

**DISCRIMINATION ON CAMPUS AND THE ROLE
OF PLURALISTIC IGNORANCE**

An Honors Fellows Thesis

by

TYLER JOSEPH MIDDLETON

Submitted to the Honors Programs Office
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the designation as

HONORS UNDERGRADUATE RESEARCH FELLOW

May 2010

Majors: Psychology & Economics

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ABSTRACT

Discrimination on Campus and the Role of Pluralistic Ignorance. (May 2010)

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Research has suggested that when an individual acts in a manner inconsistent with his or her stated attitudes there is likely some form of “implicit attitude” driving the behavior. However, another possibility is that attitude-behavior discrepancies could arise from a misperception of normative pressures from the group. In other words, when viewed through the lens of pluralistic ignorance, it is possible that individual group members could hold non-prejudiced views but behave in a discriminatory manner because they believe their peers hold prejudiced views. The present study began testing this possibility by collecting self-reports from 120 Texas A&M University (TAMU) undergraduates on five attitudinal measures as well as their perceptions of the attitudes of the TAMU student body. The results indicated that people rated themselves as significantly more tolerant (less prejudiced) than their peers on all three measures that evaluated racial or gender equality. We argue that this supports the presence of a norm misperception concerning the degree of prejudice in the TAMU student body. We discuss in particular how the norm misperception with respect to prejudice lays the groundwork for further

studies examining how such misperceptions may relate to discriminatory behavior, and how the eradication of these misperceptions may promote increased acceptance of diversity in the University population.

DEDICATION

To the person who taught me the most valuable lesson I've ever learned: worry about the things you can control. I owe you more than you will ever know. Thank you.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The list of people who deserve my sincere thanks in this project is significant:

First and foremost, to Dr. Rachel Hull, thank you for guiding me when I was lost and dealing with my antics long enough to help me produce a final product. It's somewhat fitting that the first professor to ever deliver a lesson to me during my college career—Monday, August 21, 2006 at 9:10 AM in PSYC 338, to be precise—will be the last to guide me along the path toward graduation. I thought then that you would be a good professor; you turned out to be fantastic. Since that time, my expectations for you as both an advisor and mentor have been incredibly high, and you have exceeded them countless times. I do not think that I will meet many individuals like you in the future—in either a personal or an academic setting—though I hope that I am severely misguided in that notion.

Second, to Zuleika Carrasco-Martinez, thank you for ensuring that I graduated on time. When you go to a school of 40,000 students but you can call the Psychology Advising Department and simply say, “Hi, Zuleika. It's Tyler,” and she knows exactly who you are and why you're calling—that's when you know that you're either dealing with someone really fantastic or you're just incredibly needy. Truth be told, there was a lot of both, and either way without your help I would not be where I am today.

Third, to Dr. Hart Blanton, thank you for giving me a chance to explore this area of research and for setting the bar high and helping design a study that was, in my mind, both impressive and slightly overwhelming. You have taught me the value of setting big goals and always pushing to be better.

Fourth, to my parents, thank you for trusting me to do the right thing and letting me pursue my interests. There's not much else to say: I love you.

Finally, to every single teacher I have ever had, I am sorry. I am sorry that I didn't realize at the time how incredibly lucky I was to have tremendous teachers. I am sorry that I didn't walk into class every day and thank you for preparing me to succeed for the rest of my life. I am sorry that I was so oblivious to the life that you were creating for me. But most of all, I am sorry that I didn't realize how incredibly challenging the work that you did was, and I am sorry that I didn't recognize how much you gave in return for so little. I owe each and every one of you more than a thank you: I owe you all of my success—past, present, and future. Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Well-publicized instances of racial insensitivity have contributed to perceptions of Texas A&M University (TAMU) as home to an intolerant student body (e.g., Sigman, 2008; Aggie Clips, 2009). However, recent administrative and student initiatives have called for the promotion of diversity and progressive thinking toward more tolerant viewpoints and the acceptance of alternative ethnicities and cultures (Vision 2020, 2008). The initiative has garnered both support and opposition, begging the question of whether the TAMU student body is homogeneously intolerant. Given the current public perception of intolerance in the TAMU student body, taken in the context of the drive toward tolerance and diversity that will require student involvement, it is reasonable to examine the climate of student attitudes and perceptions in this regard.

