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### PERSONALITY'S INFLUENCE ON HIGHER ORDER FACTORS OF PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION

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#### ABSTRACT

*Participants, 524 students (80% white and 20% nonwhite) at a large urban university, completed a questionnaire assessing the personality traits, prejudice against four target groups, and discrimination towards the same groups. As hypothesized, analyses revealed single higher order factors for both prejudice and discrimination. Path analysis found support for a model with personality traits directly influence prejudice, only indirectly affect discrimination, and where prejudice directly influences discrimination.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

This research aims to confirm higher order factors of prejudice and discrimination shaping individual domains of prejudice and discrimination towards African Americans, females, homosexuals, and the obese. Also, we evaluate a path model that explains discrimination as a result of prejudice and personality traits, and prejudice as a result of personality. This study allows for a broad examination of the impact of personality on prejudice and discrimination because it includes several personality traits. The path model allows for the determination of the personality traits direct effects on discrimination, i.e., those independent of prejudice, and their indirect effects through prejudice.

### **Higher Order Factors of Prejudice and Discrimination**

Relatively few prejudice studies have investigated more than one target group at one time. Qualls, Cox, and Schehr (1992) found significant correlations among racial prejudice, prejudice against homosexuals, and prejudice against females. Several studies have found moderately strong correlations between race prejudice and prejudice against homosexuals for undergraduates and high school students (Hensley & Pincus, 1978; Ficarotto, 1990). Hoover and Fishbein (1999) also discovered, in junior and senior high school students, modest correlations among prejudice against homosexuals, people with HIV, and African Americans. Prejudice scales targeting African Americans, homosexuals, people with HIV/AIDS, and fat people, and a scale of sex role stereotyping loaded on a single factor of intolerance (Ritchey and Fishbein, 2001). Loadings ranged from .547 for Sex Role Stereotyping to .728 for HIV/AIDS prejudice. These studies provide some evidence for a higher order factor of prejudice.

A meta-analysis conducted by Schutz and Six (1996) investigated correlations between prejudice and discrimination. In their examination of 60 studies, none of the experiments reported two or more domains of discrimination. Schutz and Six (1996) suggest a population correlation between prejudice and discrimination of approximately .286. While some studies find a correlation of .608, others report a weak correlation of .125 (Howitt & McCabe, 1978; Wagner, Hewstone, & Machlett, 1989). These moderate correlations indicate that factors other than prejudice impact discrimination. Thus, we also assess direct and indirect influences of personality traits on discrimination with a path analytic model with discrimination as the ultimate dependent variable, prejudice as a mediating variable, and personality traits as antecedent variables.

### **Personality, Prejudice, and Discrimination**

Triandis's (1995) description of collectivism, or interdependence, includes a horizontal aspect, which involves valuing equality in status. Collectivism should correspond to lower prejudice and discrimination because interdependent people should be more accepting of out-groups. The need for affiliation (Edwards, 1966) should be associated with both low prejudice and discrimination scores. If people need to feel close ties to others, their tendency to judge others negatively and behave in negative ways towards subordinate group members should be lower than average. The need for dominance (Edwards, 1966) reflects an individual's need to exert control and influence over others irrespective of their group membership. We expected this need

to be associated with higher levels of prejudice and discrimination. A person with the need for dominance should be more likely to degrade members of subordinate groups in an effort to assert control or justify having a superior position.

We utilized Batson's (1976) three-dimensional model of religious motivation that includes the Ends, Means, and Quest orientations. The Means orientation involves using one's religion for personal goals, the Ends orientation implies a deep love for one's religion, and viewing religion as a Quest involves pursuing meaning in one's personal and social world. Fisher, Derison, Polley, Cadman, and Johnston (1994) found the Quest orientation negatively correlated with homosexual prejudice. Hunsberger's (1995) literature review also concluded that the Quest orientation correlates negatively with prejudice. Those higher in the Quest orientation may be less prejudiced and less discriminatory because their open-mindedness with religion extends to their attitudes toward subordinate groups in society. The previously inconsistent findings with regard to the Ends, Means and prejudice prevented a clear basis for predicting the relationships between these religious orientations, prejudice, and discrimination.

For those personality measures in the current study, the connection with discrimination remains unexamined. The present research fills a gap in the literature concerning the relationships between personality, prejudice, and self-reported acts of discrimination.

