

**Contemporary Topics in Social Psychology**  
**Justice in Social Behavior**  
**Psychology 455, Spring 2005**

**Instructor : M.J. Lerner**

**PAS 3006, Ext. 3052**

**Office hours : Thurs. 9:30-12:00 or by appointment**

This course is designed to accomplish two goals. The first is a selected state of the science over-view of the ways the sense of entitlement, in the form of justice-fairness-equity, appears in people's lives. The second is vicarious participation in the strategies and methods psychologists have employed to advance our understanding of how the justice motive appears in people's lives.

For the first two weeks I will lecture and lead discussions of early research and theory. After that introduction, each seminar will be devoted to a justice related topic of contemporary interest. All participants will be responsible for the assigned background readings. Each week students will present topically relevant articles. The discussion will then focus on integrating these empirical findings with the theoretical issues described in the assigned common readings.

Grades will be assigned on the basis of seminar presentations and participation( 70%) and a term paper (30%) consisting of one of the following: a.) a research proposal designed to examine an important theoretical issue b.) an innovative program for applying course material in a real-world context, c.) An analysis and integration of two or more theoretical perspectives.

Readings for Psychology 455

The readings for each topic are divided in to those assigned for all participants and a list of articles that may be selected for presentation to the class.

Assigned Readings: The readings assigned for each seminar will provide the theoretical background for the theoretical issues that will be addressed in the seminar. The specific readings for each week will be selected from the lists provided below.

Articles to be presented : Presenters can choose one of the articles listed below, or they may scan the journals and choose a relevant recently published article not on the list .

Topics : It will probably not be possible to devote a full seminar to all the topics listed below . As the seminar develops, depending upon the participants' expertise and interests, we may combine, delete or replace some of them with additional topics.

**A. Early research and theory identifying the justice motive in social behavior with ( not surprisingly) emphasis on the Belief in a Just World and the Justice Motive.**

Cohen, R.L. & Greenberg, J. (1982) The justice concept in social psychology in Greenberg, J. & Cohen, R. (Eds) Equity and justice in social behavior. ( pages 2-35) New York: Academic Press.

Greenberg, J., & Cohen, R.L. (1982) Why justice? Normative and instrumental interpretations. in Greenberg, J. & Cohen, R. (Eds) Equity and justice in social behavior. ( pages 437-470) New York: Academic Press.

**B. Why Do People Care About Justice: The Social and Psychological Origins of the Senses of Justice?.**

Damon, W. (1981) The development of justice and self-interest in childhood. Chapter 4. In M.J. Lerner & S.C. Lerner ( Eds.) The justice motive in social behavior: Adapting to times of scarcity and change. New York: Plenum press

Emler, N. (1991) What do children care about justice: The influence of culture and cognitive development. Chapter 5, in R. Vermunt & H. Steensma (Eds.) The justice motive in human relations, Vol. 1. New York: Plenum press.

Haidt, J. & Joseph, C. (2004) Intuitive ethics: How innately prepared intuitions generate culturally variable virtues. Daedalus, Fall, pp. 55-66.

Ross, H., Martin, J., Perlmutter, M., Smith, M., Blackmore, E. & Hunter, J. (1996). Autonomy and authority in the resolution of sibling disputes. In M. Killen (Ed.) Children's autonomy, social competence, and interactions with adults and other children: Exploring connections and consequences. Vol. 73, New Directions for Child Development (71-90). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

**C. How Important Is Justice in People's Lives: a First Look at Justice and Self Interest**

Walster, E., & Walster, G. (1975) Equity and social justice. Journal of Social Issues, 31, 21-43

Epley, N.C. & Caruso, E.M. (2004) Egocentric ethics. Social Justice Research, 171-187.

Miller, D.T., (1999), The norm of self-interest. American Psychologist, 54, 1-8.

Momtada, L. (1998) Justice: Just a rational choice? Social Justice Research, 11, 81-101.

Articles for class presentations:

Babcock, L., et al, (1995) Biased judgments of fairness in bargaining. American Economic Review, 85, 1337-1343

Miller D.T. & Ratner, R.K. (1998) The disparity between the actual and assumed power of self interest. JPSP, 74, 53-62

Ratner, R.K. & Miller, D.T. (2001) The norm of self interest and its effects on social actions. JPSP, 81, 5-16.