As applied to the study of groups, such as the TAMU student body, Gestalt psychology (e.g., Koffka, 1935) suggests that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. That is to say, every society, at least in part, is greater than the collection of its members. Moreover, when members of a society work together, that society as a whole is able to produce far more than it would have if members had simply fended for themselves.

This thesis follows the style of the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*.

There is ample evidence to support this general position, as a wide range of theories in the social sciences (particularly psychology, sociology, and economics) posit ways that groups take on dynamics that are more than simply those created by many individual psychologies.

In many ways, the more complex dynamics created by groups are for the good of the group: Working together, individuals can accomplish things they could not accomplish individually. At times, however, groups might create a “gestalt” that gives rise to outcomes that are collectively worse than the outcomes individuals would create in isolation. One phenomenon in social psychology that seems to be an instance of exactly this is known as *pluralistic ignorance*. Coined by Floyd Allport in 1924, pluralistic ignorance refers to “the situation in which virtually all members of a group privately reject group norms yet believe that virtually all other members accept them” (Miller, Monin, & Prentice, 2000, p. 103). This is noteworthy in that the preferences and actions of the group as a whole do not coincide with the preferences of the majority of group members. In fact, it is possible that actions of the group do not coincide with the preferences of any group member! In what follows, we will expound on pluralistic ignorance in the context of binge drinking on college campuses. Then we will describe how racial and sexual-orientation discrimination may also occur as a consequence of pluralistic ignorance. Finally, we will explain why additional research needs to be conducted in this domain.

Applying pluralistic ignorance to the study of social problems

Applications to binge drinking

Pluralistic ignorance begins with an attitude misperception. On college campuses, the influence of pluralistic ignorance has been often been examined within the context of binge drinking. Within the specific context of binge drinking, for instance, pluralistic ignorance would predict that individuals in a group (wrongly) believe that they are *less* accepting of binge drinking than their peers. In a study examining pluralistic ignorance and alcohol use on campus, Prentice and Miller (1993) found exactly this. Students in their study rated themselves as less comfortable with binge drinking than the average student. However, if every student stated that he or she was less comfortable with binge drinking than the “average” student, then the “average” level of comfort with binge drinking was in fact lower than group members believed it to be. Thus, the Prentice and Miller study demonstrated a misperception of students’ attitudes toward binge drinking.

Once an attitude misperception has been established, it can go on to influence group behavior—resulting in pluralistic ignorance. This link begins when each member of the group tries to decipher exactly why every *other* member is engaging in some shared activity (e.g., binge drinking). Because of widespread attitude misperception within the group, each member of the group ends up attributing the same action to very different origins. Thus, pluralistic ignorance can work to perpetuate a group (mis)perception that binge drinking is common and even expected among college students, even if most or all individual members of the group privately do not want to binge drink. In turn, the norm

misperception can influence binge drinking behavior. In other words, when viewed through the lens of pluralistic ignorance, it is possible that individual college students could want to avoid binge drinking, but they might engage in binge drinking behavior because they believe it is the norm for their peer group and thus expected of them in order to be considered a “normal” part of the group.

Consider how this misattribution process might work in the context of binge drinking. We have already seen that an attitude misperception exists (Prentice & Miller, 1993). Thus, the following hypothetical example might demonstrate the resulting sequence of events. Two students, Bill and Fred, are drinking at a party. Fred sees Bill drinking and thinks, “Boy, I personally don’t feel very comfortable with drinking but Bill over there sure seems to be having a good time and enjoying himself. He must be drinking because he *likes to*. I guess I’ll drink because he is.” At the same moment, Bill is looking at Fred drinking and saying to himself, “Gosh, I’m really not very comfortable with drinking but Fred sure does seem to be enjoying himself. He must really like to drink. I guess I’ll drink because he is.”

Thus, both Bill and Fred attribute similar actions to very different causes. Bill assumes Fred is drinking because Fred likes to drink, whereas Bill is only drinking because Fred is. Similarly, Fred thinks Bill is drinking because he likes to drink, but Fred is only drinking because Bill is. Thus, an attitude misperception has led to a misattribution of the origin of a behavior.