## **METHODS**

We recruited 524 (57% female) subjects from the participant pool of introductory psychology students at a large Midwestern university. Students signed up at the departmental participant pool board and earned extra or course credit in return. Approximately 80% of the respondents identified themselves as White, 12% as Black, and 8% as Asian/Pacific Islander, Hispanic, or other. Participants reported a mean age of 19 years with a standard deviation of 1.66.

Response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) through 4 (strongly agree) so that a higher score indicates greater amounts of the concept being measured. For each of the four discrimination measures constructed by the authors, respondents indicated whether they had performed, in the last five years, a specific behavior: never, 1-2 times, 3-4 times, or 5 or more times. See Appendix A for scale items.

**Need for Affiliation and Dominance:** Two sections of the Edwards Personality Preference Inventory (1966) assessed levels of the need for affiliation and dominance. Each scale consisted of 28 pairs of sentences with one in each expressing a preference for affiliation or domination, depending on the scale. Participants chose the sentence in each pair that most accurately described them. Individual scores for each of these reflect the total number of affiliation or dominance items chosen by the participant.

**Collectivism:** Subjects completed the 8-item horizontal collectivism scale from Triandis's (1995) *Subjective Individualism and Collectivism Scale* (Cronbach's alpha = .70).

Orientations to Religion (Batson, 1976): Participants responded to five items from the *Religion as Ends* scale (Cronbach's alpha = .81), five items from the *Religion as Means* scale (Cronbach's alpha = .88), and six items from the *Religion as Quest* scale (Cronbach's alpha = .70).

Race Prejudice: We administered 8 items (Cronbach's alpha = .83) taken from the *Modern Racism* and *Old Fashioned Racism Scales* (McConahay, 1986). These items include those adapted from Swim, Aiken, Hall, and Hunter (1995) by O'Bryan, Fishbein, and Ritchey (1999).

Sex Prejudice: Seven items from the *Modern Sexism Scale* (Swim, Aiken, Hall, & Hunter, 1995) measured prejudice against women (Cronbach's alpha = .78).

Homosexual Prejudice: Participants completed 8 items (Cronbach's alpha = .86) taken from the *Homosexual Prejudice Scale* (O'Bryan et al., 1999), a scale developed from two previous measures of prejudice against homosexuals (Hoover & Fishbein, 1999; Kite & Deaux, 1986).

Obesity Prejudice: Each participant completed 10 items (Cronbach's alpha = .80) from Crandall's *Anti-Fat Attitudes Questionnaire* (1994).

Race Discrimination: The 9-item behavior scale obtained information about participants' acts of discrimination against African Americans (Cronbach's alpha = .82).

Sex Discrimination: This 9 item behavior scale requested information about participants' acts of sexual discrimination (Cronbach's alpha = .83).

Homosexual Discrimination: This 10-item measure collected information about participants' behaviors of discrimination against homosexuals (Cronbach's alpha = .85).

Obesity Discrimination; This 10-item scale asked participants about their acts of discrimination against the obese (Cronbach's alpha = .87).

Controls: Race (white= 1; nonwhite= 0) and sex (females=1; males=0) served as control variables. Parental education failed to significantly influence on prejudice or discrimination. Therefore, we removed the variable from the model discussed below.

### **Procedure of Analysis**

Confirmatory factor analysis tested a higher order factor of prejudice and a higher order factor of discrimination. The subsequent path model estimated the effects of six personality traits and two controls on higher order factors of prejudice and discrimination. The model also estimated the path from prejudice to discrimination and the direct paths from each exogenous variable to discrimination. Therefore, the model allowed for personality traits and controls to affect discrimination both indirectly through prejudice and directly, independent of prejudice.

## RESULTS

Table 1 contains the descriptive statistics for all study variables. Average prejudice scores indicated mild disagreement with items; but some participants strongly agreed. On average, participants discriminated against target group members 1-2 times in the last five years. Participants varied considerably with some obtaining the maximum score of five or more discriminatory acts against a target group. Appendix B contains the correlations among variables.