Epley, N. & Dunning, D. (2000) Feeling "holier than thou": Are self-serving assessments produced by errors in self-or social prediction? JPSP, 79, 861-875.

Diekmann, K.A., et al (1997) Self-interest and fairness in problems of resource allocation: Allocators versus

recipients. JPSP, 2, 1061-1074.

Sears, D.O. & Lau, R.R.(1983) Inducing apparently self-interested political preferences. American Journal of Political Science., 27, 223-252.

#### **D. What Determines the Operative Rules of Justice: Interpersonal Relations, Motives, and Goals.**

Lerner, M.J. (1975) The justice motive in social behavior: Journal of Social Issues, 31,1-19

Deutsch, M.(1975) Equity, equality, and need: What determines which value will be used as the basis of distributive justice? Journal of Social Issues, 31, 137-150.

Tetlock, P.E.(2002) Social functionalist frameworks for judgment and choice: Intuitive politicians, theologians, and prosecutors. Psychological Review , 109, 451-471.

Fiske, A.P.(1992) The four elementary forms of sociality: Framework for a unified theory of social relations. Psychological Review, 99, 689-723.

#### **Articles for class presentation**

van den Bos,K., et al, (1997) Procedural and distributive justice: What is fair depends more on what comes first than on what comes next. JPSP, 72, 95-104.

Murphy-Berman, B. et al, (1984) Factors affecting the allocation to needy and meritorious recipients: A cross-cultural comparison. JPSP , 46, 1267-1272.

Lerner, M.J. & Grant, P.(1990) The influence of commitment to justice and ethnocentrism on children's allocation of pay Social Psychology Quarterly, 53, 229-238

Lowenstein, G., et al, (1989) Social utility and decision making in interpersonal contexts JPSP, 57, 426

Clark, M.S., et al (1986)Keeping track of needs in communal and exchange relationships JPSP, 51, 333-338.

Lerner, M.J. (1974) The justice motive: "Equity" and "parity" among children. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 29, 539-550.

#### **E. Justice Judgments: Emotions & Moral Intuitions**

Haidt, J. (2001) The emotional dog and its rational tail: A social intuitionist approach to moral judgment. Psychological Review, 108, 814-834.

Lerner, M.J.(2003) The justice motive: Where social psychologists found it, how they lost it, and why they may not find it again.. Personality and Social Psychological Review, 388-399.

#### **Articles for class presentation**

Rozin, P., Lowery, L., Imada, S. & Haidt, J. (1999) The CAD triad hypothesis: A mapping between three moral emotions( contempt, anger, disgust) and three moral codes( community, autonomy, divinity) JPSP, 99, 574-586.

Haidt, J. & Hersh, M. (2001) Sexual morality: The cultures and emotions of conservatives and liberals. J. Appl. Soc. Psychol. 31: 191-221

Haidt, J., et al, (1993) Affect, culture, and morality, or is it wrong to eat your dog? JPSP, 65, 623-628

Lerner, J.S., et al (1998) Sober second thought: The effects of accountability, anger, and authoritarianism on attribution of responsibility, JPSP, 24, 563-574

Goldberg, J.H., et al, (1999) Rage and reason: The psychology of the intuitive prosecutor, Eur.J. Soc. Psychol. 29, 781-795

van den Bos (2003) On the subjective quality of social justice: The role of affect as information in the psychology of justice judgments. JPSP, 85, 482-498.

Tetlock, P., et al. (2000) The psychology of unthinkable trade-offs, forbidden base rates, and heretical counterfactuals. JPSP, 78, 853-870.

Thornton, B., (1984) Defensive attribution of responsibility: Evidence for an arousal-based motivational bias. JPSP, 46, 7221-734.

### **F. Cognitive Processes in Justice Judgments and Evaluations.**

Cohen, R.L. (1982) Perceiving justice an attributional perspective . in Greenberg, J. & Cohen, R. (Eds/)Equity and justice in social behavior. ( pages 119-160) New York: Academic Press.

Baron, J. (1993) Heuristics and biases in equity judgments: A utilitarian approach. In B. Mellers & J. Baron (Eds.) Psychological perspectives in justice. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press

Feather, N. T. (1999) Judgments of deservingness: Studies in the psychology of justice and achievement. Personality and Social Psychology Review. 3, 86-109.