The final stage in the cycle is really the first step all over again: attitude misperception. Because neither Bill nor Fred bothered to ask the other why he was drinking, both assumed that the other was drinking because he had a favorable attitude toward drinking. As a result, the attitude misperception that was present at the beginning is magnified because it was “supported” by each individual’s perceptions of the other’s actions. Thus, the cycle begins all over again.

Applications to discrimination

Although binge drinking and discrimination are two very different phenomena, we would argue that the mechanisms of pluralistic ignorance work in very much the same way across these domains. Now that we have seen how pluralistic ignorance works, we propose an area of research that needs to be examined through the lens of pluralistic ignorance. There is a large body of research examining prejudice and discrimination. Specifically, much of the research has focused on the role of attitudes and how they might cause a person to discriminate against minority job applicants. Many current studies assume that when someone acts in a biased fashion that is not consistent with his or her stated attitudes that the individual likely has some form of unconscious, “implicit attitude” driving behavior (e.g., McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005). To be sure, understanding the (often unexamined) attitude behind discrimination is important—people who dislike members of a racial or ethnic group are probably more likely to act in a biased fashion toward members of that group. However, much of the

literature neglects the concept of how pluralistic ignorance might influence discrimination behavior.

Therefore, we are proposing that attitude-behavior discrepancies might occur due to misperceiving normative pressures from the group. More specifically, we are proposing that a misperception of group attitudes (i.e. a perception that others are more biased than they are) might make people act more biased than they would simply based on their own attitudes. Thus, using the lens of pluralistic ignorance, is it possible that members of a group hold non-prejudiced views, but because they believe everyone else holds prejudiced views, they behave in a discriminatory manner that conforms to their (mis)perceived group norm?

Think back to the example of Bill and Fred. Neither Bill nor Fred wanted to binge drink, yet they both ended up doing so. It is entirely plausible that this same thing could happen with discrimination. Each individual might have non-prejudiced views but believe that everyone else holds prejudiced views. As a result, each individual might act in accordance with what he or she perceives to be the attitude of the group, rather than in accordance with their private beliefs.

Research in this domain is particularly important because there is almost no work that examines the application of pluralistic ignorance to discrimination. To show that group norms somehow affect the expression of individual attitudes with respect to

discrimination would be a meaningful and timely finding. It would be especially relevant for an institution like TAMU, whose reputation for being intolerant is well-documented, and—in line with the theory of pluralistic ignorance—potentially far less severe than previously thought. Toward this end, the present study sought to explore normative attitudes as well as normative group perceptions (and misperceptions) about intolerance in the TAMU student body in an effort to set the groundwork for investigations of effective mechanisms of attitude change.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

Participants and design

One hundred and twenty TAMU undergraduate students (54 women, 64 men) participated in this study in exchange for two credits to fulfill a research requirement in an introductory psychology course.

Procedures

Students participated in the study in groups of approximately 6-10 participants at a time.

Once all participants had arrived, they were each handed an informed consent form.

After reading and signing the consent form and returning them to the researcher, participants received a survey entitled “Aggie Impressions” (see Appendix), which they were told would be used to predict satisfaction with the college experience based on the extent to which the participant’s attitudes and beliefs were similar to what they perceived their peers’ beliefs to be. They were told to read all instructions on the survey and to remain seated until all other participants were finished.

Measures

Alcohol use

Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they themselves liked to go out and

drink alcohol, as well as the extent to which they thought that other students at A&M liked to go out and drink alcohol (8 = *completely agree*, -8 = *completely disagree*).

Prejudice

This measure asked participants to indicate to what extent they held prejudice against people who were Black (African American), with 8 = *completely agree*, -8 = *completely disagree*, and to do the same for their peers.

Equality of women in the workplace

This measure asked participants to rate the extent to which they thought women were equal to men in the workplace, again with 8 = *completely agree*, -8 = *completely disagree*. A similar measure was taken for each participant's perception of the beliefs of the A&M student body as a whole.

