latinos should consider Spanish their primary language.

I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means to me.

When I have children, I will make sure they learn about different cultures, including my cultural heritage.

I am not very clear about the role of my ethnicity in my life.

I think that is very important to have a strong Latino identity.

Money spent on bilingual education could be better spent on other social problems.

I am comfortable living in a mostly white neighborhood.

In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

I feel uncomfortable living in a mostly white neighborhood.

I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group and its accomplishments.

It is best for Latinos to learn and practice the customs of the mainstream Anglo culture.

To better blend in, Latinos should wear the same kind of clothes that American society wears.

My children will participate only in activities relevant to my cultural heritage.

I feel comfortable being around Anglos.

I would prefer living in a mostly Latino neighborhood.

I have a strong ties to my country of origin.

Latinos should feel free to practice any religion.

I plan to raise my children with a focus on my ethnic culture to minimize the effect of the majority culture.

Supporting social causes that benefit both Latino and non-Latino communities is important.

It is acceptable if Latinos want to practice elements of both Catholic and non-Catholic religion.
I have less ties to my country of origin than I used to.

Latino should support social causes that are sponsored by the mainstream culture.

I usually shop at the major markets, but on occasion I pick up Latino products at a Latino market.

Culturally, it is important for Latinos to maintain a traditional diet.

I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me in terms of how to relate my own group and other groups.

I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music or customs.

Culturally, it is important for Latinos to celebrate their traditional holidays.

Latinos should maintain their customs and social rules, but also learn of mainstream society.

It is okay for Latinos to wear mainstream styles of clothing as well as styles based on the Latino subculture.

I enjoy eating traditional Latino foods as well as other ethnic dishes.

Latinos should celebrate both Latino and American holidays.

Latinos should support only those groups or politicians that help advance Latino causes.

I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

I plan to raise my children to appreciate and accept the difference in majority and minority culture.

I prefer to speak Spanish.

I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

Latinos should resist mainstream fashion trends and wear traditional clothing.

Latinos should practice Catholicism.

I don't usually participate in Latino holidays or celebrations.

I feel a sense of belonging when I am in a group of Latinos.

Thank you very much for your help!

If you have any comments please write them here.
APPENDIX B

Informed Consent

The study which you are about to participate is designed to investigate how people view affirmative action. The survey will take approximately 20 minutes to complete. The study is being conducted by Isabel Vargas-Machuca, graduate student in psychology, under the direction of Dr. Janet L. Kottke, Professor of Psychology. This study has been approved by the Psychology Department Human Subject Review Board, California State University, San Bernardino.

All information you provide will be held in the strictest confidence by the researchers. At no time are you asked for your name. Your response are anonymous, enabling you to be as completely honest as possible. All data will be reported in group form only. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw and to remove your data at any time during the study without penalty. Any additional questions about this study should be directed to Dr. Kottke by calling 909-880-5585. You may obtain a copy of the results by contacting Dr. Kottke after June 15, 1997. If you have questions about research subjects’ rights, contact the University’s Institutional Review Board (909 -880-5027).

I acknowledge that I have been informed of, and understand, the nature and purpose of this study, and I freely consent to participate. I am at least 18 years of age.

Place a check mark here if you consent to participate______.

Today’s date is ____________________.
APPENDIX C

Demographic Questionnaire

Please circle the appropriate answer or fill in the appropriate space as carefully and accurately as possible.

General Information

1. What is your gender? (1) Female (2) Male

2. How old are you? ________

3. What is the highest level of education completed as of November 1996?
   (1) Less than high school diploma
   (2) High school diploma
   (3) Some college
   (4) College graduate (Bachelor Degree)
   (5) Some graduate school
   (6) Master Degree
   (7) Doctoral Degree

4. What is your ethnicity?
   (1) African-American
   (2) Asian-American
   (3) Latin-American or Hispanic (If Latin-American or Hispanic please check below)
      _______ Central-American (Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua etc.)
      _______ South-American (Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador etc.)
      _______ Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Portuguese
   (4) Native-American
   (5) White, Caucasian, European, not Hispanic
   (6) Other (please specify) _______________________

5. Were you born in the United States? Yes No; Where were you born? ________
   If you were born outside of the U.S., how many years have you lived in the U.S.? _____

6. Were your parents born in the United States? Yes No
   If no, country of father's birth __________________
   If no, country of mother's birth __________________

7. Were your grandparents born in the United States? Yes No

8. Are you currently employed? Yes No
   If yes, what is your job title: ________________________
The primary purpose of this study you have participated in is to gain a better understanding of how individuals’ attitudes toward affirmative action are related to their beliefs in fairness, self-interest, socio-political orientation, and acculturation.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Isabel Vargas-Machuca, by leaving a message at 909-880-5585.

Thank you very much for your valuable help in conducting this study.
### APPENDIX E

**Item Total Statistics for Socio-Political Orientation Scale**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Scale Mean if Item Deleted</th>
<th>Scale Variance if Item Deleted</th>
<th>Corrected Item-Total Correltn</th>
<th>Alpha if Item Deleted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The majority of the people in the lower classes are there due to lack of oppurtunity.</td>
<td>28.92</td>
<td>89.01</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The national government should be able to enforce national policy concerning equal rights for women and other minorities.</td>
<td>27.16</td>
<td>88.02</td>
<td>.56</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minorities and women deserve preferential treatment.</td>
<td>29.39</td>
<td>83.82</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I support affirmative action.</td>
<td>27.88</td>
<td>81.91</td>
<td>.61</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I oppose affirmative action. (Recoded)</td>
<td>27.76</td>
<td>88.50</td>
<td>.47</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard working people with previous discrimination should receive preferential treatment.</td>
<td>29.19</td>
<td>90.11</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N of Cases = 126  
N of Items = 6  
Alpha = .7769
REFERENCES


McCauley, Ohlott, & Ruderman (1996) Presented the 11th annual meeting of SIOP, San Diego, CA.