**Table 1. Descriptive Statistics for Study Variables (N=524)**

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Prejudice Against:				
African American	1.77	0.63	1.00	4.00
Women	2.09	0.58	1.00	4.00
Homosexuals	1.92	0.71	1.00	4.00
Obese	2.05	0.50	1.00	4.00
Discrimination Against:				
African American	1.45	1.18	0.00	5.50
Women	1.41	1.22	0.00	5.50
Homosexuals	1.29	1.18	0.00	5.50
Obese	1.61	1.24	0.00	5.50
Need for Affiliation	12.79	4.52	1.00	26.00
Need for Dominance	12.05	4.41	2.00	27.00
Collectivism	3.18	0.41	1.88	4.00
Religious Orientation:				
Ends	2.50	0.87	1.00	4.00
Means	2.90	0.96	1.00	4.00
Quest	2.63	0.75	1.00	4.00
Sex (1 female, 0 male)	0.57	0.49	0.00	1.00
Race (1 white, 0 nonwhite)	0.81	0.40	0.00	1.00
Parents' Education Level	3.30	0.98	1.00	5.00

### Higher Order Factors of Prejudice and Discrimination

Table 2 shows loadings of the four prejudice and four discrimination variables on single factors of prejudice and discrimination, respectively. Each single factor model suggests a very good fit, supporting the idea of single higher order factors for both prejudice and discrimination. The prejudice loadings range from .498 for sexism to .700 for prejudice against homosexuals. The discrimination loadings range from .674 for discrimination against blacks to .799 for

discrimination against homosexuals and the obese. Both analyses resulted in non-significant chi-squares, very small standardized root mean square residuals, and very high goodness of fit indices.

**Table 2. Confirmatory Factor Analyses: Higher Order Prejudice and Discrimination Factors (N=524)**

	Prejudice	Discrimination
Scale by Target:		
African Americans	0.678	0.674
Women	0.498	0.784
Homosexuals	0.700	0.799
Obese	0.564	0.799
Fit Statistics:		
Chi Square	1.329	0.406
P value	0.515	0.816
SRMSR	0.010	0.004
Goodness of Fit Index	0.999	1.000
Adjusted Goodness of Fit	0.994	0.998

Table 3 shows the statistically significant path coefficients from regressions of prejudice on personality traits and controls, and of discrimination on prejudice, personality traits, and controls. As expected, prejudice directly influenced discrimination (Beta = .489) indicating higher prejudice results in higher discrimination.

**Table 3. Standardized Path Coefficients for Personality Attributes, Controls, Prejudice, and Discrimination**

Variables	Prejudice	Discrimination
Prejudice		0.489
Affiliation	-0.63	-0.100
Dominance	ns	ns
Collectivism	-0.326	ns
Ends	0.226	ns
Means	ns	ns
Quest	-0.142	ns
Controls:	ns	ns
Sex (female)	-0.289	-0.171
Race (white)	0.181	0.071
R squared	0.287	0.385

ns = nonsignificant at  $p < .05$

Three of the six personality traits directly affected prejudice, but only indirectly affected discrimination. The impact of these variables suggests that personality affects discrimination through prejudice. Those with greater Ends orientation to religion expressed more prejudiced than those scoring lower (Beta = .226). We calculated the indirect effects of the Ends orientation

on discrimination by multiplying its direct effect on prejudice with the direct effect of prejudice on discrimination ( $\text{Beta} = .226 \times .489 = .111$ ). Similarly, those with a greater Quest orientation to religion reported less prejudice ( $\text{Beta} = -.142$ ) and discrimination ( $\text{Beta} = -.069$ ) than those with lower scores; and those higher in collectivism exhibited less prejudice ( $\text{Beta} = -.326$ ) and discrimination ( $\text{Beta} = -.159$ ) than those with lower scores. The need for affiliation, with only a modest negative effect ( $\text{Beta} = -.10$ ), directly influenced discrimination. This variable only weakly influenced prejudice ( $\text{Beta} = -.063$ ). Dominance and the Means orientation failed to predict either prejudice or discrimination.

Sex and race directly influenced prejudice and directly and indirectly influenced discrimination. Sex most strongly affected both prejudice and discrimination. Females reported less prejudice ( $\text{Beta} = -.289$ ) and less discrimination ( $\text{Beta} = -.171$ ) than males. Sex indirectly influenced discrimination, but only weakly ( $\text{Beta} = -.084$ ). Race also directly influenced prejudice ( $\text{Beta} = .181$ ) more than discrimination ( $\text{Beta} = .071$ ). The influence of race suggests less prejudice and discrimination among people color compared with white people.