Studiousness

Participants were asked the extent to which they viewed themselves and their peers to be studious (8 = *completely agree*, -8 = *completely disagree*).

Racial intolerance

Lastly, participants indicated how racially intolerant they were, and they provided a similar measure for how racially intolerant they thought their peers were, with 8 = *completely agree*, -8 = *completely disagree*.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

To test whether norm misperceptions exist among TAMU students, we conducted a mixed design 2 x 10 ANOVA, where the between subjects factor was gender (men, women) and the within subjects factor was judgment category (alcohol use in others, alcohol use in self, prejudice in others, prejudice in self, equality of women in others, equality of women in self, studiousness in others, studiousness in self, racial intolerance in others, racial intolerance in self). The analysis revealed a main effect of judgment category across men and women, $F(9) = 134.24, p < .01$, as well as a main effect of gender, $F(1) = 5.02, p = .03$.

To break down the significant main effect of judgment category, we conducted paired t-tests (2-tailed with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons) to determine which measures showed significant differences between participant ratings of the student body as a whole (“TAMU”) relative to self-ratings (“Self”). As shown in Table 1, differences emerged for all five measures, thus providing strong support for norm misperceptions. Specifically, this means that individuals reliably see themselves as less likely to drink alcohol (or hold prejudices, see women as unequal, or be racially intolerant) than *other* members of the group, and they see themselves as *more* likely than their peers to be studious. Obviously, it is not possible that every individual is less likely to go out and drink alcohol, for instance, than every other member of the group. Instead, what the

study outcomes represent is that the individuals in this group *think* that they are less likely to go out and drink alcohol relative to other members of the group. Thus, individuals within the group have misperceived the group norm, which is, after all, simply an average of the behaviors and attitudes of the individuals.

Table 1. Ratings of TAMU study body and self by judgment category.

Judgment category	TAMU N=120 (s.d.)	Self N=120 (s.d.)	<i>t</i> -value, df = 119
Alcohol use	3.47 (2.23)	-0.27 (5.62)	7.58**
Prejudice	-2.44 (3.70)	-6.12 (3.30)	10.72**
Equality of women	3.19 (3.19)	5.73 (3.54)	-7.71**
Studiousness	3.24 (2.26)	4.78 (2.04)	-6.21**
Racial intolerance	0 (4.06)	-2.43 (5.39)	6.13**

Note. ** $p < .01$

To break down the significant main effect of gender, planned comparisons (with Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons) were conducted according to our a priori prediction that women would perceive more intolerance in others relative to men. As shown in Table 2 below (see also Figure 1), women rated themselves significantly less likely to use alcohol than men, but they also predicted others as less likely to use alcohol than men predicted others would be ($t(1) = -2.37, p < .05$). Women also perceived that others would show more inequality for women than did men ($t(1) = -2.86, p < .01$). Interestingly, however, men and women did not differ significantly in their ratings of themselves with respect to women being equal in the workplace (see Figure 2).

Again, the same was also true with regard to studiousness: women viewed the TAMU student body as significantly less studious than did men ($t(1) = -3.02, p < .01$), although men and women did not differ significantly in their ratings of themselves with respect to studiousness (see Figure 3). Men and women did not differ significantly in their ratings of prejudice or racial intolerance (Figures 4 and 5), though women again rated themselves as less prejudiced and less racially intolerant than did men.

Table 2. Comparison of ratings between genders.

Judgment category	Men N=64 mean (s.d.)	Women N=56 mean (s.d.)	t-value, df = 1 (Bonferroni corrected)
Alcohol use in others	3.91 (2.28)	2.96 (2.07)	-2.37*
Alcohol use in self	.084 (5.69)	-1.25 (5.38)	-2.36*
Prejudice in others	-2.39 (3.96)	-2.50 (3.42)	-0.16
Prejudice in self	-5.91 (3.27)	-6.36 (3.35)	-0.74
Equality of women in others	3.95 (2.97)	2.32 (3.23)	-2.86**
Equality of women in self	5.31 (3.75)	6.20 (3.25)	1.38
Studiousness in others	3.81 (2.01)	2.59 (2.37)	-3.02**
Studiousness in self	4.73 (2.11)	4.82 (1.98)	0.23
Racial intolerance in others	0.17 (3.84)	-0.20 (4.32)	-0.49
Racial intolerance in self	-2.30 (5.46)	-2.57 (5.36)	-0.28

