

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND SELF ESTEEM:  
AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS USING ATTRIBUTION THEORY

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by  
Jacqueline C. Simpson

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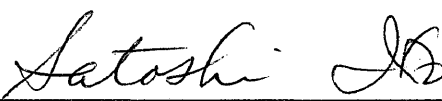
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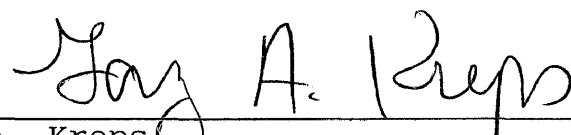
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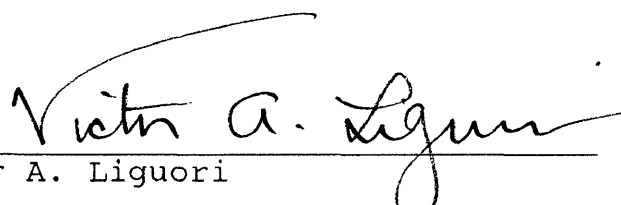
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\_\_\_\_\_  
Author

Approved, July 1992

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Satoshi Ito

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Gary A. Kreps

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Victor A. Liguori

## DEDICATION

To those who have experienced the injustice of inequality and understand the necessary measures needed to correct it.

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## ABSTRACT

Affirmative action has been a controversial social policy since its inception in 1965. One of the issues continuously debated is the effect affirmative action has on self esteem: Critics claim it has a detrimental effect on the self esteem of members of groups it purports to assist; advocates of affirmative action contend that it has positively influenced individual efficacy which, in turn, has increased the self esteem of members of groups affected by affirmative action policies. The paucity of empirical analysis on affirmative action does little to corroborate either of these claims.

Attribution Theory offers an excellent theoretical yardstick with which to measure the effect of affirmative action on individual self esteem. According to Attribution Theory, individuals with high levels of self esteem credit their successes to controllable, internal factors; individuals with low levels of self esteem attribute their successes to uncontrollable, external factors. This study analyzes the attributional tendencies of African-American college students to determine if they credit success to controllable or uncontrollable variables.

African-American students from both an historically Euro-American campus and an historically African-American campus were given a questionnaire regarding their own and hypothetical applicants' college admission experiences. The hypothetical applicants were applying for admission to a prestigious, nationally recognized university; respondents were asked to, one, admit or refuse the applicant and, two, rate the importance of various admission criteria. The criteria included both controllable meritocratic variables, such as grade point average and class rank, and the uncontrollable variable of the applicant's ethnic identity. In relating their own experiences, respondents were asked to list the institutions to which they applied, indicate their acceptance or refusal, and rank the importance of their ethnic identity in addition to their meritocratic qualifications.

Responses were interpreted with respect to the tenets of Attribution Theory, the ethnic composition of the campus the respondent attends, and the similarities/differences of responses for the respondents and the hypothetical applicant.

According to Attribution Theory, assigning success to an uncontrollable variable, in this case ethnic identity, would corroborate the claim of critics of affirmative action who contend that affirmative action is detrimental to the self esteem of members of groups it purports to assist. Findings indicate, however, that the African-American students consistently credited their own and others college admission success to controllable meritocratic variables such as SAT scores, grade point average, and class rank. Few differences existed in both the attribution of their own and the hypothetical applicants' college admission successes and the salience of the ethnic composition of the campus the respondent attends.

While this study does not directly address the consequence of affirmative action on self esteem, this finding does suggest that additional empirical analysis is required before any relationship between affirmative action and self esteem is assumed.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND SELF ESTEEM:  
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## INTRODUCTION

Despite a paucity of sociological analysis and theoretical grounding, both criticisms and accolades of affirmative action abound. One heatedly debated issue between critics and advocates of affirmative action is the effect of affirmative action on the self esteem of members of groups it purports to assist. On the one hand, advocates of affirmative action, who tend to favor the functionalist orientation of inequality, argue that the sense of individual efficacy has been facilitated by institutional policy changes, thereby fostering ethnic group members' level of self esteem. On the other hand, critics of affirmative action, who tend to favor a conflict orientation of inequality, argue that affirmative action has shifted the focus of success from individual meritocracy to collective ethnic identity--a shift which results in depreciation of self esteem.

This study intends to employ the principles of Attribution Theory to ascertain, indirectly, the relationship between affirmative action and self esteem by first understanding the role of ethnicity in the attributions of success. Specifically, this study analyzed the attributional tendencies of African-American students at two universities:

the College of William and Mary and Hampton University. A survey was conducted to ascertain the attributional assignment of educational achievements to either internal attributes such as intelligence and motivation or the external attribute of race.

To best understand the objective of this study, it is imperative that the reader understands the reluctance of social scientists to examine empirically the subjective dynamics of affirmative action, the development of affirmative action policies in the United States, the theoretical bases which are the foundations for the conflict and functional perspectives of affirmative action, and the principles of Attribution Theory which can be used to evaluate the debate regarding affirmative action and self esteem. The organization of this paper, then, attempts to provide the context of this study by first reviewing the tenacity of affirmative action within sociological circles; then examining the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964; followed by the functional and conflict theoretical interpretations of inequality, specifically racial inequality; the specific criticisms levelled against affirmative action; and the application of Attribution Theory as a means of understanding the relationship between ethnicity and self esteem.

## SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

We know that "policy studies indicate that the implementation of any major piece of legislation is always problematic given the nature of the problem, the distribution of values and attitudes, the relative strength of interest groups, limited agency resources, and the incremental structure of policy implementation" (Wilson, 1986:22). Lack of empirical analysis, however, does little to promote our understanding of these factors on the situation of affirmative action.

As "sociology has long been linked in the public mind with social problems and social reform" (Lynch, 1984:127), it is surprising that few studies have been done on the implications of affirmative action goals as an assimilation tool (Leonard, 1985). Despite the passage of a quarter of a century since the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the execution of Presidential Order 11246 in 1965, there has been little systematic analysis into the attitudinal effects of affirmative action on society. Despite a long standing interest in notions of inequality throughout the history of mankind, there exists no tradition of systematic work on racial inequality and affirmative action; "the

burgeoning cross-national empirical literature which has been investigating socio-economic distribution patterns in different societies . . . have turned a blind eye toward communal groups" (Grove, 1978:175). In "an age of program evaluation, when most other social experiments are studied almost to death, our profession [sociology] has shown a resolute ignorance about an extraordinary controversial policy that has been in place for over two decades" (Beer, 1987:63). Indeed,

the growing number of political parties structured along ethnic lines, the number of separatist movements and the rising force of ethnic nationalism, and the fact that ninety percent of all the nations in the world today are made up of heterogeneous populations, all point to the question of what we know about the world's ethnic and racial distribution patterns; the answer is, very little.

(Grove, 1978:175)

Critics of American sociology suggest it has become compatible, almost synonymous, with welfare-state liberalism, a position which has hampered the discussion of race and inequality (Lynch, 1984). "A variegated and polycentric welfare state liberalism furnishes the ideological underpinnings for most American sociology. It is the tribal totem and has ideological taboos" (Lynch, 1984:127).

One ideological taboo, which has served to inhibit certain lines of research, is the critical analysis of affirmative action. Although there are any variety of reasons

for sociologists'

neglect of affirmative action . . .  
paramount is that, in general, they do  
not want to know what the effects have  
been. Politically, many social  
scientists are left of center, and are  
disinclined to put to empirical scrutiny  
a policy that has become a sacred cow of  
American liberalism.

(Beer, 1987:69)

According to Alvin Gouldner, sociological progressiveness is "far from being the conscientious code of isolated individuals; much of liberalism today is the well-financed ideology of a loosely organized but coherent establishment" (Gouldner in Lynch, 1984:126). He goes on to note that "as the ideology of an establishment, such liberalism has things to protect. It has reasons to lie" (Gouldner in Lynch, 1984:127).

In addition, Frederick R. Lynch, a contemporary sociologist who has studied affirmative action, expresses reservations about sociological objectivity toward affirmative action. He suggests that

"hard quantifiable data" would not  
necessarily tell the whole story . . . .  
I'm not so sure that even social  
scientists wouldn't lie to survey  
researchers on sensitive subject matters,  
in part, because "fashionable trends" in  
thought and sentiment might lead social  
scientists to censor themselves.

(Lynch, 1984:135-136)

Pro-affirmative action rhetoric, then, has become the norm in

sociological circles.

In addition to their liberal orientations, sociologists are quick to note that "receipt of funds for scientific research is contingent on satisfactory compliance with statutes that are at times not even marginally related to scientific or educational objectives" (Loftus, 1977:21). Often times, "federal support is granted . . . to further the specific purposes of particular federal agencies and departments" (Loftus, 1977:22). It is hardly surprising, then, to find that "virtually all of the most visible and vocal science critics of affirmative action have tenure or similar forms of job security" (Lynch, 1984:129). The federal government, in effect,

has all the social mechanisms available . . . by which it can reward those who tell the right lies, and punish and suppress those who tell the wrong truths. In its meaner moments, it is an intellectual mafia.

(Lynch, 1984:126)

Affirmative action, or any topic for that matter, should not be subject to ideological taboo or censorship. In this age of multi-cultural awareness, we need to understand, as fully as possible, those processes which influence, affect, and direct multi-ethnic relationships. As a result of Gouldner et al.'s criticism of the sociological avoidance of affirmative action, there have been a growing number of studies "of the 'effectiveness' of affirmative action. Most

of them simply measure the extent to which 'underrepresentation' of . . . select ethnic groups have been 'remedied' as a result of governmental pressure" (Beer, 1987:64).

With respect to the empirical evidence validating the behavioral successes of affirmative action to which Beer alludes, the lack of empirical analysis about subjective aspects of affirmative action does little to sustain any criticism levelled against it. More insight is needed before assumptions can be made regarding the subjective effects of affirmative action. It is hoped that this study will not only overcome some of the ideological barriers of affirmative action, but will also increase our sociological understanding of one of the United States' more controversial social policies.

## DEVELOPMENT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE UNITED STATES

First used in a labor law in 1937 (Sowell, 1975), the term "affirmative action" gained popularity in 1965 when President Johnson used it in an Executive Order concerning the implementation of anti-discrimination requirements for agencies and businesses under contract with the federal government (Farley, 1982). The order stated specifically that "the contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin" (Farley, 1982:380). In May 1968, the Department of Labor further outlined the purpose of affirmative action by officially defining it as

the identification and analysis of problem areas inherent in minority employment and an evaluation of opportunities for utilization of minority group personnel. The contractor's program shall provide in detail for specific steps to guarantee equal employment opportunity keyed to the problems and needs of members of minority groups, including, when there are deficiencies, the development of specific goals and time-tables for the prompt achievement of full and equal employment opportunity.

(Capaldi, 1980:41)

Affirmative action, then, is generally associated with programs designed to assist groups which have been left behind in the course of societal development (Lim, 1985).

Affirmative action programs in the United States can be characterized by the expectation and implementation of five specific goals. First, affirmative action programs include the design and dissemination of policies aimed at equal employment opportunities; that is, members of existing social groups should have equal probability and opportunity for inclusion and advancement in all economic, educational, and political specters of society<sup>1</sup>. Second, there exists a federally appointed group which has specific internal responsibility for effectively implementing the policy. Third, this same group designs and uses internal audits, reporting, and review procedures for monitoring progress in implementing policy and identifying residual problem areas. Fourth, action programs are developed and used to eliminate problem areas. Fifth, the government supports action programs (i.e. goals and timetables) which are useful in eliminating these same problem areas (Lindgren, 1981). Aimed at eliminating racial inequality and promoting national unity, these goals are a result of an evolution of constitutional amendments and federal legislation, namely the Civil Rights Act and Titles VI and VII.

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<sup>1</sup> NOTE: Equal opportunity in reality can, and sometimes does, differ from the spirit of the law.

**CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND TITLES VI AND VII**

As the catalyst for affirmative action in the United States, the Civil Rights Act consists of a series of federal legislation dating from 1875 to the late 1960's. The most important of these in the discussion of affirmative action is the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This Act banned discrimination in employment and education. Titles VI and VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act specifically prohibited, respectively, discrimination in federally assisted programs, such as those colleges/universities accepting federal funding, and public/private employment. Additionally, Presidential Executive Order 11246 of 1965 required federal contractors to "take affirmative action not to discriminate and to develop affirmative action plans, including goals and timetables, for good-faith efforts to correct deficiencies in minority and female employment" (Leonard, 1985:4). The goal of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is best characterized by W. Willard Wirtz, U.S. Secretary of Labor, in a speech to the Civil Rights Convention in Washington, D.C. in November 1965, in which he states: "It is called a conference on Civil--meaning equal--rights; Its agenda is Civil--meaning equal--results: I think its fulfillment will be Civil--meaning human--equity" (Wirtz, 1965:134).

Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., chairman of the newly formed Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, noted in 1965 that "the language of the [civil rights] law is vague on many

points" ("Putting Teeth in the Hiring Rules", 1965:32). Indeed, "detailed regulations to enforce affirmative action under Executive order 11246, including numerical goals, were not introduced until 1967 after the Comptroller General ruled that affirmative action obligation was too vague to satisfy the requirement that minimum contract standards be made clear" (Leonard, 1985:4). This vagueness forced the United States judicial system to ascertain the ultimate clarification and delineation of affirmative action.

The 1978 Allan Bakke v. Regents of the University of California and the 1979 Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation are regarded as the pivotal judicial cases defining affirmative action. In both instances, Euro-American males challenged the policy by claiming to be victims of reverse discrimination. Bakke was denied admission to the Davis Medical School of the University of California; Weber was turned down for a promotion at Kaiser Aluminum. The Supreme Court, by deciding in favor of Bakke and in favor of Kaiser Aluminum, set judicial precedents and definitions of affirmative action to mean:

public universities, in affirmative action programs for student admissions, may employ a racial preference so long as race is one of a number of factors and the program does not amount to a quota system. Private employers may also use a racial preference in hiring and promotion as long as the goal is to reduce the effects of past discrimination. Among private employers, however, the preference can take the form of a quota. Thus, affirmative action programs

involving a racial preference are legal in both cases, but there are fewer restrictions on private employers hiring programs than on public university admission programs.  
(Farley, 1982:387)

Despite initial governmental assertions that the Civil Rights Act would "not require an employer to achieve any kind of racial balance in his work force by giving any kind of preferential treatment to any individual or group" (Beer, 1987:63), affirmative action in U.S. society has come to mean systematic inclusion of previously oppressed groups.

**THEORIES OF RACIAL INEQUALITY/PERSPECTIVES ON  
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Sociologists have yet to agree on the origins of inequality and the relative effectiveness of governmental policies directed at redressing those inequalities. With respect to inequality, specifically racial inequality, most sociologists support one of two perspectives: the functional or the conflict.

**FUNCTIONAL THEORIES OF INEQUALITY/PERSPECTIVES  
ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Davis and Moore were one of the first, and best known, functional theorists of inequality. They argued that inequality continues because it is beneficial for society. Inequality exists, according to Davis and Moore, as a motivational factor; it creates incentives for societal members to fulfill roles essential to their society's well being. These essential roles are the most critical to the functioning of society and require the longest, most difficult, or most specialized ability and training. To ensure the fulfillment of these roles, it is necessary for society to reward those who undergo the sacrifices to obtain them. Inequality, according to Davis and Moore, follows the

economic model of supply and demand: those with vital expertise and training traditionally in short supply, can demand more rewards from society (Farley, 1982).

Parsons used Davis and Moore's concept of supply and demand to explain the tenets of race relations in modern society.