## **DISCUSSION**

The finding of a higher order factor of prejudice supported past research reporting either high correlations among prejudices against various target groups (Qualls, Cox, & Schehr, 1992), or a single factor underlying prejudices (Ritchey & Fishbein, 2001). The existence of a single factor emerged in the absence of similarity of concepts, items, or wording across the four prejudice domains. The homosexuality scale dealt with morality; the race scale with intelligence; the gender scale with equality; and the obese scale with will power. Perhaps the common ground exists in the perception of the person evaluating these target groups. People differentially accept the social and cultural norms that label target groups as flawed or inferior in one or more ways. The predisposition to accept or reject these norms may be influenced by personality traits, an explanation consistent with the significant effects of personality on prejudice. The significant effects of race and sex, however, provide ambiguous support for this view.

The higher order factor of discrimination contributes a new finding to the research literature. Compared with the four prejudice loadings, higher loadings occurred for the four types of discrimination, possibly resulting from some concept and item similarity across the discrimination domains. Discriminatory behavior directed at subordinate group members, or directed at target groups in general, support and perpetuate cultural norms. These cultural norms exist to maintain the status quo by keeping the dominant groups in power and preventing the subordinate groups from gaining access to that power. In that sense, members of dominant groups gain from discrimination against all target groups on both personal and group levels. Individuals seeking upward mobility or power, including members of subordinate groups, may discriminate in order to identify with the dominant group members who have access to power, such as men, white people, heterosexuals, and non-obese people by showing conformity to norms enforced by the dominant groups.

Collectivism achieved the strongest personality influence on prejudice, perhaps a result of a higher sense of acceptance and equality associated with being connected with others. Our findings confirm the prediction by Triandis and Gelfand (1998) that those higher in collectivism

should be less tolerant of differences in status. Unlike collectivism, the need for affiliation reflects the importance of receiving approval from and spending time with friends. Those who seek affiliation might similarly seek acceptance, and therefore avoid antagonizing others through discrimination. The Ends orientation to religion led to increased prejudice, the Quest orientation led to decreased prejudice while the Means orientation influenced neither. Batson, Naifeh, and Pate (1978) and McFarland (1990) also found a negative relationship between prejudice and the Quest orientation. Those with a Quest orientation may exhibit less prejudice because their tendency to search for answers to complicated religious questions may also apply to complicated questions concerning social issues and inequality.

### **Limitations and Conclusions**

The exclusive use of college students as participants limits generalization. Given the modest overall level of prejudice and discrimination reported by participants, our findings may not apply to people with high levels of prejudice and those who discriminate more frequently than the levels reported by participants in this study. We also employed a relatively novel approach to measuring discrimination, self-reports of previous discriminatory behavior. Subjects openly reported engaging in discriminatory behaviors, such as calling an obese person a "fat pig," or a woman a "slut," or a homosexual a "fag" to his or her face. Research utilizing several discrimination measures would provide valuable information on the correlations among measures. Future studies including additional target groups, such as the disabled or more racial groups, may help assess the extent to which these higher order factors of prejudice and discrimination represent a general measure of these concepts.

The major findings of this study suggest that various forms of prejudice share a common underlying factor and various forms of discrimination also share a common factor. The path model indicates that collectivism, the Quest orientation to religion, the Ends orientation to religion, and the need for affiliation lead to lower levels of higher order prejudice. In addition, the need for affiliation directly impacts lower levels of higher order discrimination. An individual's prejudice also influences his or her overall discriminatory behaviors. For example, someone generally low in prejudice against these groups should also be generally less discriminatory in behavior.

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## **APPENDIX A: SURVEY INSTRUMENTS**