Note. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

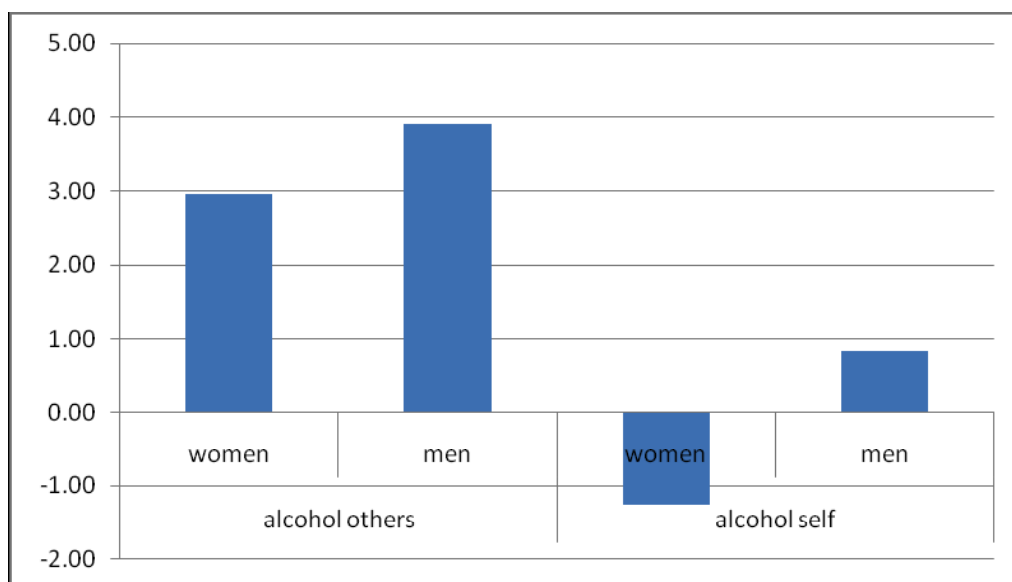


Figure 1. Men vs. women on judgments of alcohol use. *Note.* Ratings based on a scale of 8 (completely agree) to -8 (completely disagree).

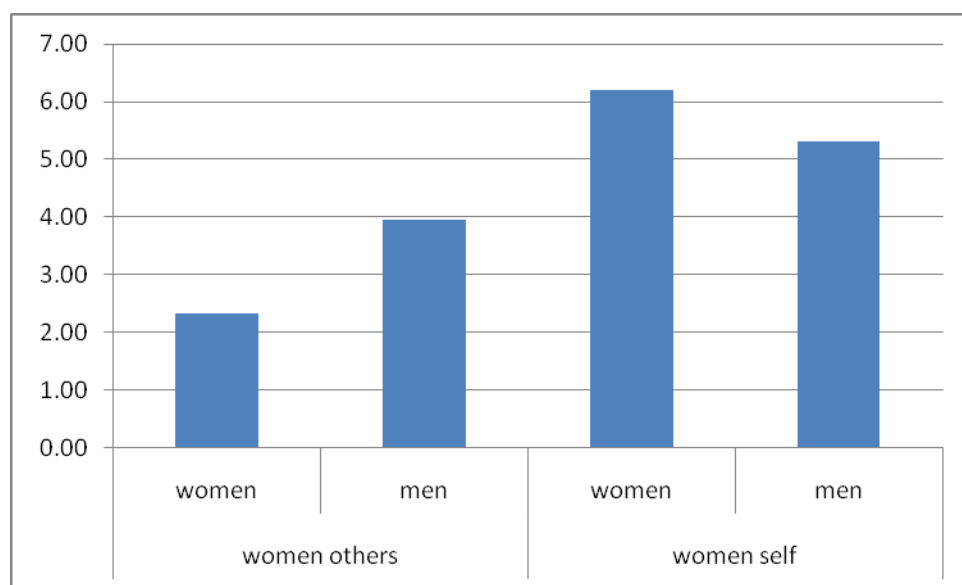


Figure 2. Men vs. women on judgments of the equality of women. *Note.* Ratings based on a scale of 8 (completely agree) to -8 (completely disagree).