#### **Articles for class presentation**

Feather, N.T. & Dawson, S.(1998) reactions to another's employment or unemployment in relation to Protestant ethic values, responsibility , valued actions, liking relations, and deservingness. EJSP, 28, 361-381..

Baron, J. & Hershey (1988) Outcome bias in decision evaluation. JPSP, 54. 569-579.

Janoff-Bulman, R., Timko, C. & Carli, L.L. (1985) Cognitive biases in blaming the victim. JESP, 21, 161-177

Sande, et al, (1986) Effect of arbitrarily assigned status labels on self perceptions and social perceptions. The mere position effect. JPSP, 50, 684-689.

Miller, D.T. & Turnbull, W. (1990) The counterfactual fallacy: Confusing what might have been with what ought to have been. Social Justice Research. 4,

### **G. Influence of Social Comparisons on Judgments of Justice.**

Major, B. (1994) From social inequality to personal entitlement: The role of social comparisons, legitimacy appraisals and group membership.in M.Zanna, (Ed) Advances n Experimental Social Psychology, Vol. 26, pp. 293-355. New York:: Academic press.

Crosby, F. & Gonzalez-Intal, A.M,(1984) Relative deprivation and equity theories: Felt injustice and the underserved benefit of others. In R. Folger (Ed.) The sense of injustice: Social psychological perspectives. New York: Plenum press.

Moghaddam, F.M. (2005) The staircase to terrorism: A psychological exploration. American Psychologist, 60, 161-169.

### Articles for class presentation

Wenzel (2001) Justice and identity: The significance of inclusion for perceptions of entitlement and the justice motive PSPB, 26, 157-176

Tyler, T.R. & Blader, S.L. (2002) Autonomous vs. comparative status: Musts we be better than others to feel good about ourselves? Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 89, 813-838.

Buunk, B.P., et al (1990) The affective consequences of social comparison: Either directions has its ups and downs JPSP, 59, 1238-1249

Guimond, S. & Dube-Simard, L. (1983) Relative deprivation theory and the Quebec nationalist movement: The cognition-emotion distinction and the personal-group deprivation issue. JPSP, 44, 526-535.

van den Bos, K., et al (1997) How do I judge my outcome when I do not know the outcome of others: The psychology of the fair process effect., 72, JPSP, 1034-1046.

### **H. Justice and the Self.**

Miller, D.T. (2001) Disrespect and the experience of injustice. Annual Review of Psychology.52, 527-53.

Skitka, L. (2003) Of different, minds: An Accessible identity model of justice reasoning Personality and Social Psychology Review, 7, 286-297.

Tajfel, H. (1984) Intergroup relations, social myths, and social justice in social psychology. In H. Tajfel (Ed.) The social dimension Vol.2. Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press.

Syroit, J.E.M. (1991) Interpersonal and intergroup injustice. Chapter 11. In R. Vermunt & H, Steensma (Eds.) Social justice in human relations Vol.1., New York : Plenum Press.

### Articles for class presentation

van den Bos, K. & Lind, E.A.,(2001) The psychology of own versus others' treatment: Self-oriented and other oriented effects on procedural justice. PSPB, 27, 1324-1333.

Brockner, J., et al (1998) The moderating effect of self-esteem in reaction to voice: Converging evidence from five studies, JPSP, 75, 394-407.

Meindl, J. & Lerner, M.J. (1983) The Heroic Motive in interpersonal relations. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 19, 1-20.

Meindl, J. & Lerner, M.J. (1984) Exacerbation of extreme responses to an out-group. JPSP, 47, 71-84.

Skitka L.J.(2002) Do the means always justify the ends or do the ends sometimes justify the means? A value protection model of justice reasoning. PSPB, 28, 588-597.

Skitka, L.J. & Mullen, E.( In press) Understanding judgments of fairness in a real-world political context: A test of the value protection model of justice reasoning. PSPB,

De Cremer, D., & Alberts, H. (2004). When procedural fairness does not influence how positive I feel: The effects of voice and leader selection as a function of belongingness need. European Journal of Social Psychology, 34(3), 333-344.

## **I. Procedural Justice As Distinct From Distributive Justice**

Brockner, J., & Wiesenfeld, B.M. (1996) An integrative framework for explaining reactions to decisions: Interactive effects of outcomes and procedures. Psychological bulletin, 120, 189-208.