### **Need for Affiliation**

**A** I like to be successful in things undertaken.

**B** I like to form new friendships.

**A** I like to follow instructions and to do what is expected of me.

**B** I like to have strong attachments with my friends.

**A** Any written work that I do I like to have precise, neat, and well organized.

**B** I like to make as many friends as I can.

**A** I like to tell amusing stories and jokes at parties.

**B** I like to write letters to my friends.

**A** I like to be able to come and go as I want to.

**B** I like to share things with my friends.

**A** I like to be loyal to my friends.

**B** I like to do my very best in whatever I undertake.

**A** I like to do things for my friends.

**B** When planning something, I like to get suggestions from other people whose opinions I respect.

**A** I like to share things with my friends.

**B** I like to make a plan before starting in to do something difficult.

**A** I like to have strong attachments with my friends.

**B** I like to say things that are regarded as witty and clever by other people.

**A** I like to do things with my friends rather than by myself.

**B** I like to say what I think about things.

**A** I like to share things with my friends.

**B** I like to analyze my own motives and feelings.

**A** I like to form new friendships.

**B** I like my friends to help me when I am in trouble.

**A** I like to do things with my friends rather than by myself.

**B** I like to argue for my point of view when it is attacked by others.

A I like to participate in groups in which the members have warm and friendly feelings toward one another.  
B I feel guilty whenever I have done something I know is wrong.  
A I like to participate in groups in which the members have warm and friendly feelings toward one another.  
B I like to help my friends when they are in trouble.  
A I like to do things with my friends rather than by myself.  
B I like to experiment and to try new things.  
A I like to do things for my friends.  
B When I have an assignment to do, I like to start in and keep working on it until it is completed.  
A I like to be loyal to my friends.  
B I like to go out with attractive persons of the opposite.  
A I like to write letters to my friends.  
B I like to read newspaper accounts of murders and other forms of violence.  
A I like to analyze my own motives and feelings.  
B I like to make as many friends as I can.  
A I like my friends to help me when I am in trouble.  
B I like to do things for my friends.  
A I like to argue for my point of view when it is attacked by others.  
B I like to write letters to my friends.  
A I feel guilty whenever I have done something I know is wrong.  
B I like to have strong attachments with my friends.  
A I like to help my friends when they are in trouble.  
B I like to be loyal to my friends.  
A I like to do new and different things.  
B I like to form new friendships.  
A When I have an assignment to do, I like to start in and keep working on it until it is completed.  
B I like to participate in groups in which the members have warm and friendly feelings toward one another.  
A I like to go out with attractive persons of the opposite sex.  
B I like to make as many friends as I can.  
A I like to attack points of view that are contrary to mine.  
B I like to write letters to my friends.

### **Need for Domination**

A I like to do things with my friends rather than by myself.  
B I like to argue for my point of view when it is attacked by others.  
A I like to think about the personalities of my friends and try to figure out what makes them as they are.  
B I like to be able to persuade and influence others to do what I want to do.  
A I like my friends to sympathize with me and to cheer me up when I am depressed.  
B When with a group of people, I like to make the decisions about what we are going to do.  
A I feel timid in the presence of other people I regard as my superiors.  
B I like to supervise and to direct the actions of other people whenever I can.  
A I like to be one of the leaders in the organizations and groups to which I belong.