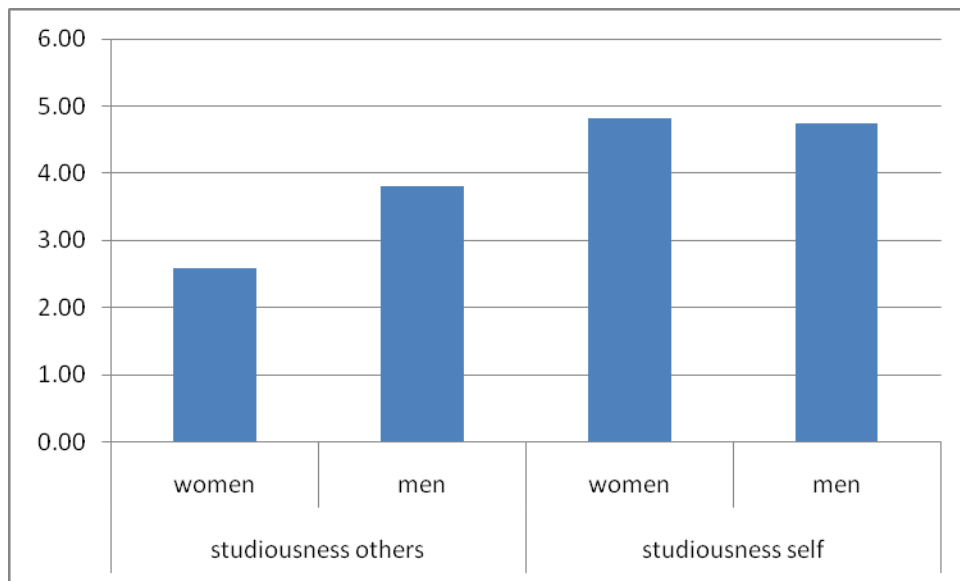


Figure 3. Men vs. women on judgments of studiousness. *Note.* Ratings based on a scale of 8 (completely agree) to -8 (completely disagree).

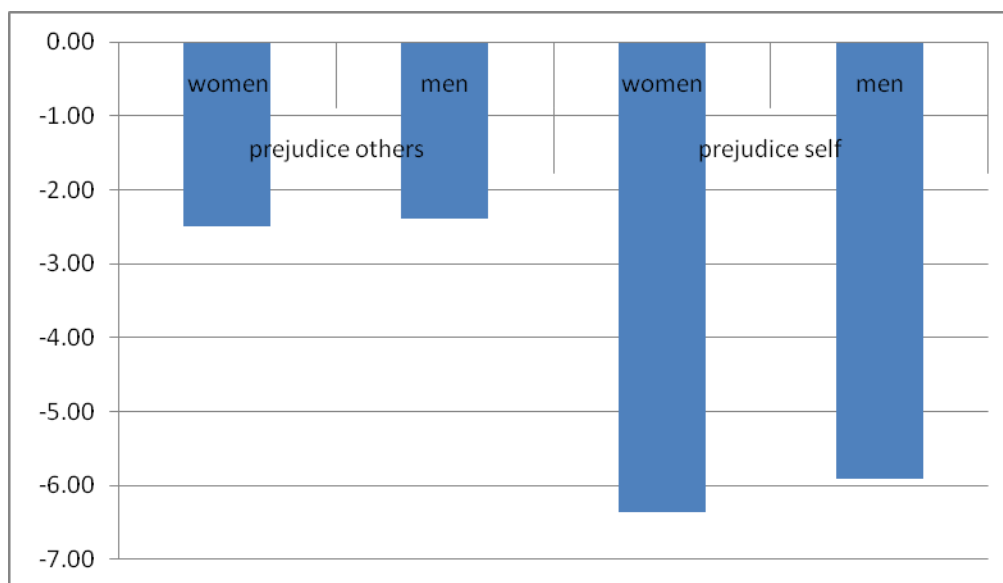


Figure 4. Men vs. women on judgments of prejudice. *Note.* Ratings based on a scale of 8 (completely agree) to -8 (completely disagree).