The constitution of a societal community is never static, but is . . . roughly similar to the "supply and demand" paradigm of economics. There are demands for inclusion--both from the excluded groups and from certain elements who are already "in"--and there is a supply, which also operates on both sides of the exclusion line. Supply here refers, for the excluded groups, to their qualifications for membership . . . . On the side of the receiving community, "supply" consists of structural conditions which create institutionalized "slots" into which the newly received elements can fit, slots structured in accordance with the basic citizenship patterns . . . . The demand aspect concerns the mobilization of these factors and their consequences.

(Parsons, 1965:721-722)

This mobilization is traditionally a slow process, but one which moves consistently in a positive direction. Indeed, "this secular trend is represented in slow shifts in the occupational composition of ethnic groups toward a perceptibly higher average level" (Merton, 1949:114). While sluggish, these gains are consistent and should be recognized for the important implication such progress has for race relations: "the discrepancy between achieved occupational status and

ascribed caste status introduces severe strains upon the persistence of rationalized patterns of social superiority" (Merton, 1949:114).

The supply and demand argument provided the basis for the racial inequality theories of Kuznets and West and Grove. In analyzing Oshima's economic development stages, ranging from undeveloped to fully developed, Kuznets found that, somewhere during this evolution of development,

some or all of the disequilibrating tendencies diminish, causing a reversal in the pattern of . . . inequality. Instead of divergence in . . . levels of development, convergence becomes the rule, with the backward regions closing the development gap between themselves and the already industrialized areas. The expected result is that a statistic describing regional inequality will trace out an inverted "U" over the national growth plan.

(Williamson, 1965:9-10)

Inherent in the inverted "U" hypothesis is the idea that, as societies undergo industrialization, unspecialized roles gradually become specialized and the gap between the small number of specialized roles and the large number of unspecialized roles decreases. The level of inequality, or the discrepancy between specialized and unspecialized roles will follow an inverted "U" path by initially increasing, levelling off, and eventually decreasing.

West and Grove elaborated on Kuznets' inverted "U" hypothesis by introducing an ethnicity component. They found

that the existence of ethnic groups in a given society, for the most part, positively influenced the speed and adherence of that society to the inverted "U" (West and Grove, 1982).

Grove claimed that this ethnic component was influential only in representative governments. He argued that the more representative the government of different ethnic segments in society, the more equal the distribution of wealth among the various ethnic components. "A representative government is often thought to favor the achievement of a more egalitarian distribution of economic and social power. Without the representation of all ethnic groups it is thought that government policies are likely to enrich elites and dominant ethnic groups" (Grove, 1978:178). However, Grove, in his cross-national empirical analysis of theory, found limited support for this proposition. "In comparing different types of government policies toward ethnic equalization, there was no evidence to suggest that certain policies were more effective in ethnic redistribution than others; on the contrary, the level of economic development seems to have been more of a determinant in the direction of change" (Grove, 1978:189).

Varying levels of economic development between countries forms the basis for Lieberman's theory of intrinsic differences. In concentrating primarily on the situations of recent immigrants, Lieberman argues that there are inherent reasons for expecting economic differences among ethnic groups

at their initial introduction to a new environment. First, immigrant groups differ in the alternatives available to them in their countries of origin. Immigrants from high level societies--or the first world countries of Western Europe, Australia, New Zealand, North American, and Japan--are traditionally better educated and better trained. As a result they qualify for better jobs and have more economic alternatives. Immigrants from low level societies--the Third World countries of South and Latin America, Africa, and Asia--are less educated, are not as technically trained, and therefore, have limited options. Lieberman suggests that

migrants from different sources will vary in their jobs and incomes not necessarily because of discrimination or work orientation but because of the alternatives available to them at home. Such groups at the initial point of contact . . . differ not in their aspirations, but rather in the minimum they will settle for.

(Lieberman, 1980:372)

Lieberman, then, in the tradition of functionalism, focuses on the race relations themselves rather than the context of class struggle in which race relations often finds itself.

In this respect, Lieberman is representative of the functionalists who claim that a conflict perspective of affirmative action is overly concerned and influenced by Marxism, an approach which confuses race and equality with class. The conflict approach, functionalists argue, "has

almost totally disregarded the importance of race and ethnicity; ethnic and racial ties become epiphenomena of class where class consciousness overrides any cultural antagonisms that may exist" (Grove, 1978:175). Instead, functionalists stress

the importance of firm political commitment to secure the enforcement of Federal anti-discrimination measures and to promote greater equality in education and employment by means of affirmative action programmes. Still others feel that the fundamental need was to raise the level of group consciousness and self-esteem as a vital ingredient in the development of minority power.

(Stone, 1985:10)

In arguing this perspective, functional theorists point to the improved educational and employment situations of traditionally oppressed groups in the United States, particularly African-Americans, that have improved since the passing of affirmative action policies. Farley found that "blacks have made consistent gains in educational attainment" (R. Farley, 1984:34) with the gap in average years of schooling, completed by persons aged 25-29, converging to near identical standards by 1982 (R. Farley, 1984). Farley identified similar patterns in employment:

In 1960, this proportion [of employed white and non-white men and women who held white-collar jobs] was about twenty-five percentage points higher for white men than for nonwhite men: 39 percent compared to 14 percent. By 1970 this racial difference had declined to about

twenty-one percentage points, and in 1982 it was only fourteen percentage points. The proportion of white men with white-collar jobs has risen only slightly in the last two decades, while the proportion of non-white men with such jobs has more than doubled.

(R. Farley, 1984:47)

Farley's findings are corroborated by Son et al. who found that "when compared cross sectionally at different time points, the gap between blacks and whites as a whole appeared to be narrowing" (Son et al., 1989:318). Furthermore, Kellough, in an analysis of the effect of equal employment opportunity timetables on the racial representation of employees in federal agencies, calculated that "several agencies reduced the time needed to achieve parity by more than 60 percent" (Kellough, 1990:91). While Farley, Son et al., and Kellough "cannot demonstrate a causal impact for affirmative action, . . . such an interpretation remains plausible" (Son et al., 1989:324).

#### **CONFLICT THEORIES OF INEQUALITY/PERSPECTIVES ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION**

Marx was one of the first to argue that inequality does not meet the needs of society as a whole; rather, inequality serves the interest of the group that is dominant in its wealth and/or power. His theory is supported by Tumin and other contemporary sociologists who argue that personnel

shortages in demanding positions often are created artificially by professional organizations, educational systems, social cliques, and other societal controls which function to restrict opportunity. Tumin et al. suggest that inequality is a manifestation of the economically powerful's efforts to maintain the status quo (Farley, 1982).

Cutright agreed. Cutright introduced a power, and subsequently conflict, component into the traditionally functional economic development theories. Cutright argued that inequality was a latent function of both economic and power decisions; that is, in a society with low economic levels and correspondingly little surplus, the elite segments of that society forced others into an unequal relationship to gain greater control over scarce resources. In effect, the elite would manipulate economic conditions to ensure their surplus even if societal conditions suggested no surplus should exist. Conversely, in societies with high economic levels, and vast amounts of surplus, the elite could afford to make concessions and meet the economic demands of others for a part of that surplus. According to Cutright, then, the size of the surplus and the distribution of power in society are predictors of variance in inequality (Cutright, 1967).

Rubinson agreed with Cutright that "it is not the effects of wealth or economic production per se that affect inequality; but rather, it is the social control and organization of production that determine the distribution of

income" (Rubinson, 1976:639). He argued, however, that Cutright and other theorists were self limiting in that their empirical analysis assumes countries represent separate systems of economic production. Political boundaries, contended Rubinson, "are not always coterminous with the boundaries of production systems . . . . Countries do not represent separate systems of production, but rather, all countries are part of a single system of production which contains multiple political units within it" (Rubinson, 1976:639). This single system of production is the world capitalist economy. The operation of the world capitalist economy as a system of production "generates and maintains a system of stratification in which some states and economic actors necessarily have more power and control over production than others" (Rubinson, 1976:656). The greater the economic dominance and influence that countries have in the world economy, the more equal the distribution of resources.

Economic growth

is seen to lead to decreases in inequality because it leads to economic differentiation and diversification which allows wealth to "trickle down" from elites to the mass of the population and because it creates so much wealth that elites give up a share of their reward because the absolute level of their reward is so high.

(Rubinson, 1976:638)

Inequality, then, according to many contemporary conflict

theorists results from the allocation and distribution of resources which, in turn, results in differentiated apportionment of power.

The development of conflict theories of ethnic inequality have paralleled the ideological evolution of racialism. In the early part of the twentieth century, racial inequality was a societal given, part and parcel of the status quo. Early conflict theorists were not as puzzled by why inequality exists as they were by the results of its existence. That is, conflict theorists were concerned more with the product of conflict, the sociological phenomenon which resulted from interracial contact. Their analysis, consequently, centered around the sociological institutionalization of racial castes and its repercussion.

As expounded by early conflict theorists, the caste system

controls and defines the relations between two color groups and is the principle factor in the interactions . . . . It is expressed not only in behavior but also in the concepts and ideologies of the groups. Furthermore, the caste system limits the variation from caste dogmas and enforces the systems of control by which extreme variations are prevented or punished. It thus provides a very definite code of behavior by which every individual knows how he should act and what he can expect in his relations with the other group.

(Davis et al., 1965:57)

The most encompassing explanation for the racial caste

system can be found in the tenets of labor exploitation, specifically slavery, indenturedness, or other forms of unfree labor (Frazier, 1968). Unfree labor exploitation both formulated and formalized the dominant racial/ethnic group's attitudes of their superiority and the inferiority of completely different ethnic/racial groups. In this type of society, "there is not opportunity for members of the lower group to rise into the upper group or for the members of the upper to fall into the lower one" (Davis et al., 1965:9). There is an inevitability, a caste-like quality, to the separation and segregation of races. This type of social organization, "where race and culture contacts have developed beyond the stage of slavery, . . . represents a form of accommodation in which conflicting interests are resolved by separation, if not permanently, at least to the extent that a collective life is possible" (Frazier, 1968:13). It is based on the belief that

strange races and nationals make no trouble if they are kept out of the way . . . . This statement, so obviously true in theory yet so disappointingly false when tried as a complete practical program, is perhaps the most widely accepted plan for the solution of the problems of minority-majority relations . . . . It is so simple. Dogs cannot fight if they are not allowed in the same yard . . . . In other words, segregation is to be accomplished by keeping out alien minorities, and by the use of a caste system . . . for those who are already in our midst.

(Young, 1932:152)

Antagonism and racial conflict arise when principles of capitalism are imposed on the caste-like segregation of peoples of color. Capitalism is embedded in the principle of free enterprise and the opportunity for even the most oppressed to advance in a free market economy. Conflict in a caste system results when relatively large numbers of people of the suppressed caste are economically equivalent or superior to relatively large numbers of people of the dominant caste. Conflict erupts when those economically inferior members of the dominant caste resort to violence, intimidation, and manipulation to reassert the dogma of the caste hierarchy (Davis et al., 1965). For conflict theorists, then, it is imperative that the "sociological problem to be studied in the final stage of race and culture contacts is the manner in which the racial division of labor is broken down and racial competition in the economic sphere gives way to competition on an individual basis and political power is identified with class rather than race" (Frazier, 1968:16).

Hence, the hypothesis of contemporary conflict theorists who argue that "racial exploitation and race prejudice developed among Europeans with the rise of capitalism and nationalism, and that because of the world-wide ramifications of capitalism, all racial antagonisms can be traced to the policies and attitudes of the leading capitalist people" (Cox, 1948:322). Wilson suggests that the change in racial conflict from caste to class resulted from changes in racial contact as

American society moved from preindustrial plantation economy to the modern industrial society. As society progressed from one stage to the next, racial antagonism changed from overt efforts to solidify economic racial domination to covert efforts. Race relations, in the process, moved from caste-like inequality to class-like inequality. The relationship between economics, the societal system of production, and polity shape the racial structure and the subsequent attitudes of society (Wilson, 1978). The significance of the move from caste to class conflict is that

racial exploitation is merely one aspect of the problem of the proletarianization of labor, regardless of the color of the laborer. Hence racial antagonism is essentially political-class conflict. The capitalist exploiter, being opportunistic and practical, will utilize any convenience to keep his labor and other resources freely exploitable. He will devise and employ race prejudice when that becomes convenient.

(Cox, 1948:333)

## CRITICISMS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Those favoring a conflict perspective on inequality contend that affirmative action "is a game played for power stakes and has never been enforced stringently enough to produce significant results" (Leonard, 1985:3). These adversaries of affirmative action, while tending to "disparage affirmative action as a divisive policy designed to breed conflict amongst the working classes" (Lynch, 1984:134), argue that "policies that call attention to categorization schemas can delay the ultimate goal of a society in which opportunities and evaluations are not differentially allocated to members of particular social categories" (Crosby and Clayton, 1990:62). Some critics of affirmative action might agree with Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, who states that "affirmative action programs . . . have done more to make a race war possible than anything the Clan [sic] has done" (Beer, 1987:69).

In addition, critics of affirmative action tend to agree that affirmative action policies, "whatever their purported intent, . . . heighten racial consciousness" (van den Berghe in Rex and Mason, 1986:252). Affirmative action

has heightened racial consciousness and thus partially reversed the trend to deracialization . . . . In order to enforce . . . affirmative action . . . it has become increasingly necessary to classify people by race and to reverse the previous trend toward the deletion of all racial information on all application forms and official records. Affirmative action, whatever its intent, gives the stamp of official approval on the recognition of racial and ethnic differences and on the legitimacy of treating people as members of groups rather than on the basis of individual merit.

(Van den Berghe, 1981:181)

In light of this heightened racial consciousness, some sociologists argue that affirmative action programs have hurt traditionally disadvantaged racial groups. Specifically, they argue that affirmative action has heightened racial consciousness by forcing employers in the public and private sectors to consider race in their criteria for hiring and promoting employees. Affirmative action also has had a significant impact on universities, both in terms of the hiring of staff and the admission of students. Critics suggest that this heightened racial consciousness has prompted both dominant and repressed racial groups to focus on race, to the exclusion of other factors, as the reason for the advancement of members of traditionally oppressed groups.

Critics of affirmative action contend that this focus on race as the reason for advancement has destroyed the self esteem of individual members of groups who are the intended

beneficiaries of affirmative action (Glazer, 1988; Sowell, 1975, and van den Berghe, 1981). The critics' argument is grounded in the egocentric postulate of Attribution Theory. With respect to Attribution Theory, the maintenance of self esteem or the egocentric function depends on the ability to credit personal successes to internal, controllable factors such as motivation and determination (Burke, 1978 and Forsyth, 1980). The argument of critics of affirmative action suggests that affirmative action, by focusing success or advancement on an external noncontrollable factor such as race, undermines the egocentric function necessary to maintain self esteem; affirmative action, then, in forcing people to focus on race as a measure for advancement, has deteriorated the self esteem of members of traditionally oppressed ethnic groups.

Despite this claim by numerous social scientists (van den Berghe, 1981; Sowell, 1975 and Glazer, 1988), empirical analysis to corroborate this assertion is noticeably absent.

### ATTRIBUTION THEORY

In recent years, social scientists have become increasingly concerned about individual adaptability and coping skills in response to rapid, technological, sociological and economical change. In hopes of increasing their understanding of possible consequences, social scientists have studied a variety of human responses. One phenomenon which has been researched extensively is the attributional tendencies individuals have in specific situations, particularly situations of success and failure. Derived from the term attribute, which refers to any quality or characteristic that may be predicated by some subject, attribution is the attempt to explain causality and situational outcome. It is the process of ascribing to someone or something a characteristic or trait on the basis of predictability and probability, which, according to Kelly and Michela, reflect past experiences, situational information, cultural beliefs, and individual motivation (Kelly and Michela, 1980).