**B** I like to be able to do things better than other people can.

**A** When serving on a committee, I like to be appointed or elected chairperson.

**B** When I am in a group, I like to accept the leadership of someone else in deciding what the group is going to do.

**A** I like to be regarded by others as a leader.

**B** I like to keep my letters, bills, and other papers neatly arranged and filed according to some system.

**A** I like to tell other people how to do their jobs.

**B** I like to be the center of attention in a group.

**A** I like to supervise and to direct the actions of other people whenever I can.

**B** I like to do things in my own way without regard to what others may think.

**A** I like to argue for my point of view when it is attacked by others.

**B** I like to write letters to my friends.

**A** When with a group of people, I like to make the decisions about what we are going to do.

**B** I like to predict how my friends will act in various situations.

**A** I like to be called upon to settle arguments and disputes between others.

**B** I like my friends to do many small favors for me cheerfully.

**A** I like to be able to persuade and influence others to do what I want.

**B** I feel depressed by my own inability to handle various situations.

**A** I like to be one of the leaders in the organizations and groups to which I belong.

**B** I like to sympathize with my friends when they are hurt or sick.

**A** I like to argue for my point of view when it is attacked by others.

**B** I like to experience novelty and change in my daily routine.

**A** I like to be regarded by others as a leader.

**B** I like to put in long hours of work without being distracted.

**A** When with a group of people, I like to make the decisions about what we are going to do.

**B** I like to engage in social activities with members of the opposite sex.

**A** I like to tell other people how to do their jobs.

**B** I feel like getting revenge when someone has insulted me.

**A** I would like to write a great novel or play.

**B** When serving on a committee, I like to be appointed or elected chairperson.

**A** When I am in a group, I like to accept the leadership of someone else in deciding what the group is going to do.

**B** I like to supervise and to direct the actions of other people whenever I can.

**A** I like to keep my letters, bills, and other papers neatly arranged and filed according to some system.

**B** I like to be one of the leaders in the organizations and groups to which I belong.

**A** I like to ask questions which I know no one will be able to answer.

**B** I like to tell other people how to do their jobs.

**A** I like to avoid responsibilities and obligations.

**B** I like to be called upon to settle arguments and disputes between others.

**A** I like to show a great deal of affection toward my friends.

**B** I like to be regarded by others as a leader.

**A** I like to try new and different jobs rather than to continue doing the same old things.

**B** When serving on a committee, I like to be appointed or elected chairperson.

**A** I like to finish any job or task that I begin.

**B** I like to be able to persuade and influence others to do what I want.

**A** I like to participate in discussions about sex and sexual activities.

**B** I like to be called upon to settle arguments and disputes between others.

**A** I get so angry that I feel like throwing and breaking things.

**B** I like to tell other people how to do their jobs.

### **Collectivism**

My happiness depends very much on the happiness of those around me.

It is important for me to maintain harmony within my group.

I like sharing little things with my neighbors.

The wellbeing of my co-workers is important to me.

If a relative were in financial difficulty, I would help within my means.

If a co-worker gets a prize, I feel proud.

To me, pleasure is spending time with others.

I feel good when I cooperate with others.

### **Ends Orientation to Religion**

The church or temple has been very important for my religious development.

My minister (youth director, etc.) has had a profound influence on my personal religious development.

A major factor in my religious development has been the importance of religion for my parents.

My religion serves to satisfy my needs for fellowship and security.

### **Means Orientation to Religion**

God's will should shape my life.

It is necessary for me to have a religious belief.

I have found it essential to have faith.

I have found it impossible to conceive of myself not being religious.

### **Quest Orientation to Religion**

Worldly events cannot affect the eternal truths of my religion.

It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.

I find my everyday experiences severely test my religious convictions.

I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to the world.

My religious development has emerged out of my growing sense of personal identity.

Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are the answers.

### **Race Prejudice**

Blacks have more influence on school desegregation than they ought to have.

Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.

Black people are generally not as smart as whites.

Generally speaking, I favor full racial integration.  
In general, blacks and whites have the same capabilities and capacities.

### **Sex Prejudice**

Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.  
Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.  
It is rare to see women treated in a sexist manner on television.  
On average, people in our society treat husbands and wives equally.  
Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.  
It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in America.  
It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about societal limitations of women's opportunities.

### **Homosexual Prejudice**

I would avoid sitting at a location in the library if I knew lesbians or gays sometimes sat there together.  
The increasing openness and acceptance of homosexuality is undermining our society.  
I feel safe around gays and lesbians.  
I would try to be nice to a gay or lesbian if they were new in school and had few friends.  
I would not mind being employed by a lesbian or gay individual.  
I would not ask for a new study partner just because I found out mine was gay or lesbian.  
I feel nervous around lesbian women and gay men.  
I feel that it is okay if lesbians and gays are treated badly by others.

### **Obesity Prejudice**

Fat people make me somewhat uncomfortable.  
I don't have many friends that are fat.  
I tend to think people who are overweight are a little untrustworthy.  
Although some fat people are surely smart, in general, I think they tend not to be quite as bright as normal weight people.  
I have a hard time taking fat people too seriously.  
I really don't like fat people much.  
If I were an employer looking to hire, I might avoid hiring a fat person.  
People who weigh too much could lose at least some part of their weight through a little exercise.  
Some people are fat because they have no will power.  
Fat people tend to be fat pretty much through their own fault.

### **Race Discrimination**

I criticized a white friend or acquaintance for dating a black person.  
To his/her face, I called a black person a nigger, or some other derogatory name.  
I avoided an area where I knew black people hung out.  
In the cafeteria, I sat with clusters of white people because black people make me uncomfortable.  
I have treated blacks as if they were less intelligent than others.  
In talking with peers, I used insulting names when referring to blacks.  
I locked my car doors when driving through a black neighborhood.  
In general, I have given more weight to a white person's opinion than a black person's opinion.

I laughed at or told a joke which was funny because it made fun of the characteristics of blacks.

### **Sex Discrimination**

I laughed at or told a joke which made fun of the characteristics of females or put females down in some way.

In general, I have given more weight to a male's opinion than a female's opinion.

I have treated females as if they were less intelligent than males.

I complained to friends or coworkers that a female got a job or promotion because of affirmative action.

To her face, I called a female a "bitch" for being too bossy.

In talking with peers, I used insulting names when referring to females.

I told a female, joking or not, that she belongs in the kitchen.

In group situations, I generally have supported having a male as a leader instead of a female.