Tyler, T.R. & Blader, S.L. (2003) Procedural justice, social identity, and cooperative behavior. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 4, 349-361.

### Articles for class presentation.

Tyler, T. R. (1989). The psychology of procedural justice: A test of the group-value model. JSPS, 57(5), 830-838.

Tyler (1994) Psychological models of the justice motive, JSPS, 67, 850-863

Tyler, et al, (1996) Understanding why the justice of group procedures matters: A test of the psychological dynamics of the group-value model JSPS, 70-913-930.

Lind, E.A., et al, (1990) Voice, control, and procedural justice., JSPS, 59, 952-959.

Heuer, L., et al, (2002) The role of resource and relational concerns for procedural justice. PSPB, 28, 11468-1482

## **J. Integrating Distributive and Procedural Justice ?**

Van den Bos, K., Lind, E. A., & Wilke, H. A. M. (2001). The psychology of procedural and distributive justice from the perspective of fairness heuristic theory. In R. Cropanzano (Ed.), Justice in the workplace: From theory to practice, Vol. 2, ( pp. 49-66). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum

Cropanzano, & Ambrose, M.L. (2001) Procedural and distributive justice are more similar than you think: A monistic perspective and a research agenda. In J. Greenberg & R. Cropanzano (Eds.) Advances in organizational justice. (pp.119-151) Palo Alto, CA: Stanford U. Press

Folger, R. (1996) Distributive and Procedural justice: Multifaceted meanings and interrelations. Social Justice Research 9, 395-416,

Skitka, L.J (2003) Are outcome fairness and outcome favorability distinguishable psychological constructs? A meta-analytic review., Social Justice Research, 309-342.

### Articles for class presentation

Heuer, L., et al, (1999). A deservingness approach to respect as a relationally based fairness judgment. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 25, 1279-1292.

Ambrose, M. L., & Cropanzano, R. (2003). A longitudinal analysis of organizational fairness: An examination of reactions to tenure and promotion decisions. Journal of Applied Psychology, 88, 266-275.

Kray, L. & Lind, E.A. (2002). The injustices of others: social reports and the integration of others' experiences in organizational justice judgments. Org.Behav.&Hum.Dec.Proc.

Hagedoorn, M., Buunk, B.P. & Van de Vliert, E., (2002) Do just world believers process unfair authoritative decisions differently? Applied Psychology: An International Review, 51, 126-145

## **K. Justice in the Market Place**

Greenberg, J.(2001) Setting the justice agenda: Seven unanswered questions about “what, why and how”. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 58, 210-219

Kahneman, D., et al: (1986) Fairness and the assumptions of economics. Journal of Business, 59, s285-s300

Steensma, H. (2002) Violence in the workplace: The explanatory strength of social (in)justice theories. Chapter 9 In M.Ross & Miller, D.T. ( Eds.) The justice motive in everyday life Cambridge UK: Cambridge U. Press.

Kay, A.C., et al, (2003) Fair market ideology: Its cognitive motivational underpinnings. Res.in Org.Behv., 25, 53-91.

#### Articles for class presentation

Colquitt, J.A. , et al, (2001) Justice at the millennium: A meta-analytic review of 25 years of organizational justice research. Journal of Applied Psychology, 86, 425-445.

Aquino, K. et al , (1999) Justice constructs, negative affectivity, and employee deviance: A proposed model and empirical test. J. of Organizational Behavior. 20-1073-1091.

Brockner, J. , et al, (1987) Survivors reactions to layoffs: We get by with a little help for our friends. Administrative Science Quarterly, 32, 526-541.

Colquitt, J.A.(2001) On the dimensionality of organizational justice: A construct validation of a measure. Journal of Applied Psychology, 86, 386-400.

Rupp,D.E., & Cropanzano, R. (2002) The mediating effects of social exchange relationships in predicting workplace outcomes from multifoci organizational justice. Org.Behav.& Hum.Dec.Proc., 89, 925-946.

Konovsky, M.(1991) The effects of procedures, social accounts and benefit levels on employee reactions to lay-offs. Journal of Applied Psychology, 21, 630-650.