Attribution has been developed into a theory which states that people are endowed with a deterministic image of the world and of psychological processes, and they will look for causes of events in order to react to the causes rather than

the effects of these events (Daszkowski, 1979). Implicit in this definition is the assumption that people interpret and react to various behavioral and situational determinants and antecedents. The goal of attribution theory is to describe the prognostic process that occurs and the relationships that exist between the subjectively perceived causes of events and human behavior (Daszkowski, 1979). Attribution Theory, then, is the analysis of how individuals perceive the causes of their own and others' behavior so as to increase their ability to predict and understand the environment in which they must operate.

Attribution Theory is a tool used to analyze the subjective attitude of ethnic groups in society. While much empirical analysis has been done on the differences in attributional tendencies of oppressed and dominant peoples, the data fail to delineate indisputable results that could determine the position of a specific group. Some researchers have found that, compared to Euro-Americans, African-Americans attribute positive outcomes to external factors (Louw and Louw-Potgieter, 1986; Crocker et al., 1991); others find no differences in the attributional tendencies of African-Americans and Euro-Americans (Whitehead and Smith, 1990; Graham and Long, 1986; Powers and Rossman, 1984). Still other research has indicated that there are both similarities and differences in the attributional dispositions of African-Americans and Euro-Americans; a finding which has caused some

researchers to suggest that studies comparing the two groups may be complex and influenced by factors such as racial discrimination, in group/out group biases, and cultural prejudice (Cheatham et al., 1987, Graham, 1988; Gaertner and McLaughlin, 1983; Whitehead et al., 1982). While comparative racial analyses of attribution may be confounded by ethnic differences between African-Americans and Euro-Americans, it is widely accepted that studies of attributional style can be useful for understanding the self esteem of members of specific populations (Belgrave et al., 1985).

Much of the research concerning attribution deals with the egocentric function, that of meeting self need and reducing anxiety (Forsyth, 1980). The egocentric function is essential in understanding and interpreting our own and others' attributional tendencies. It is often referred to as the "defense character", a characteristic which allows individuals to interpret and accept situational outcomes in the best interests of their self esteem. The egocentric function, according to Attribution Theory, is that attribution process which credits success to internal, controllable factors (Burke, 1978 and Forsyth, 1980). Individuals with healthy self esteems will attribute their successes to some internal, controllable variable such as ability, effort, or determination; individuals with low self esteems attribute successes to external, uncontrollable factors such as luck or task difficulty.

Ethnic identity, particularly phenotype or racial identity, is an uncontrollable, external variable. According to Attribution Theory, attributions of success to external variables are characteristic of individuals with low levels of self esteem. A logical argument can be made, therefore, that individuals who attribute their success to ethnic identity, particularly racial identity, will have low levels of self esteem. This assumption is one explanatory basis for the argument of conflict oriented sociologists who argue that affirmative action, by forcing people to focus on ethnic identity as the rationale for success, results in low levels of self esteem for the members of those groups affirmative action purports to assist. There are, however, three related problems inherent in this assumption: There is no concrete evidence which indicates that, one, members of traditionally oppressed groups attribute their success to ethnic identity; two, that such an attribution of success--if it does indeed occur--results in lower levels of self esteem, and three, that individual efficacy is affected by the perception of enabling institutional policies.

Attribution Theory offers a methodology for empirically analyzing the ramifications of affirmative action in light of the contentions of functional and conflict theorists. If, on the one hand, ethnic identity proves to be the salient factor in an individual's attributions of success, the assertions of conflict theorists would be corroborated: Affirmative action

policies could reinforce and strengthen a focus on race as the rationale for success. On the other hand, attributions of success to internal, controllable factors would substantiate the claims of functionalist theorists who argue that affirmative action allows for self improvement and, as a result, improved self esteem.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND SELF ESTEEM  
AN EXPLORATORY ANALYSIS USING ATTRIBUTION THEORY

This study is an attempt to rectify the absence of empirical analysis of the subjective aspects of affirmative action. It is not an attempt to replicate past studies on income and educational attainments of African-Americans in the United States. Instead, it is an analysis of the effect of affirmative action programs on a racially distinguished affective characteristic of self esteem which conflict theorists purport has deteriorated, not improved. Specifically, this study ascertains the attributional tendencies of African-American college students in light of their past educational attainments. Questionnaire responses were analyzed to determine if these African-American students attributed their college/university offers of admission to the external variable of ethnic identity or to internal variables of meritocracy.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### **Subjects**

The subjects are African-American students at the College William and Mary and Hampton University. The pool of students

at the College of William and Mary were those enrolled in Afro-American Religion, a large class of predominantly African-American students. At Hampton University, the respondents were undergraduate students enrolled in the Introductory Sociology course. It was hoped that a total pool of 200 respondents would be generated, 50-100 respondents from William and Mary and 150-200 students from Hampton University. In reality, N equaled 109--33 of whom were students at The College of William and Mary; 76 of whom were students at Hampton University.

### **Questionnaire**

The questionnaire consisted of two parts: one, scenarios of hypothetical applicants to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and two, questions regarding the respondent's personal college/university admission experiences. The scenarios of hypothetical applicants represented different ethnic groups including African-American, Chinese-American, Euro-American, Mexican-American, and Native American.

The hypothetical applicant scenarios listed the university admission credentials of college-bound students applying to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill was utilized for three reasons: one, it has considerable name recognition

and was familiar to most of the respondents; two, all three universities (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, College of William and Mary, and Hampton University) are perceived as quality institutions so university selectivity should not be an influential factor; and three, its student body consists of limited numbers of cross applicants to the College of William and Mary and Hampton University, which ensures that the scenarios were depersonalized.

Random tables for each variable, highs and lows of which were based on the scholastic information regarding UNC-Chapel Hill in Peterson's Guide to Colleges and Universities, ensured that: one, specific and realistic admission credentials were used in the questionnaire and, two, that the criteria varied for each hypothetical applicant. The credentials listed on the questionnaire included ethnic identity, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, secondary school grade point average, class rank, intended major in college, and the number and type of extracurricular activities. Gender, geographic area of residence, and type of high school attended were purposely excluded; all could be confounding factors in the assignment of attribution.

There were a total of ten hypothetical applicants, randomly representing the ethnic groups mentioned above. For each of the scenarios, respondents were asked to accept or reject the applicant to the 1992 freshmen class at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. In addition, the

# QUESTIONNAIRE

## Page One

ID Number										Do not mark outside this line									
										6 - SIXTH MOST IMPORTANT									
										5 - FIFTH MOST IMPORTANT									
										4 - FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT									
										3 - THIRD MOST IMPORTANT									
										2 - SECOND MOST IMPORTANT									
										1 - FIRST MOST IMPORTANT									
<p>The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is a large, state supported institution widely regarded for its challenging programs. It is considered to be one of the nation's most prestigious and selective universities. Imagine you are the Director of Admissions of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The following students are seniors in high school and each has applied to UNC-Chapel Hill for the fall semester of 1992. For each student listed below:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>indicate if you would accept or refuse the student for admission to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill;</li> <li>rank order the credentials of each student with one (1) being the most important reason for your decision and six (6) being the least important reason for your decision. You may use each number (1-6) only once for each student.</li> </ol>																			
<b>STUDENT #1</b> SAT: 970 H.S. Rank: top 20% H.S. GPA: 3.30 Ethnic Identity: African-American Intended Major: English H.S. Activities: 1 - student government ADMISSION DECISION: Accept = <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse = <input type="checkbox"/>																			
<b>STUDENT #2</b> SAT: 970 H.S. Rank: top 10% H.S. GPA: 3.00 Ethnic Identity: African-American Intended Major: Management H.S. Activities: 2 - class officer, basketball ADMISSION DECISION: Accept = <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse = <input type="checkbox"/>																			
<b>STUDENT #3</b> SAT: 1000 H.S. Rank: top 15% H.S. GPA: 3.20 Ethnic Identity: Chinese-American Intended Major: Spanish H.S. Activities: 1 - student government ADMISSION DECISION: Accept = <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse = <input type="checkbox"/>																			
<b>STUDENT #4</b> SAT: 1090 H.S. Rank: top 15% H.S. GPA: 3.30 Ethnic Identity: Euro-American Intended Major: Psychology H.S. Activities: 5 - yearbook, debate, tennis, soccer, drama ADMISSION DECISION: Accept = <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse = <input type="checkbox"/>																			
<b>STUDENT #5</b> SAT: 1000 H.S. Rank: top 15% H.S. GPA: 2.75 Ethnic Identity: African-American Intended Major: Economics H.S. Activities: 5 - yearbook, band, soccer, newspaper, student government ADMISSION DECISION: Accept = <input type="checkbox"/> Refuse = <input type="checkbox"/>																			







respondents were asked to rank, on a six point scale, the influence of each credential--ethnicity, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, secondary school grade point average, class rank, intended college major, and extracurricular activities--on the admission outcome.

On the second half of the questionnaire, respondents are asked to list and rank their own admission credentials with respect to their college/university admission experiences. Respondents first indicated their Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, secondary school grade point average, ethnic identity, intended college major, class rank, and extracurricular activities. Respondents were then asked to: one, list those schools to which they applied; two, indicate their acceptance or refusals at these schools; and three, rank the importance of each of their admission credentials in determining that acceptance or refusal.

## **HYPOTHESIS**

This work does not propose to evaluate the benefits or detriments of affirmative action policies. Instead, this study attempts to provide an exploratory empirical basis for assessing the relationship between affirmative action and self esteem.

There exist three different levels of analysis: the interpretation of admission credentials and admission

decisions for the hypothetical characters of several ethnic groups; the self interpretation of admission credentials and admission decisions of the respondents; and the difference, if any, in the attribution tendencies of students from the College of William and Mary and the students from Hampton University.

While the nature of this analysis is exploratory, without empirical precedents, it is expected that differences in attribution will exist in the self reported admission criteria of students from William and Mary and students from Hampton University. With respect to affirmative action policies, the ethnic composition of each campus becomes a relevant issue in the attributional salience of an applicant's race. That is, African-American students may expect favorable consideration in the admission process at a traditionally Euro-American institution such as William and Mary, but not at a traditionally African-American institution such as Hampton University. It would not be surprising, then, to find race is more significant in the self reported attributional assignments of respondents from The College of William and Mary.

Ethnicity could also prove to be a salient factor in the rankings of admission credentials for the hypothetical characters applying to UNC-Chapel Hill, and a salient factor in the rankings of self admission credentials of W&M students and Hampton University students to institutions other than

William and Mary and Hampton University, respectively. If so, this study would corroborate the conflict theorists' interpretation of affirmative action. Conversely, if ethnic identity proves to be an inconsequential factor in the attribution of success, this study would support the claims of functional theorists of affirmative action.

## ANALYSIS OF DATA

The admission criteria of SAT, class rank, GPA, ethnic identity, intended major, and extracurricular activities for both the hypothetical applicant scenarios and the self admission reports were ranked from one to six. One was the most important rank in the admission decision for the respondent/hypothetical applicant and six was the least important rank. For each hypothetical scenario and self admission report, a response rank of 1-6 could be used only once. For example, for each scenario, there could be only one third most important rank and no other.

For the purpose of running a statistical analysis, it was necessary to assign numerical value labels to the respondent's self reported SAT scores, class rank, grade point average, ethnic identity, intended major, and extracurricular activities; the admission decisions for both themselves and the hypothetical applicants; the ethnic composition of the campus they attend and the campuses to which they applied; and the selectivity ranking in Peterson's Guide of each campus. The following indicates the relevant numerical code for each category:

- Self reported SAT scores.....1-7  
 (1: below 900)  
 (2: 900-999)  
 (3: 1000-1099)  
 (4: 1100-1199)  
 (5: 1200 or above)  
 (6: did not take SAT)  
 (7: do not remember)
- Self reported Class Rank.....1-6  
 (1: top 0-5%)  
 (2: top 6-10%)  
 (3: top 11-15%)  
 (4: top 16-20%)  
 (5: top 21-25%)  
 (6: not in the top 25%)
- Self reported Grade Point Average in High School.....1-5  
 (1: below 2.0)  
 (2: 2.0-2.5)  
 (3: 2.6-3.0)  
 (4: 3.1-3.5)  
 (5: 3.6 or above)
- Self reported Ethnic Identity.....1-6  
 (1: African-American)  
 (2: Asian-American)  
 (3: Caucasian)  
 (4: Hispanic)  
 (5: Native American)  
 (6: Other)
- Self reported Intended Major.....1-6  
 (1: Social Sciences)  
 (2: Humanities)  
 (3: Mathematics and Natural Science)  
 (4: Undecided)  
 (5: Pre-Professional)  
 (6: Other)
- Self reported Number of Extracurricular Activities...1-7  
 (1-6: Number of Activities)  
 (7: More than 6 Activities)
- Admissions Decisions.....1 and 6  
 (1: accepted)  
 (6: refusal)
- Ethnic Composition of Campus.....1-3  
 (1: predominantly white)  
 (2: predominantly black)  
 (3: black and white campus)

Selectivity Rating (as noted in Peterson's Guide).....1-5  
 (1: most difficult)  
 (2: very difficult)  
 (3: moderately difficult)  
 (4: minimally difficult)  
 (5: non-competitive)

To differentiate the admission criteria and decisions between the hypothetical applicant scenarios and the self reports, different variable labels were used. The prefix "STD" refers to the hypothetical applicants; the prefix "SCH" refers to the self reports. The prefix "STD" is followed by a number which corresponds to the chronological ordering of the hypothetical applicants on the questionnaire. "STD1", then, refers to hypothetical applicant #1. The suffix indicates the specific admission criteria. For example, "STD1SAT" refers to the SAT scores for hypothetical applicant #1. Numbers following the prefix "SCH" refer to the chronological order of the self reported colleges and universities to which the applicants actually applied. "SCH1" refers to the first self report; "SCH2" to the second, and so on. As with the hypothetical applicant, the suffixes refer to the admission criteria. The following is a list of the suffixes used for both the hypothetical and self reported admission criteria:

SAT.....	SAT scores
RANK.....	Class Rank
GPA.....	Grade Point Average
RACE.....	Ethnic Identity
MAJR.....	Intended Major
ACTV.....	Extracurricular Activities
DCSN.....	Admission Decision

Various statistical analyses were used to determine patterns between the independent and dependent variables in the attribution of success and failure to internal or external factors. For each of the ten scenarios ranked by the respondent, the hypothetical applicant's ethnicity is the independent variable. The attributional rankings of importance of admission criteria are the dependent variables. In the respondents' own portrayals of success, their ethnicity is the independent variable and the attributional rankings of importance of admission criteria are the dependent variables. As respondents had some measure of control over each, Scholastic Aptitude Test scores, grade point average, intended major in college, class rank, and extracurricular activities are considered internal attributions with respect to Attribution Theory. Ethnic identity, an uncontrollable factor, is an external attribution.

On both halves of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to rank the importance of each of the six admission criteria of SAT, class rank, GPA, ethnic identity, intended major, and extracurricular activities. As mentioned above, each criterion variable had a potential range of 1-6. An initial frequency run indicated that most of variables relating to the hypothetical applicants in the first half of the questionnaire were skewed toward one end of the response scale or the other. On the one hand, numerical ranks for SAT scores, grade point average, and class rank clustered around

the scores of first, second, and third most important; few respondents ranked these variables as fourth, fifth, or sixth most important. On the other hand, responses for ethnic identity, intended major in college, and extracurricular activities clumped around scores of fourth, fifth, and sixth most important; few respondents ranked these variables as first, second, or third most important (see appendix B, Table 1).