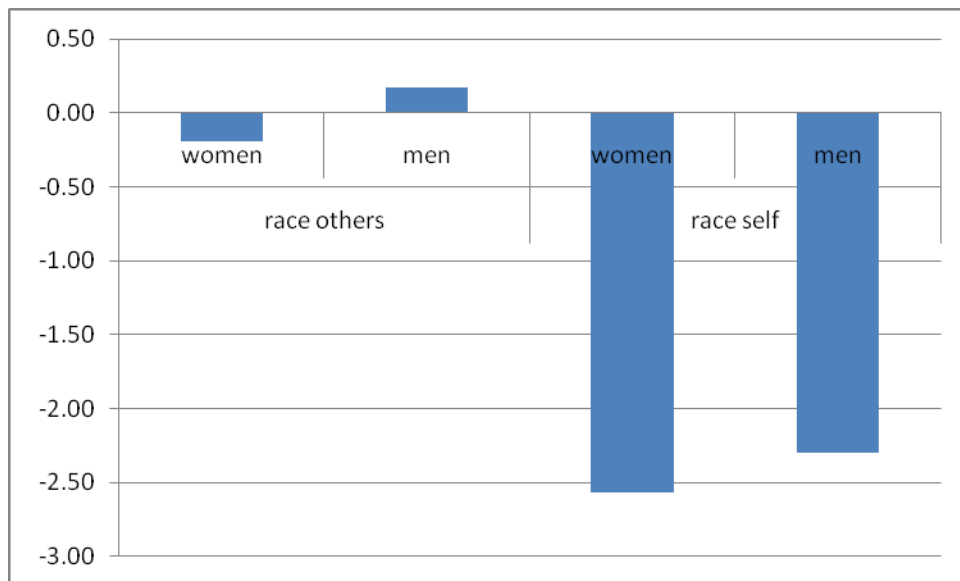


Figure 5. Men vs. women on judgments of racial intolerance. *Note.* Ratings based on a scale of 8 (completely agree) to -8 (completely disagree).

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Given Texas A&M's reputation as having a strongly conservative student body, the present research examined whether students view themselves to be intolerant in terms of racial and gender equality. We also examined whether norm perceptions of studiousness and alcohol use were accurate. Assuming our participants formed a representative sample of the TAMU student body and that they answered honestly, the study outcomes strongly indicate a norm misperception among undergraduates. That is, the absence of a misperception would be supported if the participants' aggregated self-ratings were equal to their aggregated TAMU ratings. However, the outcomes showed that this is *not* the case. For example, participants rated the TAMU student body as a whole to be significantly more likely to use alcohol compared to themselves ($t=7.58, p < .01$). Because self vs. peer ratings were unequal across all five measures, it is reasonable to conclude that TAMU undergraduates *misperceive* their peers as viewing women as unequal to men; less tolerant; more likely to use alcohol; more prejudiced; and less studious than they actually are. In contrast, the aggregated self-ratings suggest that TAMU undergraduates are actually much more progressive and tolerant than the peer norm perception would indicate.

One possible explanation for the strong norm misperception uncovered by the present study is simply that individuals tend to form self-perceptions that "maintain self-

integrity” (Sherman & Cohen, 2002, p. 122). This mechanism is thought to allow individuals to view themselves in a good light in order to boost their self-esteem and self-worth. Specifically, it has been argued that people tend to view themselves as above average and internalize this belief to the extent that they begin to view the group as a whole as below average (e.g., less studious). Although further study is needed to determine precisely why these misperceptions exist among undergraduates at TAMU, the fact remains that this population is less intolerant than previously assumed, at least according to student self-reports.

Given the recent University-wide initiative to increase diversity and decrease public perception of TAMU as an intolerant institution, it is particularly noteworthy that for both measures of racial bias (prejudice, racial intolerance), participants rated themselves as less biased than TAMU students as a whole. This establishes a norm misperception regarding racial bias that demonstrates a need for further study on the potential effects on behavior. It further suggests that the student body may actually be far less racially intolerant than public perceptions—indeed, even internal perceptions—seem to indicate.