To her face, I called a female a "slut" because of her sexual behavior.

### **Homosexual Discrimination**

I stopped hanging out with someone after I found out he/she was homosexual.

I treated homosexuals less favorably than others because I respected them less.

I told a homosexual that his/her lifestyle is wrong.

To his/her face, I called a homosexual a fag or a dyke, or some other derogatory name.

In talking with peers, I used terms which put homosexuals down.

In general, I have given more weight to a heterosexual's opinion than a homosexual's opinion.

I complained to friends that homosexuals do not deserve the same protection against discrimination that others deserve.

I laughed at or told a joke which was funny because it made fun of the characteristics of homosexuals.

I avoided an area where I knew homosexuals hung out.

I have accused friends of being gay (or lesbian) because they were acting too much like a woman (or a man).

### **Obesity Discrimination**

With a friend, I made fun of fat people behind their backs.

I treated fat people as if they were lazier than thin people.

To his/her face, I insulted a fat person by using weight sensitive terms (eg. fat pig).

I laughed at or told a joke which was funny because it made fun of the characteristics of fat people.

I valued the opinion of a thin person more than the opinion of a fat person.

In talking with others, I criticized the food choices I observed a fat person making.

I told a fat person to go on a diet.

In talking with peers, I used terms such as fatso, piggy, cow, etc. as insults against fat people.

I avoided sitting too closely to fat people because of their obesity.

I treated fat people less favorably than others because I respected them less.

**APPENDIX B: CORRELATION MATRIX**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Aff</b>	<b>Dom</b>	<b>Collect</b>	<b>Ends</b>	<b>Means</b>	<b>Quest</b>	<b>RP</b>	<b>SP</b>
Affiliation	524	1.00							
Domination	524	-0.14**	1.00						
Collectivism	524	0.22**	-0.07	1.00					
Ends	524	0.11*	0.06	0.22**	1.00				
Means	524	0.07	0.05	0.25**	0.74**	1.00			
Quest	524	0.03	0.03	0.23**	0.57**	0.69**	1.00		
Race	524	-0.08	0.05	-0.28**	0.04	-0.03	-0.12**	1.00	
Prejudice									
Sex	524	-0.01	0.09	-0.19**	0.03	-0.02	-0.12**	0.34**	1.00
Prejudice									
Homosexual	524	-0.15**	0.12**	-0.26**	0.20**	0.16**	0.05	0.47**	0.34**
Prejudice									
Obese	524	-0.11**	-0.01	-0.24**	0.01	-0.05	-0.09*	0.37**	0.27**
Prejudice									
Race	524	-0.14**	0.12**	-0.15**	-0.04	-0.07	-0.14**	0.50**	0.20**
Discrimination									
Sex	524	-0.14**	0.09*	-0.22**	-0.03	-0.11*	-0.12**	0.29**	0.32**
Discrimination									
Homosexual	524	-0.16**	0.11*	-0.18**	0.05	0.02	-0.08	0.33**	0.34**
Discrimination									
Obese	524	-0.18**	0.07	-0.21**	-0.03	-0.08	-0.10*	0.23**	0.20**
Discrimination									
Parents' Ed	524	-0.02	0.10*	0.05	0.03	-0.02	0.06	-0.07	0.08
Sex	524	0.12**	-0.16**	0.16**	0.04	0.10*	0.13**	-0.16**	-0.37**
Race	524	0.11*	-0.06	0.06	-0.12**	-0.12**	-0.18**	0.20**	0.16**
<b>Variables</b>	<b>HP</b>	<b>OP</b>	<b>RD</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>HD</b>	<b>Parents' Ed</b>	<b>Sex</b>		
Homosexual	1.00								
Prejudice									
Obese	0.40**	1.00							
Prejudice									
Race	0.34**	0.37**	1.00						
Discrimination									
Sex	0.31**	0.36**	0.55**	1.00					
Discrimination									
Homosexual	0.59**	0.42**	0.55**	0.65**	1.00				
Discrimination									
Obese	0.32**	0.52**	0.56**	0.63**	0.65**				
Discrimination									
Parents' Ed	-0.03	0.02	0.03	0.10*	0.00	1.00			
Sex	-0.32**	-0.16**	-0.20**	-0.40**	-0.41**	-0.05	1.00		
Race	0.02	0.06	0.23**	0.15**	0.05	0.06	-0.05	1.00	

\*p < .05; \*\*p < .01

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