In order to create a more rectangular distribution for correlations and crosstabs, these admission criteria variables for the hypothetical applicants were collapsed from six to four categories. SAT, GPA, and class rank were recoded to collapse responses fourth, fifth, and sixth most important into one category: fourth most important. Ethnic identity, intended major, and extracurricular activities were recoded to consolidate responses first, second, and third most important into a single category of first most important. Subsequently, those variables for ethnic identity, intended major and extracurricular activities ranked fourth most important became second most important, those fifth most important became third, and those sixth became fourth. As a result of the recoding, SAT scores, class rank, GPA, ethnic identity, intended major, and extracurricular activities for the hypothetical applicants had a reduced range of 1-4 instead of the original 1-6. Note that the collapsing of variables was done only for the hypothetical scenarios and only in

correlations, crosstabs, and analysis of variance. The rankings of admission criteria for the frequency distributions and the schools applied to by the respondent remained 1-6.

Frequencies, Pearson correlation coefficients, and crosstabs were employed to ascertain the relationships within and between variables. The correlational measures displayed weak relationships between the independent and dependent variables. Three unforeseeable factors contributed to this weakness: the overwhelming predilection of respondents to admit rather than refuse the hypothetical student applicants, the large number of respondents who listed only one or two colleges/universities to which they applied, and the limited number of total respondents.

First, the majority of the respondents indicated they would admit all ten of the hypothetical applicants (see appendix B, Table 3). Six of the ten hypothetical applicants were perceived as meeting the acceptance criteria by more than 85 percent of the respondents. Only hypothetical applicants #6, 7, 8, and 10 were refused by more than 20 percent of the respondents and only for applicants #6 and 7 was there much variability in acceptance/refusal decisions. The respective refusal rate for applicants #6, 7, 8, and 10 was 34.6%, 45%, 22.1%, and 22.59%. The overall low refusal/high acceptance rate truncated distributions, apparently impaired bivariate relationships, and reduced the need for more detailed statistical manipulation and analysis.

Second, many respondents, on the second half of the questionnaire, did not indicate a fourth or fifth institution to which they applied. The large number of missing cases for schools four and five, 59.6% and 77.9% respectively, limited their statistical value; subsequently, only schools one through three were included in statistical analyses.

Additionally, missing cases for colleges/universities to which the respondent applied increased from 10% for the first school, to 23.9% for the second school, to 45% for the third school. Of the 109 total respondents, eleven did not complete this part of the questionnaire. As a result, the total number of colleges/universities to which respondents applied was limited to 141. Of the 98 respondents who did complete the second half of the questionnaire, 70 listed their alma mater as one of the first three schools; subsequently, half of the decisions for the 141 schools available for analysis were guaranteed acceptances. Of the remaining 71 schools, only 19, or 13.5% of the total, were listed as refusals.

Third, the total number of respondents, 109, was considerably less than anticipated. A number of factors--class availability, student absences, confusion regarding the time and meeting place of class--contributed to the limited number of total respondents. Limited numbers may have contributed to limited variability and limited representation of the total population. Additionally, respondents from Hampton University outnumbered respondents from William and

Mary by approximately 5:2.

The findings reported herein need to be interpreted carefully. As a result of both measurement and sampling problems addressed above, it is likely that interpretation of the findings reported here will err toward the conservative by being free of conjecture and limited to directly observable phenomena.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The two sets of dependent variables--the rankings of admission criteria of the hypothetical scenarios and self admission reports--showed a number of interesting commonalities. Rankings of the individual criteria--SAT, GPA, class rank, ethnic identity, intended major, and extracurricular activities--of each hypothetical and self reported data correlated positively and significantly with the identical criteria of the other hypothetical and self reported cases. That is, rankings of SAT scores correlated positively with other SAT scores, rankings of GPA correlated positively with other GPA rankings, and so on. This consistency in ranking behavior implies a reassuring reliability in the responses across both hypothetical and self reported components of the questionnaire. Furthermore, the means, in general, fluctuated within a range of 1.0, from 2.0 to 3.0, despite standard deviations of up to 1.7. This suggests a wide variety of response despite the limited number of respondents.

These general observations aside, analyses of data, for the most part, were conducted with respect to the two halves of the questionnaire and the following three problems: one, the role of ethnic identity in the admission decision process

of the hypothetical applicants, with particular attention paid to the differences between African-American and other applicants and the difference between accepted and refused applicants; two, the role of admission criteria, particularly ethnic identity, in the interpretation of admission decisions at the colleges and universities to which the respondent applied; and three, the comparative salience of ethnic identity for those respondents attending William and Mary, a predominantly Euro-American campus, and those attending Hampton University, a predominantly African-American campus.

#### Hypothetical Applicants

Analysis of the frequency distributions of level of importance for the admission criteria of each hypothetical applicant indicates that meritocratic variables were the most influential in the admission decision process (see appendix B, Table 2). Specifically, grade point average, extracurricular activities, SAT scores, and class rank were ranked more highly than ethnic identity in determining the applicant's acceptance or refusal. Only intended major in college was ranked less important. Pearson correlation coefficients corroborate this interpretation: Ethnic identity proved insignificant when correlated with admission decision for each hypothetical applicant (see appendix B, Tables 9-13). Interestingly, the average rank mean of ethnic identity was higher for the hypothetical African-American applicants than for all others.

This pattern fit an underlying theme which becomes more apparent in the analysis of the self admission reports: The more relevant the situation to the respondent, the more important is ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity did correlate significantly with some of the meritocratic variables (see appendix B, Tables 9-13), most notably class rank (in 80% of the scenarios) and grade point average (in 50% of the scenarios). Each significant correlation between ethnic identity and the meritocratic variables was negative, indicating an inverse relationship between ethnic identity and class rank/grade point average. This suggests that respondents who attribute greater importance to ethnic identity in the admission decision process tend to attribute less importance to class rank and grade point average. That is, respondents who give ethnic identity high scores of first, second, and third most important balance that ranking by giving class rank and grade point average low rank scores of fourth through sixth most important. Conversely, those who give class rank/grade point average high scores balance those rankings by giving low rank scores to ethnic identity. Such findings suggest that high ranks for internal, meritocratic variables and high ranks for the external variable of ethnicity are incompatible. It would seem that respondents who concentrated on the external variable of ethnic identity did so at the expense of the more internal variables of grade point average and class rank.

Of additional interest, is the relative absence of a significant relationship between ethnic identity and SAT scores, the other seemingly important meritocratic variable. Only in scenarios 6 (Euro-American) and 7 (Mexican-American) did ethnic identity and SAT scores have a significant relationship. Perhaps the purported ethnic bias of standardized testing resulted in a more ambiguous relationship of SAT scores with ethnic identity.

Interestingly, analysis of the frequency distributions indicates a slight difference in the attribution of SAT, class rank, and ethnic identity of the African-American applicants and all others (see appendix B, Table 2). While GPA remained most important and intended major least important, slight differences existed in the average attribution of SAT scores, class rank, and ethnic identity for African-American applicants. For the African-American applicants, ethnic identity was attributed more importance and SAT scores and extracurricular activities less importance. The discrepancy in the increased average rank of ethnic identity for the African-American applicants is also apparent when frequency distributions are further distinguished by admission outcome (see appendix B, Table 3). This discrepancy between African-American and other applicants is small and does not affect the overall rank of ethnic identity relative to the other variables.

### Self Admission Reports

The rankings of admission criteria at the colleges/universities to which the respondent applied, in the second half of the questionnaire, showed increased differentiation as compared with the situations of the hypothetical applicants in the first half of the questionnaire. While GPA remained the most important variable and intended major remained the least important in the rankings for the self reports, the relative importance of ethnic identity and extracurricular activities was different. Most noticeably, extracurricular activities proved slightly less important in the self interpreted admission process than in the case of the hypothetical applicant: Respondents rated activities as the fifth most important factor for themselves as compared to the fourth most important for the hypothetical applicant (see appendix B, Table 2 and 5). Ethnic identity was rated the fourth most important factor in the self reports with a slightly higher rank mean of 3.90, compared to that of 4.4 for the total of hypothetical applicants.

Consistent, significant, negative relationships exist between ethnic identity and the meritocratic criteria of GPA and class rank, a finding identical to that of the hypothetical applicant (see appendix B, Tables 14-16). Interestingly, SAT scores on the self reports, unlike that of the hypothetical applicants, also proved to be significantly and negatively correlated with ethnic identity (see appendix

B, Tables 14-16).

Not surprisingly, ethnic composition of the institution to which the respondent applied resulted in an increase in importance of the ethnic identity of the respondent as a student applicant (see appendix B, Table 5). When the college/university was predominantly an African-American campus, ethnic identity ranked fourth in importance; when the college/university was predominantly Euro-American, ethnic identity ranked third. Pearson correlation coefficients corroborated the implication that the importance of ethnic identity was linked to the ethnic composition of the institution to which the student applied (see appendix B, Tables 14-16). In addition, ethnic identity was considered more important in the admission decision process at the more selective institutions (see appendix B, Table 7). At the most selective of Euro-American campuses listed by the respondents, however, ethnic identity continued to trail the meritocratic criteria of GPA, SAT and class rank in perceived importance.

#### Respondents from William and Mary vs. Hampton University

Significant correlations between the college the respondent attends and rankings of importance for SAT and class rank are corroborated and illustrated by crosstabs and summaries of rank means. Summaries of rank means (see

appendix B, Table 4) and crosstabs (see appendix B, Table 17-20) indicate that, on the one hand, respondents from William and Mary interpreted class rank for the hypothetical applicant as being more important than the respondents from Hampton University. Hampton University respondents, on the other hand, ranked SAT scores as being more important for the hypothetical applicants than respondents from William and Mary. Interestingly, this discrepancy, while still present, becomes less distinct when respondents of both institutions rank their own admission credentials (see appendix B, Table 8).

Respondents from William and Mary were more likely than respondents from Hampton University to refuse a hypothetical applicant (for examples, see appendix B, Table 21). This may result from a critical comparison of the hypothetical applicant's admission criteria with the respondent's own credentials. William and Mary respondents generally had higher SAT scores, class ranks, grade point averages and levels of extracurricular activities than the respondents from Hampton University (see appendix B, Tables 22 and 23) and many of the hypothetical applicants. Consequently, respondents from William and Mary tended to be more discerning than respondents of Hampton University of the comparatively less qualified hypothetical applicants to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Most importantly, though, comparisons of William and Mary

respondents and Hampton University respondents revealed no significant differences in their attributions of their own ethnic identity or the hypothetical applicant's ethnic identity in the admission decision process. Ethnic identity consistently trails the meritocratic variables of SAT, GPA, and class rank in the self interpreted admission decision process. For the hypothetical applicant, ethnic identity also falls behind extracurricular activities. Results indicate both respondents from William and Mary and from Hampton University considered meritocratic variables to be more influential than an applicant's ethnic identity in the admission decision process.

## CONCLUSION

The respondents' ranking of admission variables for themselves and hypothetical applicants to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill indicate that African-American students consider the meritocratic variables of SAT scores, class rank, grade point average, and extracurricular activities to be generally more important in the admission decision making process than the variable of ethnic identity. At times, specific variables in specific instances were relegated less importance than ethnic identity. For example, respondents ranked ethnic identity as more important than extracurricular activities in all their self admission reports. Additionally, SAT scores were attributed somewhat less importance relative to ethnic identity when respondents were accepted at Euro-American campuses. Ethnic identity, despite these variations, consistently trailed grade point average, class rank, and other meritocratic variables and never ranked higher than fifth, with the exceptions mentioned above, as the most important variable. Similarly, in cases where ethnic identity is expected to be more salient, for William and Mary respondents versus Hampton University respondents and African-American applicants to Euro-American colleges/universities, meritocratic variables are consistently

given greatest importance.

Results of this study indicate, then, that a much more critical evaluation is needed of the conflict theorists' contention that affirmative action policies negatively affect the self esteem of members of groups it purports to help. If this criticism were valid, the tenets of Attribution Theory suggest that members of traditionally oppressed ethnic groups, in cases of success, would: first, focus on the external factor of ethnic identity to the exclusion of other, more internal variables; and second, suffer a loss of self esteem as a consequence of this focus.

The results of this study indicate that African-American college students focus on meritocratic factors instead of ethnic identity in the successful outcomes of a college/university admission decision process. These findings seriously question the validity of the first tenet of Attribution Theory's explanation of conflict theorists' contention--that members of traditionally oppressed groups attribute their success to ethnic identity to the exclusion of all other variables. Findings presented herein consistently indicate that meritocratic variables are the most important factors in the admission decision process for African-American hypothetical applicants, non-African American hypothetical applicants, and the self reported admission applications. Findings suggest that affirmative action policies affecting college/university admission decisions have not resulted in

the attribution of college admission successes to ethnic identity by African-American students; instead, admission is attributed to the meritocratic variables of GPA, SAT scores, and class rank.

The data offered in this study cannot address directly the second tenet of Attribution Theory: that affirmative action is of any consequence to self esteem. The findings suggest, however, that additional empirical analysis is necessary before any relationship between affirmative action and self esteem is assumed. Given the consistency in ranking of admission criteria variables reported herein, the hypothetical scenarios and self admission reports seem reliable measurement devices. Similar devices could be utilized in further empirical analysis to measure relationships between ethnic identity, affirmative action, and self esteem.

Any replication of this research design should address the following considerations for improvement: One, a greater range of variability in admission criteria, specifically for SAT scores, class rank, and grade point average, should be incorporated. This would force respondents to assess more critically the meritocratic variables and their role in the admission decision process. Two, a limit should be set on the number of hypothetical applicants the respondent could accept. Forcing respondents to limit acceptances to six of the ten applicants, for example, would increase the refusal rate and

consequently increase variability. Three, for an alternate approach, respondents could express, in paragraph form, their rationale for their admission decision for each hypothetical applicant. This comment section could replace or be used in conjunction with the ranking of admission criteria. Four, intended major proved consistently inconsequential; replication of this study could justifiably omit this variable. Five, a greater number and variety of respondents and institutions could only improve the analysis. Possible samples include respondents from different geographic areas, levels of institutional selectivity, and multi-cultural campuses. A broader sample would note, for example, if the apparent differences between respondents of William and Mary and Hampton University is a function of institutional selectivity. It would be interesting to ascertain the existence of similar patterns between respondents from Hampton University and a less selective institution such as Virginia State or Norfolk State. Incorporating a third institution of a different selectivity level could suggest some interesting patterns between admission criteria and institutional admission difficulty. Six, the utilization of this methodology to study respondents of other traditionally oppressed groups--Native Americans and women, for example--would prove informative. Perhaps patterns of discriminating admission criteria remain the same or vary according to cultural socialization.