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APPENDIX

Participant Code: _____

Aggie Impressions

There is a growing body of literature examining the similarities between college students and their peers and how this might affect a student's college experience. More specifically, much of the research that has been conducted has examined to what extent actual similarities among college peers provide for a better college experience. However, an area that has been neglected in this research domain is the perception of similarity to college peers. That is, to what extent does how similar we *perceive* ourselves to be relative to our peers have an effect on our college experience?

In order to examine this issue more closely, we are collecting data on common perceptions of Aggies by Aggies. That is, our interest is to see how students at Texas A&M University perceive other students at Texas A&M relative to themselves. Many of the questions we will ask might seem random but you can help us with a study we are designing if you give us your own personal impressions of students at A&M, based on your own personal experiences. In addition, we will be asking you to evaluate yourself across the same domains in order to have a measurement of perceived similarity.

Below we have listed a broad range of questions that (in your opinion) might or might not characterize yourself as well as most students at A&M. Some statements might seem to you like they are very true and some statements might seem to you like they are very untrue. And, some statements might seem neither true nor false. Our interest here is just what impressions you have of yourself and other students at A&M.

Rating:

Use the following scale to rate how much you agree with each of the following statements.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree completely	disagree extremely	disagree quite a bit	disagree slightly	neither	agree slightly	agree quite a bit	agree extremely	agree completely								

1. Most students at Texas A&M like to go out and drink alcohol.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

2. I like to go out and drink alcohol.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

3. Most students at Texas A&M are sports fans.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

4. I am a sports fan.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

5. Most students at Texas A&M hold prejudice against people who are Black (African American).

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

6. I hold prejudice against people who are Black (African American).

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

7. Most students at Texas A&M consider social justice to be very important.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

8. I consider social justice to be very important.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

9. Most students at Texas A&M attend Aggie football games.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

10. I attend Aggie football games.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

11. Most students at Texas A&M come from an urban area.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

12. I come from an urban area.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

13. Most students at Texas A&M are friendly.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

14. I am friendly.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

15. Most students at Texas A&M have relatives who attended A&M.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely	extremely			quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

16. I have relatives who attended A&M.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

17. Most students at Texas A&M attend class regularly.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

18. I attend class regularly.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

19. Most students at Texas A&M have a Facebook account.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

20. I have a Facebook account.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

21. Most students at Texas A&M go to Northgate on the weekends.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

22. I go to Northgate on the weekends.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

23. Most students at Texas A&M have been outside the state of Texas.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

24. I have been outside the state of Texas.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit										a bit		

25. Most students at Texas A&M have been outside the country.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

26. I have been outside the country.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

27. Most students at Texas A&M think Reveille should be a mutt.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

28. I think Reveille should be a mutt.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

29. Most students at Texas A&M own a pair of cowboy boots.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

30. I own a pair of cowboy boots.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

31. Most students at Texas A&M think women are equal to men in the workplace.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

32. I think women are equal to men in the workplace.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

33. Most students at Texas A&M are studious.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

34. I am studious.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

35. Most students at Texas A&M have been fishing.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

36. I have been fishing.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

37. Most students at Texas A&M are at least somewhat racially intolerant.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

38. I am at least somewhat racially intolerant.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

39. Most students at Texas A&M have never been to the library.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

40. I have never been to the library.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

41. Most students at Texas A&M dislike cold weather.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

42. I dislike cold weather.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

43. Most students at Texas A&M think Aggie jokes are funny.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

44. I think Aggie jokes are funny.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

45. Most students at Texas A&M dislike UT.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

46. I dislike UT.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

47. Most students at Texas A&M consume alcohol at least once a week.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

48. I consume alcohol at least once a week.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

49. Most students at Texas A&M will purchase an Aggie Ring.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

50. I will purchase an Aggie Ring.

-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
disagree		disagree		disagree		disagree		neither		agree		agree		agree		agree
completely		extremely		quite		slightly				slightly		quite		extremely		completely
				a bit								a bit				

Age: _____

Gender: M F

Class Year (circle one): Fr So Jr Sr

Race/ethnicity: _____

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