Rusbult, C.E., et al (1988) Impact of employee mobility and employee performance on the allocation of rewards under conditions of constraint. JPSP, 605-615.

#### **L. Justice and Legal Institutions-Restorative, Retributive, and Distributive Justice**

Darley, J.M. & Pitman, T.S. (2003) The psychology of compensatory and retributive justice. Personality and Social Psychology Review. 4, 324-326

Vidmar, N. (2002) Redistributive justice : Its social context. Chapter 16 in Ross, M. & Miller, D.T. (Eds.) The justice motive in everyday life Cambridge UK: Cambridge U. Press.

Ambrose, M.L., et al, (2002) Sabotage in the workplace: The role of organizational injustice. Org. Behav.& Hum. Dec.Proc. 89, 947-965.

Greenberg, J.(2002)Who stole the money and when? Individual and situational determinants of employee theft. Org. Behav. & Hum. Dec. Proc., 89, 985,-1003.

#### Articles to be presented

Feather, N. T. (1998)Reactions to penalties committed by the police and public citizens: Testing a social-cognitive process model of retributive justice. JPSP 75, 528-544

Feather, N.T.,(1996) Reactions to penalties for an offense in relation to authoritarianism, values, perceived responsibility perceived seriousness, and deservingness. JPSP, 71, 571-587.

Carlsmith, K.M., et al, (2002) Why do we punish? Retribution , deterrence, and just deserts as motives for punishment. JPSP, 83, 1-16

Oswald, , M.E., et al, (2002) Lay perspectives on criminal deviance, goals of punishment, and punitivity. Social Justice Research, 15, 85-98.

Sanderson, C.A., et al, (2000) Making the punishment fit the crime and the criminal: Attributions of dangerousness as a mediator of liability. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30, 1137-1159.

### **M. Justice in Close Relationships**

Clark, M. & Chrisman, K. (1994) Resource allocation in intimate relationships: Trying to make sense of a confusing literature Chapter 4. In M.J. Lerner & G. Mikula (Eds.) Entitlement and the affectional bond: Justice in close relationships. New York : Plenum Press

Van Yperen, N.W. & Buunk, B.P. (1994) Social comparison and social exchange in marital relationships. Chapter 5, in M.J. Lerner & G. Mikula (Eds.) Entitlement and the Affectional Bond;New York: Plenum Press

Attridge, M., & Berscheid, E.(1994) Entitlement in romantic relationships in the United States An exchange perspective. Chapter 6 in Lerner & Mikula ( Eds.)

#### Articles to be presented

Gleason, M.E.J., et al, (2003) Daily supportive equity in close relationships, PSPB, 29, 1036-1045

Lipkus, I.M.& Bissonnette (1996) Relationships among the belief in a just world, willingness to accommodate and marital well-being. PSPB, 22, 1943-1956.

Bunk, B.P. & Van Yperen, N.W. (1989) Social comparison, equality, and relationship satisfaction: Gender differences over a ten year period. Social Justice Research., 3, 157-180.

Mikula, G., et al, (1998) Does it only depend on the point of view? Perspective-related differences in justice evaluations of negative incidents in personal relationships. European Journal of Social Psychology, 28. 931-962.

### **N. Gender and Justice**

Gilligan, C.(1977) In a different voice: Women's conceptions of self and morality. Harvard Educational Review. 47. 481-517.

Major, B,(1987) Gender, justice, and the psychology of entitlement. In P. Shaver & C. Hendricks (Eds.) Review of Personality and Social Psychology, Vol.7, 124-148.

Kidder, L.H., Fagan, M.A., & Conn, E.S,(1981) Giving and receiving: Social justice in close relationships. Chapter 11. In Lerner, & Lerner (Eds.) The justice motive in social behavior. New York: Plenum press.

#### Articles to be presented

Sweeney, P.D., & McFarlin, D. B. (1997). Process and outcome: Gender differences in the assessment of justice. Journal of Organizational Behavior, 18(1), 83-98



Mikula, G., & Freudenthaler, H. H. (2002). Divisions of tasks and duties and the perceptions of injustice: The case of household chores. Psychologische Beitrage, 44(4), 567-584

Desmarais, S. & Curtis, J. E. (1997). Gender and perceived pay entitlement: Testing for effects of experience with income. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72(1),141-150.