The possibilities of additional study are not only plentiful, but imperative. If we are to better understand and judge the sociological manifestations of governmental social policy, it is essential to accurately assess the consequences and repercussions of the policy on the societal members it purports to serve. Too often, social scientists have forgotten that policy decisions are essential grist for their theoretical mills. It is imperative that future analyses by social scientists not only investigate and interpret policy implications, but communicate these implications in hopes that future policies will address problems humanely and effectively.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION: HYPOTHETICAL APPLICANT #1  
 SAT Scores, Class Rank, and Grade Point Average  
 Range=1-6

## STD1SAT SAT SCORE FOR STUDENT 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FIRST MOST IMPORTANT	1	8	7.3	7.5	7.5
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT	2	20	18.3	18.9	26.4
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT	3	42	38.5	39.6	66.0
FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT	4	15	13.8	14.2	80.2
FIFTH MOST IMPORTANT	5	10	9.2	9.4	89.6
SIXTH MOST IMPORTANT	6	11	10.1	10.4	100.0
	99	3	2.8	Missing	
	Total	109	100.0	100.0	
Mean	3.302	Std err	.133	Median	3.000
Mode	3.000	Std dev	1.367	Variance	1.870
Kurtosis	-.342	S E Kurt	.465	Skewness	.483
S E Skew	.235	Range	5.000	Minimum	1.000
Maximum	6.000	Sum	350.000		

Valid cases 106 Missing cases 3

## STD1RANK CLASS RANK FOR STUDENT 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FIRST MOST IMPORTANT	1	15	13.8	14.0	14.0
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT	2	46	44.0	44.9	58.9
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT	3	24	22.0	22.4	81.3
FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT	4	11	10.1	10.5	91.8
FIFTH MOST IMPORTANT	5	9	8.3	8.4	100.0
	99	2	1.8	Missing	
	Total	109	100.0	100.0	
Mean	2.542	Std err	.108	Median	2.000
Mode	2.000	Std dev	1.118	Variance	1.251
Kurtosis	-.098	S E Kurt	.463	Skewness	.738
S E Skew	.234	Range	4.000	Minimum	1.000
Maximum	5.000	Sum	272.000		

Valid cases 107 Missing cases 2

## STD1GPA GPA FOR STUDENT 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FIRST MOST IMPORTANT	1	65	59.6	64.4	64.4
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT	2	23	21.1	22.8	87.1
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT	3	7	6.4	6.9	94.1
FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT	4	3	2.8	3.0	97.0
SIXTH MOST IMPORTANT	6	3	2.8	3.0	100.0
	99	8	7.3	Missing	
	Total	109	100.0	100.0	
Mean	1.604	Std err	.107	Median	1.000
Mode	1.000	Std dev	1.078	Variance	1.162
Kurtosis	6.785	S E Kurt	.476	Skewness	2.443
S E Skew	.248	Range	5.000	Minimum	1.000
Maximum	6.000	Sum	162.000		

Valid cases 101 Missing cases 8

TABLE 1 (Continued)

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION: HYPOTHETICAL APPLICANT #1  
 Ethnic Identity, Intended Major, and Extracurricular Activities  
 Range=1-6

## JTDIRACE ETHNIC IDENTITY FOR STUDENT 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FIRST MOST IMPORTANT	1	3	2.8	2.9	2.9
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT	2	7	6.4	6.9	9.8
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT	3	15	13.8	14.7	24.5
FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT	4	24	22.0	23.5	48.0
FIFTH MOST IMPORTANT	5	26	23.9	25.5	73.5
SIXTH MOST IMPORTANT	6	27	24.8	26.5	100.0
	99	7	6.4	Missing	
	Total	109	100.0	100.0	
Mean	4.412	Std err	.135	Median	5.000
Mode	6.000	Std dev	1.360	Variance	1.849
Kurtosis	-.390	S E Kurt	.474	Skewness	-.594
S E Skew	.239	Range	5.000	Minimum	1.000
Maximum	6.000	Sum	450.000		
Valid cases	102	Missing cases	7		

## STDINAJR INTENDED MAJOR FOR STUDENT 1

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FIRST MOST IMPORTANT	1	2	1.8	2.0	2.0
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT	2	1	.9	1.0	2.9
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT	3	9	8.3	8.8	11.8
FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT	4	25	22.9	24.5	36.3
FIFTH MOST IMPORTANT	5	32	29.4	31.4	67.6
SIXTH MOST IMPORTANT	6	33	30.3	32.4	100.0
	99	7	6.4	Missing	
	Total	109	100.0	100.0	
Mean	4.794	Std err	.113	Median	5.000
Mode	6.000	Std dev	1.137	Variance	1.294
Kurtosis	.979	S E Kurt	.474	Skewness	-.943
S E Skew	.239	Range	5.000	Minimum	1.000
Maximum	6.000	Sum	489.000		
Valid cases	102	Missing cases	7		

## STDILACTV EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES FOR STUDENT

Value Label	Value	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
FIRST MOST IMPORTANT	1	6	5.5	6.3	6.3
SECOND MOST IMPORTANT	2	9	8.3	9.4	15.6
THIRD MOST IMPORTANT	3	9	8.3	9.4	25.0
FOURTH MOST IMPORTANT	4	23	21.1	24.0	49.0
FIFTH MOST IMPORTANT	5	25	22.9	26.0	75.0
SIXTH MOST IMPORTANT	6	24	22.0	25.0	100.0
	99	13	11.9	Missing	
	Total	109	100.0	100.0	
Mean	4.292	Std err	.152	Median	5.000
Mode	5.000	Std dev	1.493	Variance	2.230
Kurtosis	-.417	S E Kurt	.488	Skewness	-.690
S E Skew	.246	Range	5.000	Minimum	1.000
Maximum	6.000	Sum	412.000		
Valid cases	96	Missing cases	13		

TABLE 2  
RANK MEANS  
for  
Admission Criteria of Hypothetical Applicants  
(Total, African-American and Others)  
Range=1-6

**TOTAL**

		<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Activities</u>
N=102	* 1	3.3	2.5	1.6	4.4	4.8	4.3
=105	* 2	3.3	2.2	2.0	4.3	4.9	4.1
=105	3	2.6	2.5	2.1	4.5	4.9	4.4
=102	4	2.5	2.8	2.2	4.9	4.7	3.7
=104	* 5	2.3	2.7	3.3	4.4	4.7	3.5
=103	6	2.3	2.5	2.5	4.7	4.8	4.1
=102	7	3.0	2.8	2.1	4.2	4.6	4.2
=101	* 8	2.1	3.3	2.7	4.3	4.6	4.0
=101	9	2.1	3.1	2.9	4.4	4.7	3.8
=100	*10	<u>2.5</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Average		2.57	2.72	2.35	4.44	4.75	4.06
Rank		2	3	1	5	6	4

**\*AFRICAN-AMERICAN APPLICANTS**

Average		2.70	2.70	2.34	4.34	4.76	4.08
Rank		2	2	1	5	6	4

**ALL OTHER APPLICANTS**

Average		2.44	2.74	2.36	4.54	4.74	4.04
Rank		2	3	1	5	6	4

TABLE 3  
RANK MEANS  
for  
Admission Criteria of Hypothetical Applicants  
(Accepted/Refused)  
Range=1-6

**ACCEPTED APPLICANTS**

		<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Activities</u>
N=94	*1	3.3	2.6	1.6	4.4	4.8	4.4
=99	*2	3.4	2.1	2.0	4.3	4.9	4.1
=93	3	2.6	2.4	2.0	4.5	4.9	4.5
=104	4	2.5	2.8	2.2	4.9	4.7	3.7
=90	*5	2.3	2.7	3.5	4.4	4.8	3.4
=68	6	2.2	2.2	3.0	4.8	4.8	4.0
=55	7	3.0	2.9	1.6	4.0	4.3	5.1
=81	*8	2.0	3.3	2.8	4.2	4.6	3.9
=91	9	2.0	3.1	3.0	4.3	4.7	3.7
=79	*10	<u>2.5</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>5.1</u>
<b>Total</b>							
Average		2.58	2.67	2.35	4.41	4.73	4.19
Rank		2	3	1	5	6	4
<b>*African-American Applicants</b>							
Average		2.70	2.66	2.34	4.32	4.78	4.18
Rank		3	2	1	5	6	4
<b>All Other Applicants</b>							
Average		2.46	2.68	2.36	4.50	4.68	4.20
Rank		2	3	1	5	6	4

**REFUSED APPLICANTS**

		<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Activities</u>
N=13	*1	3.3	2.3	1.6	4.6	5.3	3.6
= 7	*2	2.9	2.4	1.9	4.4	5.4	4.3
=13	3	2.7	2.5	2.4	4.9	5.0	3.3
= 2	4	2.5	2.5	1.0	4.5	5.5	5.0
=14	*5	2.5	2.4	2.3	4.5	4.5	4.8
=36	6	2.8	2.9	1.7	4.5	4.7	4.3
=45	7	2.9	2.8	2.8	4.5	5.0	3.0
=23	*8	2.6	3.0	2.3	4.6	4.3	4.2
=10	9	3.0	2.8	1.9	4.9	4.3	4.1
=23	*10	<u>2.9</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>2.3</u>
<b>Total</b>							
Average		2.81	2.68	2.09	4.61	4.90	3.89
Rank		3	2	1	5	6	4
<b>*African-American Applicants</b>							
Average		2.84	2.66	2.22	4.56	4.90	3.84
Rank		3	2	1	5	6	4
<b>All Other Applicants</b>							
Average		2.78	2.70	1.96	4.66	4.90	3.94
Rank		3	2	1	5	6	4

TABLE 4

RANK MEANS  
for  
Admission Criteria of Hypothetical Applicants  
(William and Mary/Hampton University)  
Range=1-6

**WILLIAM AND MARY**

		<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Activities</u>
N=30	1	3.7	2.4	1.4	4.6	4.9	4.0
=31	2	3.8	2.2	1.8	4.5	5.0	3.6
=31	3	3.0	2.3	2.1	4.5	5.1	3.8
=30	4	3.4	2.5	1.9	4.9	5.0	3.3
=31	5	2.9	2.2	3.2	4.5	4.8	3.2
=31	6	3.0	2.5	2.2	4.6	5.0	3.8
=30	7	3.2	2.7	2.0	4.2	5.0	4.1
=30	8	2.6	2.9	2.6	4.3	5.1	3.4
=30	9	2.8	2.6	2.7	4.5	4.9	3.4
=29	10	2.9	2.4	1.9	4.5	5.1	4.3
Average		3.13	2.47	2.18	4.51	4.99	3.69
Rank		3	2	1	5	6	4

**HAMPTON UNIVERSITY**

		<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Activities</u>
N=73	1	3.1	2.6	1.7	4.3	4.7	4.4
=74	2	3.1	2.2	2.1	4.3	4.9	4.3
=74	3	2.4	2.6	2.1	4.5	4.9	4.6
=72	4	2.2	2.9	2.3	4.9	4.6	3.9
=73	5	2.1	2.8	3.4	4.3	4.7	3.7
=73	6	2.1	2.5	2.7	4.7	4.7	4.2
=72	7	2.8	2.8	2.1	4.2	4.5	4.3
=72	8	1.8	3.4	2.8	4.3	4.4	4.2
=71	9	1.8	3.3	3.0	4.3	4.6	3.9
=71	10	2.4	2.9	2.1	4.3	4.7	4.6
Average		2.38	2.80	2.43	4.41	4.67	4.21
Rank		1	3	2	5	6	4

TABLE 5  
RANK MEANS  
for  
Self Reported Importance of Admission Criteria  
(Total, Accepted/Refused, Euro-American/African-American Campus)

	<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Extracurricular Activities</u>
<b>TOTAL</b>						
N=96 School 1	2.8	2.8	2.2	3.9	4.9	4.4
=79 School 2	2.7	2.8	2.0	3.9	4.8	4.6
=59 School 3	<u>2.7</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>1.9</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>4.6</u>
Average Rank	2.73 2	2.83 3	2.03 1	3.90 4	4.90 6	4.53 5
<b>ACCEPTED</b>						
N=84 School 1	3.0	2.8	2.1	3.9	4.9	4.3
=61 School 2	2.8	2.8	2.0	3.9	4.7	4.4
=39 School 3	<u>2.9</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>4.4</u>
Average Rank	2.90 3	2.80 2	1.96 1	3.90 4	4.90 6	4.36 5
<b>REFUSED</b>						
N= 7 School 1	1.3	2.7	2.4	4.4	4.9	5.3
= 3 School 2	1.3	2.3	2.3	4.0	5.3	5.7
= 0 School 3	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Average Rank	1.30 1	2.50 3	2.35 2	4.20 4	5.10 5	5.50 6
<b>EURO-AMERICAN CAMPUS</b>						
N=42 School 1	3.2	2.8	2.3	3.5	4.9	4.3
=23 School 2	2.9	2.9	2.0	3.5	5.2	4.5
=13 School 3	<u>3.5</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Average Rank	3.20 4	2.83 2	2.00 1	3.16 3	5.16 6	4.57 5
<b>AFRICAN-AMERICAN CAMPUS</b>						
N=50 School 1	2.5	2.8	2.1	4.2	4.9	4.4
=23 School 2	2.2	2.9	2.0	4.4	5.0	4.6
=11 School 3	<u>2.4</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Average Rank	2.36 2	2.80 3	2.03 1	4.40 4.5	5.00 6	4.40 4.5

TABLE 6

## RANK MEANS

for

Self Reported Importance of Admission Criteria

(Accepted/Refused at Predominantly Euro-American/African-American Campus)

Range=1-6

ACCEPTED

	<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Extracurricular Activities</u>
<b>Euro-American Campus</b>						
N=35 School 1	3.5	2.7	2.2	3.4	4.9	4.3
=16 School 2	2.9	2.9	2.1	3.4	5.0	4.4
= 9 School 3	<u>3.2</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>1.8</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>4.9</u>
Average	3.20	2.83	2.03	3.17	5.20	4.53
Rank	4	2	1	3	6	5

**African-American Campus**

N=46 School 1	2.6	2.9	2.1	4.2	4.9	4.3
=17 School 2	2.5	3.0	1.9	4.1	4.9	4.6
= 5 School 3	<u>2.4</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>4.5</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>4.5</u>
Average	2.50	2.83	1.87	4.27	5.07	4.47
Rank	2	3	1	4	6	5

REFUSED

	<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Extracurricular Activities</u>
<b>Euro-American Campus</b>						
N= 3 School 1	1.3	3.0	2.7	4.3	5.0	4.7
= 1 School 2	2.0	3.0	1.0	4.0	6.0	5.0
= 0 School 3	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Average	1.65	3.00	1.85	4.15	5.50	4.85
Rank	1	3	2	4	6	5
<b>African-American Campus</b>						
N= 3 School 1	1.3	2.3	2.3	4.7	4.7	5.7
= 1 School 2	1.0	2.0	3.0	4.0	5.0	6.0
= 0 School 3	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Average	1.15	2.15	2.65	4.35	4.85	5.85
Rank	1	2	3	4	5	6

TABLE 7  
 RANK MEANS  
 for  
 Self Reported Importance of Admission Criteria  
 (Peterson Guide Classification of School Selectivity)  
 Range=1-6

	<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Extracurricular Activities</u>
<b>Most Difficult</b>	**INSUFFICIENT DATA**					
<b>Very Difficult</b>						
N=26 School 1	3.5	2.4	2.0	3.7	5.4	4.2
= 8 School 2	2.9	2.5	2.5	3.1	5.3	4.8
= 2 School 3	<u>4.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>1.5</u>	<u>2.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>	<u>5.5</u>
Average Rank	3.47 4	2.30 2	2.00 1	3.10 3	5.40 6	4.83 5
<b>Moderately Difficult</b>						
N=58 School 1	2.6	2.9	2.1	3.9	4.8	4.4
=35 School 2	2.6	3.1	2.0	4.1	4.6	4.4
=15 School 3	<u>2.1</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>4.3</u>
Average Rank	2.43 2	3.17 3	2.13 1	4.03 4	4.70 6	4.37 5
<b>Minimally Difficult</b>	**INSUFFICIENT DATA**					
<b>Non-Competitive</b>	**INSUFFICIENT DATA**					

TABLE 8  
 RANK MEANS  
 for  
 Self Reported Importance of Admission Criteria  
 (William and Mary/Hampton University)  
 Range=1-6

WILLIAM AND MARY

	<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Extracurricular Activities</u>
N=28 School 1	3.6	2.3	1.9	3.6	5.3	4.3
=24 School 2	3.0	2.7	1.9	3.5	5.3	4.4
=19 School 3	<u>3.4</u>	<u>2.6</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>5.4</u>	<u>4.7</u>
Average	3.33	2.53	1.80	3.47	5.33	4.47
Rank	3	2	1	4	6	5

HAMPTON UNIVERSITY

	<u>SAT</u>	<u>Class Rank</u>	<u>GPA</u>	<u>Ethnic Identity</u>	<u>Intended Major</u>	<u>Extracurricular Activities</u>
N=68 School 1	2.5	3.0	2.3	4.0	4.7	4.5
=55 School 2	2.6	2.8	2.0	4.1	4.6	4.7
=41 School 3	<u>2.4</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>4.3</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>4.4</u>
Average	2.50	2.93	2.10	4.13	4.70	4.53
Rank	2	3	1	4	6	5

TABLE 9  
 PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
 for  
 Hypothetical Applicants  
 (#1 and #2)

	STD1SAT	STD1RANK	STD1GPA	STD1RACE	STD1MAJR	STD1ACTV	STD1DCSN
STD1SAT	1.0000 ( 106) P= .	-.3041 ( 106) P= .001	-.0252 ( 100) P= .402	-.1330 ( 101) P= .092	-.0988 ( 101) P= .163	-.3282 ( 95) P= .001	.0593 ( 104) P= .275
STD1RANK	-.3041 ( 106) P= .001	1.0000 ( 107) P= .	-.1272 ( 101) P= .103	-.1780 ( 102) P= .037	-.0642 ( 102) P= .261	.0437 ( 96) P= .336	-.0750 ( 105) P= .223
STD1GPA	-.0252 ( 100) P= .402	-.1272 ( 101) P= .103	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	-.1829 ( 98) P= .036	-.2492 ( 98) P= .007	-.2465 ( 93) P= .009	.0370 ( 99) P= .358
STD1RACE	-.1330 ( 101) P= .092	-.1780 ( 102) P= .037	-.1829 ( 98) P= .036	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.3192 ( 99) P= .001	-.2136 ( 93) P= .020	.0865 ( 100) P= .196
STD1MAJR	-.0988 ( 101) P= .163	-.0642 ( 102) P= .261	-.2492 ( 98) P= .007	-.3192 ( 99) P= .001	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.0419 ( 93) P= .345	.1421 ( 100) P= .079
STD1ACTV	-.3282 ( 95) P= .001	.0437 ( 96) P= .336	-.2465 ( 93) P= .009	-.2136 ( 93) P= .020	-.0419 ( 93) P= .345	1.0000 ( 96) P= .	-.1224 ( 94) P= .120
STD1DCSN	.0593 ( 104) P= .275	-.0750 ( 105) P= .223	.0370 ( 99) P= .358	.0865 ( 100) P= .196	.1421 ( 100) P= .079	-.1224 ( 94) P= .120	1.0000 ( 107) P= .

	STD2SAT	STD2RANK	STD2GPA	STD2RACE	STD2MAJR	STD2ACTV	STD2DCSN
STD2SAT	1.0000 ( 107) P= .	-.1165 ( 105) P= .118	-.2005 ( 102) P= .022	-.0129 ( 106) P= .448	.0198 ( 104) P= .421	-.3926 ( 105) P= .000	-.1329 ( 104) P= .089
STD2RANK	-.1165 ( 105) P= .118	1.0000 ( 105) P= .	-.2816 ( 102) P= .002	-.1719 ( 104) P= .041	-.1462 ( 102) P= .071	-.0266 ( 103) P= .395	.0594 ( 102) P= .277
STD2GPA	-.2005 ( 102) P= .022	-.2816 ( 102) P= .002	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.3090 ( 102) P= .001	-.1197 ( 100) P= .118	-.1742 ( 101) P= .041	-.0237 ( 99) P= .408
STD2RACE	-.0129 ( 106) P= .448	-.1719 ( 104) P= .041	-.3090 ( 102) P= .001	1.0000 ( 106) P= .	-.2629 ( 103) P= .004	-.1437 ( 104) P= .073	-.0113 ( 103) P= .455
STD2MAJR	.0198 ( 104) P= .421	-.1462 ( 102) P= .071	-.1197 ( 100) P= .118	-.2629 ( 103) P= .004	1.0000 ( 104) P= .	-.1605 ( 103) P= .053	.1131 ( 101) P= .130
STD2ACTV	-.3926 ( 105) P= .000	-.0266 ( 103) P= .395	-.1742 ( 101) P= .041	-.1437 ( 104) P= .073	-.1605 ( 103) P= .053	1.0000 ( 105) P= .	.0943 ( 102) P= .173
STD2DCSN	-.1329 ( 104) P= .089	.0594 ( 102) P= .277	-.0237 ( 99) P= .408	-.0113 ( 103) P= .455	.1131 ( 101) P= .130	.0943 ( 102) P= .173	1.0000 ( 106) P= .

TABLE 10

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
for  
Hypothetical Applicants  
(#3 and #4)

	STD3SAT	STD3RANK	STD3GPA	STD3RACE	STD3MAJR	STD3ACTV	STD3DCSN
STD3SAT	1.0000 ( 106) P= .	-.2573 ( 104) P=.004	-.2574 ( 104) P=.004	-.0635 ( 104) P=.261	-.2385 ( 106) P=.007	-.3075 ( 105) P=.001	.0352 ( 103) P=.362
STD3RANK	-.2573 ( 104) P=.004	1.0000 ( 104) P=.	-.1701 ( 103) P=.043	-.2620 ( 103) P=.004	-.1247 ( 104) P=.104	.0470 ( 103) P=.319	.0308 ( 101) P=.380
STD3GPA	-.2574 ( 104) P=.004	-.1701 ( 103) P=.043	1.0000 ( 104) P=.	-.2209 ( 102) P=.013	-.0393 ( 104) P=.346	-.1403 ( 103) P=.079	.1248 ( 101) P=.107
STD3RACE	-.0635 ( 104) P=.261	-.2620 ( 103) P=.004	-.2209 ( 102) P=.013	1.0000 ( 104) P=.	-.1725 ( 104) P=.040	-.3273 ( 103) P=.000	.1107 ( 101) P=.135
STD3MAJR	-.2385 ( 106) P=.007	-.1247 ( 104) P=.104	-.0393 ( 104) P=.346	-.1725 ( 104) P=.040	1.0000 ( 106) P=.	-.0940 ( 105) P=.170	.0075 ( 101) P=.470
STD3ACTV	-.3075 ( 105) P=.001	.0470 ( 103) P=.319	-.1403 ( 103) P=.079	-.3273 ( 103) P=.000	-.0940 ( 105) P=.170	1.0000 ( 105) P=.	-.1616 ( 102) P=.052
STD3DCSN	.0352 ( 103) P=.362	.0308 ( 101) P=.380	.1248 ( 101) P=.107	.1107 ( 101) P=.135	.0075 ( 103) P=.470	-.1616 ( 102) P=.052	1.0000 ( 106) P=.

	STD4SAT	STD4RANK	STD4GPA	STD4RACE	STD4MAJR	STD4ACTV	STD4DCSN
STD4SAT	1.0000 ( 104) P=.	-.3060 ( 103) P=.001	-.1726 ( 101) P=.042	-.1303 ( 104) P=.094	-.1484 ( 101) P=.069	-.2092 ( 99) P=.019	.0138 ( 101) P=.445
STD4RANK	-.3060 ( 103) P=.001	1.0000 ( 103) P=.	-.0592 ( 101) P=.278	-.0611 ( 103) P=.270	-.1988 ( 100) P=.024	-.1607 ( 98) P=.057	-.0306 ( 100) P=.381
STD4GPA	-.1726 ( 101) P=.042	-.0592 ( 101) P=.278	1.0000 ( 101) P=.	-.1275 ( 101) P=.102	-.1592 ( 98) P=.059	-.2827 ( 97) P=.003	-.1448 ( 98) P=.077
STD4RACE	-.1303 ( 104) P=.094	-.0611 ( 103) P=.270	-.1275 ( 101) P=.102	1.0000 ( 104) P=.	-.0251 ( 101) P=.402	-.3745 ( 99) P=.000	-.0673 ( 101) P=.252
STD4MAJR	-.1484 ( 101) P=.069	-.1988 ( 100) P=.024	-.1592 ( 98) P=.059	-.0251 ( 101) P=.402	1.0000 ( 101) P=.	-.1469 ( 99) P=.073	.0895 ( 98) P=.190
STD4ACTV	-.2092 ( 99) P=.019	-.1607 ( 98) P=.057	-.2827 ( 97) P=.003	-.3745 ( 99) P=.000	-.1469 ( 99) P=.073	1.0000 ( 99) P=.	.1316 ( 96) P=.101
STD4DCSN	.0138 ( 101) P=.445	-.0306 ( 100) P=.381	-.1448 ( 98) P=.077	-.0673 ( 101) P=.252	.0895 ( 98) P=.190	.1316 ( 96) P=.101	1.0000 ( 106) P=.

TABLE 11

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
for  
Hypothetical Applicants  
(#5 and #6)

	STD5SAT	STD5RANK	STD5GPA	STD5RACE	STD5MAJR	STD5ACTV	STD5DCSN
STD5SAT	1.0000 ( 106) P= .	-.1630 ( 104) P= .049	-.2878 ( 105) P= .001	-.0887 ( 105) P= .184	-.1315 ( 102) P= .094	-.1461 ( 102) P= .071	.0785 ( 102) P= .218
STD5RANK	-.1630 ( 104) P= .049	1.0000 ( 104) P= .	-.0009 ( 104) P= .496	-.2352 ( 103) P= .008	-.2490 ( 101) P= .006	-.1420 ( 100) P= .079	-.0534 ( 99) P= .300
STD5GPA	-.2878 ( 105) P= .001	-.0009 ( 104) P= .496	1.0000 ( 105) P= .	-.1350 ( 104) P= .086	-.1286 ( 101) P= .100	-.4305 ( 101) P= .000	-.2921 ( 100) P= .002
STD5RACE	-.0887 ( 105) P= .184	-.2352 ( 103) P= .008	-.1350 ( 104) P= .086	1.0000 ( 105) P= .	-.1772 ( 102) P= .037	-.1166 ( 101) P= .123	.0304 ( 100) P= .382
STD5MAJR	-.1315 ( 102) P= .094	-.2490 ( 101) P= .006	-.1286 ( 101) P= .100	-.1772 ( 102) P= .037	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.0488 ( 100) P= .315	-.0531 ( 98) P= .302
STD5ACTV	-.1461 ( 102) P= .071	-.1420 ( 100) P= .079	-.4305 ( 101) P= .000	-.1166 ( 101) P= .123	-.0488 ( 100) P= .315	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	.2919 ( 98) P= .002
STD5DCSN	.0785 ( 101) P= .218	-.0534 ( 99) P= .300	-.2921 ( 100) P= .002	.0304 ( 100) P= .382	-.0531 ( 98) P= .302	.2919 ( 98) P= .002	1.0000 ( 104) P= .
	STD6SAT	STD6RANK	STD6GPA	STD6RACE	STD6MAJR	STD6ACTV	STD6DCSN
STD6SAT	1.0000 ( 104) P= .	.0066 ( 103) P= .474	-.5025 ( 102) P= .000	-.2390 ( 103) P= .008	-.1664 ( 103) P= .047	-.1223 ( 104) P= .108	.2196 ( 101) P= .014
STD6RANK	.0066 ( 103) P= .474	1.0000 ( 103) P= .	-.3081 ( 102) P= .001	-.3453 ( 102) P= .000	-.0929 ( 102) P= .176	-.0756 ( 103) P= .224	.2932 ( 100) P= .002
STD6GPA	-.5025 ( 102) P= .000	-.3081 ( 102) P= .001	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	.0677 ( 101) P= .251	.0147 ( 101) P= .442	-.1994 ( 102) P= .022	-.4473 ( 99) P= .000
STD6RACE	-.2390 ( 103) P= .008	-.3453 ( 102) P= .000	.0677 ( 101) P= .251	1.0000 ( 103) P= .	-.1290 ( 103) P= .097	-.2380 ( 103) P= .008	-.1107 ( 100) P= .137
STD6MAJR	-.1664 ( 103) P= .047	-.0929 ( 102) P= .176	.0147 ( 101) P= .442	-.1290 ( 103) P= .097	1.0000 ( 103) P= .	-.2658 ( 103) P= .003	-.0216 ( 100) P= .416
STD6ACTV	-.1223 ( 104) P= .108	-.0756 ( 103) P= .224	-.1994 ( 102) P= .022	-.2380 ( 103) P= .008	-.2658 ( 103) P= .003	1.0000 ( 104) P= .	.1128 ( 101) P= .131
STD6DCSN	.2196 ( 101) P= .014	.2932 ( 100) P= .002	-.4473 ( 99) P= .000	-.1107 ( 100) P= .137	-.0216 ( 100) P= .416	.1128 ( 101) P= .131	1.0000 ( 104) P= .

TABLE 12

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
for  
Hypothetical Applicants  
(#7 and #8)

	STD7SAT	STD7RANK	STD7GPA	STD7RACE	STD7MAJR	STD7ACTV	STD7DCSN
STD7SAT	1.0000 ( 103) P= .	-.1237 ( 102) P= .108	-.1149 ( 102) P= .125	-.3022 ( 100) P= .001	-.2218 ( 102) P= .013	.0123 ( 101) P= .452	-.0124 ( 98) P= .452
STD7RANK	-.1237 ( 102) P= .108	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	.0548 ( 101) P= .293	-.2618 ( 100) P= .004	-.1031 ( 101) P= .152	.0149 ( 100) P= .442	-.1139 ( 97) P= .133
STD7GPA	-.1149 ( 102) P= .125	.0548 ( 101) P= .293	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.0037 ( 99) P= .486	.0098 ( 101) P= .461	-.5237 ( 101) P= .000	.4688 ( 97) P= .000
STD7RACE	-.3022 ( 100) P= .001	-.2618 ( 100) P= .004	-.0037 ( 99) P= .486	1.0000 ( 100) P= .	.0129 ( 99) P= .450	-.4622 ( 98) P= .000	.1456 ( 95) P= .080
STD7MAJR	-.2218 ( 102) P= .013	-.1031 ( 101) P= .152	.0098 ( 101) P= .461	.0129 ( 99) P= .450	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.2232 ( 101) P= .012	.3040 ( 98) P= .001
STD7ACTV	.0123 ( 101) P= .452	.0149 ( 100) P= .442	-.5237 ( 101) P= .000	-.4622 ( 98) P= .000	-.2232 ( 101) P= .012	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	-.4538 ( 97) P= .000
STD7DCSN	-.0124 ( 98) P= .452	-.1139 ( 97) P= .133	.4688 ( 97) P= .000	.1456 ( 95) P= .080	.3040 ( 98) P= .001	-.4538 ( 97) P= .000	1.0000 ( 100) P= .