Steil, J.M. &Weltman, K.(1991) Marital inequality: The importance of resources, personal attributes, and social norms on career valuing and the allocation of domestic responsibilities. Sex Roles, 24, 161-179

Major, B. (1993) Gender, entitlement, and the distribution of family labor. Journal of Social Issues, 49, 141-159.

### **O. Distribution of Societal Resources and Social Dilemmas**

Schroeder, D.A., Steel, J.E., Woodell, A.J. & Bembenek, A.F.(2003) Justice within social dilemmas. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 7, 374-387

Edney, J. J., (1980) The commons problem; Alternative perspectives, American Psychologist, 35, 131-150

Elster, J, (1991) Local justice; How institutions allocate scarce goods and necessary burdens. European Economic Review, 35, 273-291.

#### Articles to be reported:

DeCremer, D. (2002) Respect and cooperation in social dilemmas: A matter of feeling included. PSPB , 28, 1335-1341.

Lerner, M.J., Somers, D., Reid, D., & Tierney, M. (1989) Sibling Conflicts induced by dependent elderly parents: The social psychology of individual and social dilemmas in Spacapan, S. & S. Oskamp (Eds.). The Social Psychology of Aging; Claremont Symposium on Applied Social Psychology. NewburyPark California: Sage

De Cremer, D., & van Knippenberg, D. (2003) Cooperation with leaders in social dilemmas: On the effects of procedural fairness and outcome favorability in structural cooperation. Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 91, 1-11.

Kerr, N. , et al, (1997) That still, small voice: Commitment to cooperate as an internalized versus a social norm. PSPB, 23, 1300-1311.

Nowak, M.A. et al, (2000) Fairness, versus reason in the ultimatum game. Science, 289, 1773-1775.

van Dijk , et al, (2003) Preferences for leadership in social dilemmas: Public good dilemmas versus common resource dilemmas. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 39, 170-176.

### **P. Justice and Social Policy : General Processes**

Weiner, B. (1993) On sin versus sickness: A theory of perceived responsibility and social motivation .American Psychologist 48, 957-965.

Kahneman D. et al, ( 1993) Stated willingness to pay for public goods: A psychological perspective. Psychological Science, 4, 310-315.

Tetlock, P.E., & Mitchell, P.G.(1993) Liberal and conservative approaches to justice: Conflicting psychopolitical portraits. In B. Mellers & J. Baron (Eds.) Psychological perspectives on justice. Cambridge:

Cambridge U. Press.

Articles to be reported

Jost, J.T., et al (2003) Fair market ideology: Its cognitive –motivational underpinnings. Research in Organizational Behavior 25, 53-91.

Jost, J.T. & Hunyady, O. (2002) The psychology of system justification and the palliative function of ideology. European Review of Social Psychology, 13, 111-153.

Skitka, L.J. & Tetlock, P.E. (1993) Providing public assistance: Cognitive and motivational processes underlying liberal and conservative policy preferences: JPSP 1205-1223.

Kay, A.C., & Jost, J.T. (2003) Complementary justice: Effects of “poor but happy” and “poor but honest” stereotype exemplars on system justification and implicit activation of the justice motive JPSP, 85, 823-837.

Kay, A.C. & Jost, J.T. (2005) Victim derogation and victim enhancement as alternative routes to system justification. Psychological Science, 16, 240-246

**Q. Justice and Social Policy: Affirmative Action & Environmental Issues.**

Crosby, F.J., & Franco, J.L. (2003) Connections between the ivory tower and the multicolored world: Linking abstract theories of social justice to the rough and tumble of affirmative action. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 7, 362-373

S. Clayton (2000) Models of justice in the environmental debate. Journal of Social Issues, 56, 459-474.

Articles to be reported.

Golden, N., et al, (2001) Reactions to affirmative action: Substance and semantics. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 31, 73-88.

Sears, D.O., et al, (1997) Is it really racism? The origins of White Americans opposition to race-targeted Policies. Public Opinion Quarterly, 61, 16-53.

Sidanius, J, , et al, (1996) Racism, conservatism, affirmative action, and intellectual sophistication: A matter of principled conservatism in group dominance? JPSP, 70,476-490.

Son Hin, L.S., et al, (2002) Meritocracy and opposition to affirmative action: Making concessions in the face of discrimination, JPSP, 83, 493-509.