	STD8SAT	STD8RANK	STD8GPA	STD8RACE	STD8MAJR	STD8ACTV	STD8DCSN
STD8SAT	1.0000 ( 103) P= .	-.2788 ( 101) P= .002	-.4428 ( 101) P= .000	-.0998 ( 100) P= .162	-.0882 ( 102) P= .189	-.0433 ( 101) P= .334	.1549 ( 101) P= .061
STD8RANK	-.2788 ( 101) P= .002	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	.2574 ( 99) P= .005	-.2262 ( 99) P= .012	-.1340 ( 100) P= .092	-.1950 ( 99) P= .027	-.1572 ( 99) P= .060
STD8GPA	-.4428 ( 101) P= .000	.2574 ( 99) P= .005	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	-.2456 ( 98) P= .007	-.2168 ( 100) P= .015	-.1242 ( 100) P= .109	-.1912 ( 100) P= .028
STD8RACE	-.0998 ( 100) P= .162	-.2262 ( 99) P= .012	-.2456 ( 98) P= .007	1.0000 ( 100) P= .	-.0054 ( 99) P= .479	-.3050 ( 99) P= .001	.0844 ( 98) P= .204
STD8MAJR	-.0882 ( 102) P= .189	-.1340 ( 100) P= .092	-.2168 ( 100) P= .015	-.0054 ( 99) P= .479	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.0807 ( 100) P= .212	-.0962 ( 100) P= .171
STD8ACTV	-.0433 ( 101) P= .334	-.1950 ( 99) P= .027	-.1242 ( 100) P= .109	-.3050 ( 99) P= .001	-.0807 ( 100) P= .212	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	.0265 ( 100) P= .397
STD8DCSN	.1549 ( 101) P= .061	-.1572 ( 99) P= .060	-.1912 ( 100) P= .028	.0844 ( 98) P= .204	-.0962 ( 100) P= .171	.0265 ( 100) P= .397	1.0000 ( 100) P= .

TABLE 13  
 PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
 For  
 Hypothetical Applicants  
 (#9 and #10)

	STD9SAT	STD9RANK	STD9GPA	STD9RACE	STD9MAJR	STD9ACTV	STD9DCSN
STD9SAT	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.1979 ( 100) P= .024	-.2236 ( 102) P= .012	-.1176 ( 101) P= .121	-.1679 ( 101) P= .047	-.2267 ( 102) P= .011	.1478 ( 98) P= .073
STD9RANK	-.1979 ( 100) P= .024	1.0000 ( 100) P= .	.2095 ( 100) P= .018	-.2211 ( 100) P= .014	-.2338 ( 100) P= .010	-.2721 ( 100) P= .003	-.0676 ( 96) P= .257
STD9GPA	-.2236 ( 102) P= .012	.2095 ( 100) P= .018	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	-.2285 ( 101) P= .011	-.2606 ( 101) P= .004	-.2564 ( 102) P= .005	-.2240 ( 98) P= .013
STD9RACE	-.1176 ( 101) P= .121	-.2211 ( 100) P= .014	-.2285 ( 101) P= .011	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	-.1075 ( 100) P= .143	-.2937 ( 101) P= .001	.0849 ( 97) P= .204
STD9MAJR	-.1679 ( 101) P= .047	-.2338 ( 100) P= .010	-.2606 ( 101) P= .004	-.1075 ( 100) P= .143	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	.1079 ( 101) P= .141	-.0451 ( 97) P= .331
STD9ACTV	-.2267 ( 102) P= .011	-.2721 ( 100) P= .003	-.2564 ( 102) P= .005	-.2937 ( 101) P= .001	.1079 ( 101) P= .141	1.0000 ( 102) P= .	.0296 ( 98) P= .386
STD9DCSN	.1478 ( 98) P= .073	-.0676 ( 96) P= .257	-.2240 ( 98) P= .013	.0849 ( 97) P= .204	-.0451 ( 97) P= .331	.0296 ( 98) P= .386	1.0000 ( 101) P= .

	STD0SAT	STD0RANK	STD0GPA	STD0RACE	STD0MAJR	STD0ACTV	STD0DCSN
STD0SAT	1.0000 ( 100) P= .	-.2326 ( 100) P= .010	-.0985 ( 99) P= .166	-.0737 ( 99) P= .234	-.2601 ( 98) P= .005	-.1859 ( 98) P= .033	.1202 ( 96) P= .122
STD0RANK	-.2326 ( 100) P= .010	1.0000 ( 101) P= .	.0570 ( 99) P= .288	-.1317 ( 100) P= .096	-.1779 ( 99) P= .039	-.1983 ( 98) P= .025	.1338 ( 97) P= .096
STD0GPA	-.0985 ( 99) P= .166	.0570 ( 99) P= .288	1.0000 ( 99) P= .	-.0957 ( 98) P= .174	-.1214 ( 97) P= .118	-.4279 ( 97) P= .000	.4328 ( 95) P= .000
STD0RACE	-.0737 ( 99) P= .234	-.1317 ( 100) P= .096	-.0957 ( 98) P= .174	1.0000 ( 100) P= .	-.0714 ( 98) P= .242	-.4510 ( 97) P= .000	.1538 ( 96) P= .067
STD0MAJR	-.2601 ( 98) P= .005	-.1779 ( 99) P= .039	-.1214 ( 97) P= .118	-.0714 ( 98) P= .242	1.0000 ( 99) P= .	.0315 ( 97) P= .380	.1048 ( 95) P= .156
STD0ACTV	-.1859 ( 98) P= .033	-.1983 ( 98) P= .025	-.4279 ( 97) P= .000	-.4510 ( 97) P= .000	.0315 ( 97) P= .380	1.0000 ( 98) P= .	-.5459 ( 94) P= .000
STD0DCSN	.1202 ( 96) P= .122	.1338 ( 97) P= .096	.4328 ( 95) P= .000	.1538 ( 96) P= .067	.1048 ( 95) P= .156	-.5459 ( 94) P= .000	1.0000 ( 102) P= .

TABLE 14

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
for  
First Self Admission Report

	SCH1COMP	SCH1DIFF	SCH1SAT	SCH1RANK	SCH1GPA	SCH1RACE	SCH1MAJR	SCH1ACTV	SCH1DCSN
SCH1COMP	1.0000 ( 98) P= .	.6717 ( 98) P= .000	-.2222 ( 90) P= .018	.0225 ( 93) P= .415	-.0754 ( 91) P= .239	.2183 ( 91) P= .019	.0142 ( 89) P= .447	.0351 ( 90) P= .371	-.0198 ( 93) P= .425
SCH1DIFF	.6717 ( 98) P= .000	1.0000 ( 98) P= .	-.2224 ( 90) P= .018	.0175 ( 93) P= .434	-.0691 ( 91) P= .258	.1117 ( 91) P= .146	.0033 ( 89) P= .488	.1312 ( 90) P= .109	-.0649 ( 93) P= .268
SCH1SAT	-.2222 ( 90) P= .018	-.2224 ( 90) P= .018	1.0000 ( 95) P= .	-.2774 ( 95) P= .003	-.0358 ( 93) P= .367	-.3417 ( 94) P= .000	-.0982 ( 92) P= .176	-.4071 ( 92) P= .000	-.2685 ( 90) P= .005
SCH1RANK	.0225 ( 93) P= .415	.0175 ( 93) P= .434	-.2774 ( 95) P= .003	1.0000 ( 98) P= .	.2649 ( 96) P= .005	-.4126 ( 96) P= .000	-.2791 ( 94) P= .003	-.0099 ( 95) P= .462	-.0113 ( 93) P= .457
SCH1GPA	-.0754 ( 91) P= .239	-.0691 ( 91) P= .258	-.0358 ( 93) P= .367	.2649 ( 96) P= .005	1.0000 ( 96) P= .	-.3547 ( 95) P= .000	-.3726 ( 93) P= .000	-.3894 ( 94) P= .000	.0635 ( 92) P= .274
SCH1RACE	.2183 ( 91) P= .019	.1117 ( 91) P= .146	-.3417 ( 94) P= .000	-.4126 ( 96) P= .000	-.3547 ( 95) P= .000	1.0000 ( 96) P= .	-.0611 ( 92) P= .281	.0111 ( 93) P= .458	.0915 ( 91) P= .194
SCH1MAJR	.0142 ( 89) P= .447	.0033 ( 89) P= .488	-.0982 ( 92) P= .176	-.2791 ( 94) P= .003	-.3726 ( 93) P= .000	-.0611 ( 92) P= .281	1.0000 ( 94) P= .	.0239 ( 93) P= .410	-.0110 ( 90) P= .459
SCH1ACTV	.0351 ( 90) P= .371	.1312 ( 90) P= .109	-.4071 ( 92) P= .000	-.0099 ( 95) P= .462	-.3894 ( 94) P= .000	.0111 ( 93) P= .458	.0239 ( 93) P= .410	1.0000 ( 95) P= .	.1940 ( 91) P= .033
SCH1DCSN	-.0198 ( 93) P= .425	-.0649 ( 93) P= .268	-.2685 ( 90) P= .005	-.0113 ( 93) P= .457	.0635 ( 92) P= .274	.0915 ( 91) P= .194	-.0110 ( 90) P= .459	.1940 ( 91) P= .033	1.0000 ( 98) P= .

(COEFFICIENT / (CASES) / 1-TAILED SIG)

" . " IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED

TABLE 15

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
for  
Second Self Admission Report

	SCH2COMP	SCH2DIFF	SCH2SAT	SCH2RANK	SCH2GPA	SCH2RACE	SCH2MAJR	SCH2ACTV	SCH2DCSN
SCH2COMP	1.0000 ( 83) P= .	.6042 ( 81) P= .000	-.2470 ( 77) P= .015	.0128 ( 75) P= .457	-.0109 ( 76) P= .463	.3335 ( 77) P= .002	-.0872 ( 78) P= .224	.0487 ( 77) P= .337	-.0374 ( 74) P= .376
SCH2DIFF	.6042 ( 81) P= .000	1.0000 ( 81) P= .	-.0779 ( 75) P= .253	.0953 ( 73) P= .211	.0265 ( 74) P= .411	.2085 ( 75) P= .036	-.2446 ( 76) P= .017	.0594 ( 75) P= .306	-.0159 ( 72) P= .447
SCH2SAT	-.2470 ( 77) P= .015	-.0779 ( 75) P= .253	1.0000 ( 79) P= .	-.1357 ( 76) P= .121	-.0968 ( 78) P= .200	-.3613 ( 79) P= .001	-.2790 ( 79) P= .006	-.3558 ( 78) P= .001	-.1418 ( 70) P= .121
SCH2RANK	.0128 ( 75) P= .457	.0953 ( 73) P= .211	-.1357 ( 76) P= .121	1.0000 ( 74) P= .	.1405 ( 76) P= .113	-.5121 ( 76) P= .000	-.2069 ( 77) P= .035	-.0144 ( 77) P= .451	-.1431 ( 70) P= .119
SCH2GPA	-.0109 ( 76) P= .463	.0265 ( 74) P= .411	-.0968 ( 78) P= .200	.1405 ( 76) P= .113	1.0000 ( 78) P= .	-.3210 ( 78) P= .002	-.5554 ( 78) P= .000	-.0241 ( 78) P= .417	-.0442 ( 70) P= .358
SCH2RACE	.3335 ( 77) P= .002	.2085 ( 75) P= .036	-.3613 ( 79) P= .001	-.5121 ( 76) P= .000	-.3210 ( 78) P= .002	1.0000 ( 79) P= .	.1533 ( 79) P= .089	-.1973 ( 78) P= .042	.0876 ( 70) P= .235
SCH2MAJR	-.0872 ( 78) P= .224	-.2446 ( 76) P= .017	-.2790 ( 79) P= .006	-.2069 ( 77) P= .035	-.5554 ( 78) P= .000	.1533 ( 79) P= .089	1.0000 ( 80) P= .	.0110 ( 79) P= .462	.0919 ( 71) P= .223
SCH2ACTV	.0487 ( 77) P= .337	.0594 ( 75) P= .306	-.3558 ( 78) P= .001	-.0144 ( 77) P= .451	-.0241 ( 78) P= .417	-.1973 ( 78) P= .042	.0110 ( 79) P= .462	1.0000 ( 79) P= .	.2062 ( 71) P= .042
SCH2DCSN	-.0374 ( 74) P= .376	-.0159 ( 72) P= .447	-.1418 ( 70) P= .121	-.1431 ( 70) P= .119	-.0442 ( 70) P= .358	.0876 ( 70) P= .235	.0919 ( 71) P= .223	.2062 ( 71) P= .042	1.0000 ( 76) P= .

(COEFFICIENT / (CASES) / 1-TAILED SIG)

" . " IS PRINTED IF A COEFFICIENT CANNOT BE COMPUTED

TABLE 16

PEARSON CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS  
for  
Third Self Admission Report

	SCH3COMP	SCH3DIFF	SCH3SAT	SCH3RANK	SCH3GPA	SCH3RACE	SCH3MAJR	SCH3ACTV	SCH3DCSN
SCH3COMP	1.0000 ( 60) P= .	.4898 ( 60) P= .000	-.2015 ( 54) P= .072	-.0658 ( 53) P= .320	.0534 ( 54) P= .351	.3886 ( 52) P= .002	-.0304 ( 52) P= .415	-.2672 ( 50) P= .030	-.0314 ( 53) P= .412
SCH3DIFF	.4898 ( 60) P= .000	1.0000 ( 60) P= .	-.1361 ( 54) P= .163	.0898 ( 53) P= .261	.0648 ( 54) P= .321	.2359 ( 52) P= .046	.0701 ( 52) P= .311	-.2370 ( 50) P= .049	-.2122 ( 53) P= .064
SCH3SAT	-.2015 ( 54) P= .072	-.1361 ( 54) P= .163	1.0000 ( 61) P= .	-.3232 ( 60) P= .006	-.3379 ( 61) P= .004	-.4552 ( 59) P= .000	.0743 ( 58) P= .290	-.1376 ( 57) P= .154	-.1245 ( 55) P= .183
SCH3RANK	-.0658 ( 53) P= .320	.0898 ( 53) P= .261	-.3232 ( 60) P= .006	1.0000 ( 60) P= .	.2011 ( 60) P= .062	-.2360 ( 59) P= .036	-.3750 ( 57) P= .002	-.0348 ( 56) P= .400	.0997 ( 54) P= .237
SCH3GPA	.0534 ( 54) P= .351	.0648 ( 54) P= .321	-.3379 ( 61) P= .004	.2011 ( 60) P= .062	1.0000 ( 61) P= .	-.1498 ( 59) P= .129	-.3837 ( 58) P= .001	-.0466 ( 57) P= .365	.2266 ( 55) P= .048
SCH3RACE	.3886 ( 52) P= .002	.2359 ( 52) P= .046	-.4552 ( 59) P= .000	-.2360 ( 59) P= .036	-.1498 ( 59) P= .129	1.0000 ( 59) P= .	-.0217 ( 56) P= .437	-.3807 ( 56) P= .002	-.0221 ( 53) P= .438
SCH3MAJR	-.0304 ( 52) P= .415	.0701 ( 52) P= .311	.0743 ( 58) P= .290	-.3750 ( 57) P= .002	-.3837 ( 58) P= .001	-.0217 ( 56) P= .437	1.0000 ( 58) P= .	-.1256 ( 56) P= .178	-.0608 ( 53) P= .333
SCH3ACTV	-.2672 ( 50) P= .030	-.2370 ( 50) P= .049	-.1376 ( 57) P= .154	-.0348 ( 56) P= .400	-.0466 ( 57) P= .365	-.3807 ( 56) P= .002	-.1256 ( 56) P= .178	1.0000 ( 57) P= .	.1433 ( 52) P= .155
SCH3DCSN	-.0314 ( 53) P= .412	-.2122 ( 53) P= .064	-.1245 ( 55) P= .183	.0997 ( 54) P= .237	.2266 ( 55) P= .048	-.0221 ( 53) P= .438	-.0608 ( 53) P= .333	.1433 ( 52) P= .155	1.0000 ( 60) P= .

TABLE 17

CROSSTABS  
College Respondents Attend  
by  
SAT Scores and Class Rank  
(Hypothetical Applicants #1, 2, and 3)

## STD1SAT by COLLEGE

	COLLEGE			Row Total
	Count Col Pat	WM	HU	
1	8	6	14	7.5
2	20	15	35	18.9
3	42	29	71	39.6
4	36	23	59	34.0
Column	31	75	106	
Total	29.2	70.8	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 3  
P: .031

## STD1RANK by COLLEGE

	COLLEGE			Row Total
	Count Col Pat	WM	HU	
1	15	9	24	14.0
2	46	32	78	44.9
3	24	20	44	22.4
4	20	14	34	18.7
Column	32	75	107	
Total	29.9	70.1	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 2  
P: .153

## STD2SAT by COLLEGE

	COLLEGE			Row Total
	Count Col Pat	WM	HU	
1	9	9	18	8.4
2	19	13	32	17.8
3	40	30	70	37.4
4	39	23	62	36.4
Column	32	75	107	
Total	29.9	70.1	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 2  
P: .017

## STD2RANK by COLLEGE

	COLLEGE			Row Total
	Count Col Pat	WM	HU	
1	36	24	60	34.3
2	40	29	69	36.1
3	15	12	27	14.3
4	14	9	23	13.3
Column	31	74	105	
Total	29.5	70.5	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 4  
P: .411

## STD3SAT by COLLEGE

	COLLEGE			Row Total
	Count Col Pat	WM	HU	
1	33	27	60	31.1
2	24	16	40	22.6
3	25	16	41	23.6
4	24	15	39	22.8
Column	32	74	106	
Total	30.2	69.8	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 3  
P: .050

## STD3RANK by COLLEGE

	COLLEGE			Row Total
	Count Col Pat	WM	HU	
1	16	14	30	17.3
2	40	28	68	36.5
3	34	28	62	32.7
4	12	8	20	11.5
Column	30	74	104	
Total	28.8	71.2	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 5  
P: .094

TABLE 18  
 CROSSTABS  
 College Respondents Attend  
 by  
 SAT Scores and Class Rank  
 (Hypothetical Applicants #4 and #5)

## STD4SAT by COLLEGE

	Count Col	COLLEGE			Row Total
		WM	I	HU	
1	I	1I	33I		34
	Pct	3.2I	45.2I		32.7
2	I	8I	13I		21
	Pct	25.8I	17.8I		20.2
3	I	11I	13I		24
	Pct	35.5I	17.8I		23.1
4	I	11I	14I		25
	Pct	35.5I	19.2I		24.0
Column		31	73		104
Total		29.8	70.2		100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 5

P: .000

## STD4RANK by COLLEGE

	Count Col	COLLEGE			Row Total
		WM	I	HU	
1	I	6I	4I		10
	Pct	20.0I	5.5I		9.7
2	I	10I	28I		38
	Pct	33.3I	38.4I		36.9
3	I	10I	21I		31
	Pct	33.3I	28.8I		30.1
4	I	4I	20I		24
	Pct	13.3I	27.4I		25.3
Column		30	73		103
Total		29.1	70.9		100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 6

P: .031

## STD5SAT by COLLEGE

	Count Col	COLLEGE			Row Total
		WM	I	HU	
1	I	4I	33I		37
	Pct	12.5I	44.6I		34.9
2	I	9I	18I		27
	Pct	28.1I	24.3I		25.5
3	I	11I	13I		24
	Pct	34.4I	17.6I		22.6
4	I	8I	10I		18
	Pct	25.0I	13.5I		17.0
Column		32	74		106
Total		30.2	69.8		100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 3

P: .001

## STD5RANK by COLLEGE

	Count Col	COLLEGE			Row Total
		WM	I	HU	
1	I	9I	11I		20
	Pct	30.0I	14.9I		19.2
2	I	12I	24I		36
	Pct	40.0I	32.4I		34.6
3	I	6I	20I		26
	Pct	20.0I	27.0I		25.0
4	I	3I	19I		22
	Pct	10.0I	25.7I		21.2
Column		30	74		104
Total		28.8	71.2		100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 5

P: .008

TABLE 19  
 CROSSTABS  
 College Respondents Attend  
 by  
 SAT Scores and Class Rank  
 (Hypothetical Applicants #6, 7, and 8)

## STD6SAT by COLLEGE

STD6SAT	Count	COLLEGE			Row Total
		Col Pct			
		WM	HU	Total	
1	51	381	43	41.3	
2	81	111	19	18.3	
3	91	151	24	23.1	
4	91	91	18	17.3	
Column Total	31	73	104		
Total	29.8	70.2	100.0		

Number of Missing Observations: 5

P: .001

## STD6RANK by COLLEGE

STD6RANK	Count	COLLEGE			Row Total
		Col Pct			
		WM	HU	Total	
1	61	101	16	15.5	
2	131	401	53	51.5	
3	81	101	18	17.5	
4	41	121	16	15.5	
Column Total	31	72	103		
Total	30.1	69.9	100.0		

Number of Missing Observations: 6

P: .479

## STD7SAT by COLLEGE

STD7SAT	Count	COLLEGE			Row Total
		Col Pct			
		WM	HU	Total	
1	11	121	13	12.6	
2	91	201	29	28.2	
3	121	211	33	32.0	
4	81	201	28	27.2	
Column Total	30	73	103		
Total	29.1	70.9	100.0		

Number of Missing Observations: 6

P: .147

## STD7RANK by COLLEGE

STD7RANK	Count	COLLEGE			Row Total
		Col Pct			
		WM	HU	Total	
1	41	71	11	10.8	
2	111	221	33	32.4	
3	91	271	36	35.3	
4	61	161	22	21.6	
Column Total	30	72	102		
Total	29.4	70.6	100.0		

Number of Missing Observations: 7

P: .223

## STD8SAT by COLLEGE

STD8SAT	Count	COLLEGE			Row Total
		Col Pct			
		WM	HU	Total	
1	71	401	55	53.4	
2	91	81	17	16.5	
3	81	71	15	14.6	
4	61	101	16	15.5	
Column Total	30	73	103		
Total	29.1	70.9	100.0		

Number of Missing Observations: 6

P: .002

## STD8RANK by COLLEGE

STD8RANK	Count	COLLEGE			Row Total
		Col Pct			
		WM	HU	Total	
1	41	21	6	5.9	
2	71	201	27	26.7	
3	91	211	30	29.7	
4	91	291	38	37.6	
Column Total	29	72	101		
Total	28.7	71.3	100.0		

Number of Missing Observations: 6

P: .092

TABLE 20  
 CROSSTABS  
 College Respondents Attend  
 by  
 SAT Scores and Class Rank  
 (Hypothetical Applicants #9 and 10)

## STD9SAT by COLLEGE

	Count	COLLEGE		Row Total
		WM	HU	
1	8	45	53	
	26.7	62.5	52.0	
2	7	8	15	
	23.3	11.1	14.7	
3	7	10	17	
	23.3	13.9	16.7	
4	8	9	17	
	26.7	12.5	16.7	
Column Total	30	72	102	
	29.4	70.6	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 7  
 P: .002

## STD9RANK by COLLEGE

	Count	COLLEGE		Row Total
		WM	HU	
1	6	2	8	
	20.0	2.9	8.0	
2	8	23	31	
	26.7	32.9	31.0	
3	12	18	30	
	40.0	25.7	30.0	
4	4	27	31	
	13.3	30.6	31.0	
Column Total	30	70	100	
	30.0	70.0	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 9  
 P: .005

## STD0SAT by COLLEGE

	Count	COLLEGE		Row Total
		WM	HU	
1	3	20	23	
	10.3	28.2	23.0	
2	8	22	30	
	27.6	31.0	30.0	
3	12	20	32	
	41.4	28.2	32.0	
4	6	9	15	
	20.7	12.7	15.0	
Column Total	29	71	100	
	29.0	71.0	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 9  
 P: .016

## STD0RANK by COLLEGE

	Count	COLLEGE		Row Total
		WM	HU	
1	5	5	10	
	17.2	6.9	9.9	
2	12	22	34	
	41.4	30.6	33.7	
3	8	27	35	
	27.6	37.5	34.7	
4	4	18	22	
	13.8	25.0	21.8	
Column Total	29	72	101	
	28.7	71.3	100.0	

Number of Missing Observations: 8  
 P: .018

TABLE 21

CROSSTABS  
College Respondents Attend  
by  
Admission Decision for Hypothetical Applicant

STD1DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD1DCSN	accept	28I	66I	94
		84.8I	89.2I	87.9
	refuse	5I	8I	13
		15.2I	19.8I	12.1
	Column	33	74	107
	Total	30.8	69.2	100.0

STD2DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD2DCSN	accept	29I	70I	99
		98.6I	94.6I	93.4
	refuse	3I	4I	7
		9.4I	5.4I	6.6
	Column	32	74	106
	Total	30.2	69.8	100.0

STD3DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD3DCSN	accept	28I	65I	93
		84.8I	89.0I	87.7
	refuse	5I	8I	13
		15.2I	11.0I	12.3
	Column	33	73	106
	Total	31.1	68.9	100.0

STD4DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD4DCSN	accept	30I	74I	104
		93.8I	100.0I	98.1
	refuse	2I	1I	2
		6.3I	1I	1.9
	Column	32	74	106
	Total	30.2	69.8	100.0

STD5DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD5DCSN	accept	25I	65I	90
		83.3I	87.8I	86.5
	refuse	5I	9I	14
		16.7I	12.2I	13.5
	Column	30	74	104
	Total	28.8	71.2	100.0

STD6DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD6DCSN	accept	17I	51I	68
		53.1I	78.8I	65.4
	refuse	15I	21I	36
		46.9I	29.2I	34.6
	Column	32	72	104
	Total	30.8	69.2	100.0

STD7DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD7DCSN	accept	11I	44I	55
		35.5I	63.8I	55.0
	refuse	20I	25I	45
		64.5I	36.2I	45.0
	Column	31	69	100
	Total	31.0	69.0	100.0

STD8DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD8DCSN	accept	23I	58I	81
		74.2I	79.5I	77.9
	refuse	8I	15I	23
		25.8I	20.5I	22.1
	Column	31	73	104
	Total	29.8	70.2	100.0

STD9DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD9DCSN	accept	24I	67I	91
		77.4I	95.7I	90.1
	refuse	7I	3I	10
		22.6I	4.3I	9.9
	Column	31	70	101
	Total	30.7	69.3	100.0

STD0DCSN by COLLEGE

		COLLEGE		Row
		WM	HU	Total
STD0DCSN	accept	28I	59I	79
		64.5I	83.1I	77.5
	refuse	11I	12I	23
		35.5I	16.9I	22.5
	Column	31	71	102
	Total	30.4	69.6	100.0

TABLE 22  
 CROSSTABS  
 College Respondents Attend  
 by  
 Self Reported Admission Criteria  
 (SAT Scores, Class Rank, and Grade Point Average)

COLLEGE THE COLLEGE THE STUDENT ATTENDS by SELFSAT SAT SCORE OF RESPONDENT

COLLEGE	SELSAT							Row Total
	Count	I						
	Row Pct	IBELOW 90	900-999	1000-109	1100-119	1200 OR ABOVE	DID NOT TAKE SAT	
WM	1	11	6	12	1			33
	3.0	33.3	24.2	36.4	3.0			30.8
HU	21	26	14	6	1	5	1	74
	28.4	35.1	18.9	8.1	1.4	6.8	1.4	69.2
Column Total	22	37	22	18	2	5	1	107
	20.6	34.6	20.6	16.6	1.9	4.7	.9	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 2  
 P: .020

COLLEGE THE COLLEGE THE STUDENT ATTENDS by SELFHRANK HIGH SCHOOL CLASS RANK OF RESPONDENT

COLLEGE	SELFHRANK						Row Total
	Count	I					
	Row Pct	TOP 0-5	TOP 6-10	TOP 11-15	TOP 16-20	TOP 21-25	
WM	11	14	3	2	1	1	32
	34.4	43.8	9.4	6.3	3.1	3.1	29.9
HU	4	12	13	14	16	16	75
	5.3	16.0	17.3	18.7	21.3	21.3	70.1
Column Total	15	26	16	16	17	17	107
	14.0	24.3	15.0	15.0	15.9	15.9	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 2  
 P: .000

COLLEGE THE COLLEGE THE STUDENT ATTENDS by SELFGPA HIGH SCHOOL GPA OF RESPONDENT

COLLEGE	SELEGPA					Row Total
	Count	I				
	Row Pct	IBELOW 2.0	2.0-2.5	2.6-3.0	3.1-3.5	
WM			4	16	13	33
			12.1	48.5	39.4	30.6
HU	1	8	37	22	7	75
	1.3	10.7	49.3	29.3	9.3	69.4
Column Total	1	8	41	38	20	108
	.9	7.4	38.0	35.2	18.5	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1  
 P: .000

TABLE 23  
 CROSSTABS  
 College Respondents Attend  
 by  
 Self Reported Admission Criteria  
 (Intended Major, Ethnic Identity, and Extracurricular Activities)

COLLEGE THE COLLEGE THE STUDENT ATTENDS by SELFMAJR MAJOR OR CONCENTRATION OF RESPONDENT

COLLEGE	SELFMAJR						Row Total
	Count	I	Count	I	Count	I	
Row Pct	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
WM	10	8	2	3	2	7	32
	31.3	25.0	6.3	9.4	6.3	21.9	29.9
HU	39	2	7	1	6	20	75
	52.0	2.7	9.3	1.3	8.0	26.7	70.1
Column Total	49	10	9	4	8	27	107
	45.8	9.3	8.4	3.7	7.5	25.2	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 2

P: .419

COLLEGE THE COLLEGE THE STUDENT ATTENDS by SELFRACE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF RESPONDENT

COLLEGE	SELFRACE		Row Total
	Count	I	
Row Pct	1	6	Total
WM	32	32	64
	100.0	29.9	29.9
HU	72	3	75
	96.0	4.0	70.1
Column Total	104	3	107
	97.2	2.8	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 2

P: .128

COLLEGE THE COLLEGE THE STUDENT ATTENDS by SELFACTV NUMBER OF EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES IN

COLLEGE	SELFACTV							Row Total
	Count	I	Count	I	Count	I	Count	
Row Pct	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SIX OR MORE	Total
WM	4	3	5	4	4	4	11	31
	12.9	9.7	16.1	12.9	12.9	12.9	35.5	31.3
HU	6	13	12	11	7	9	10	68
	8.8	19.1	17.6	16.2	10.3	13.2	14.7	68.7
Column Total	10	13	15	16	11	13	21	99
	10.1	13.1	15.2	16.2	11.1	13.1	21.2	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 10

P: .012

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## VITA

### Jacqueline Christine Coon Simpson

Born in Syracuse, New York on August 26, 1962 and raised in upstate New York. Graduated with honors from Tully Junior/Senior High School in Tully, New York in June 1980. Received a Bachelor of Arts in both Psychology and Sociology from Marietta College in May 1984, graduating magna cum laude with honors in Psychology. Worked in College Admissions at the University of Rio Grande, 1984 to 1986, and Marietta College, 1986 to 1991. Entered the College of William and Mary as a Master's degree candidate in Sociology in August 1991 and has completed the course requirements for this degree. Plans to enter the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in August 1992.