

Exploring the Effect of Four Factors on Affirmative Action Programs for Women

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Abstract

Our study aims to explore determinants and mechanisms that support affirmative action programs (AAPs). Managing the programs and enhancing women's well-being in organizational life requires knowledge about support for AAPs. Although many studies have examined attitudes toward these, they have confined their scope of research to their particular theoretical disciplines. Our study analyzes the impact of four primary factors—gender, political factors, psychological factors, and social structure on support for the programs. These in turn consist of eight variables, as we shall see, and we examine the varieties of causal mechanisms that are concerned with moderation and mediation, as well as the causal relationships within the variables. Our findings suggest that the four factors have comparative strengths in explaining support for AAPs and have moderating, mediating, and causal impact on them.

Keywords

Affirmative Action Programs (AAPs); gender; discrimination

Introduction

Affirmative action is one of the most controversial social policies today in the United States and in other countries. It “is defined as the voluntary and mandatory efforts undertaken by federal, state, and local governments, private employers, and schools to combat discrimination and to promote equal opportunity in education and employment” (APA, 1996: 2). Even though many have lauded it, some have condemned these efforts as unnecessary, and others have regarded them as counterproductive to social equality (Crosby & Clayton, 2001). Affirmative action occurs whenever an organization devotes resources (including time and money) to make sure that people are not discriminated against because of their gender or ethnic group (Crosby et al., 2006: 587). In the case of gender, balanced representation based on affirmative action is expected to alter development priorities, perspectives, and concerns (Sharma, 2000).

Governments have enacted laws and regulations to secure equality in employment. For example, the 1965 Executive Order No. 11246, issued by Lyndon B. Johnson in the United States, required the federal government and its contractors to have an affirmative action plan. These programs covered 26 million individuals or nearly 22 percent of the U.S. workforce (Harrison et al., 2006). AAPs have been adapted and have become quite unique in different contexts, becoming one among the universal policies for promoting equality in a given society. In Asian countries, because of the short history of movements for civil or women’s rights and other norms, such as those propagated by Confucianism, the government has played a major role in providing women-friendly regulation and institutions, which liberal feminism views as the first priority because such initiatives can provide a stepping-stone to achieve women’s interests.

Asian countries have had different forms of affirmative action, which reflect their respective national histories and contexts. For example, in Japan, where all governmental positions are determined via the competitive entrance exam, it is illegal to consider gender,

ethnicity and other social backgrounds as criteria for selection. In the case of Malaysia, since there has been ethnic tension between Malay and Chinese communities, the ethnic ratio is considered important in adopting affirmative action. The admission to elite universities in Malaysia started to implement affirmative action to achieve “racial” equality (Sowell, 2004). China adopted affirmative action for minority nationalities in the field of education. India adopted a “reservation” policy as affirmative action, which is an elaborate quota system whereby public jobs were filled by members of backward castes. For example, 15 percent of public service positions are reserved for Scheduled Castes, 7.5 percent for Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, after a 1993 constitutional amendment, a third of all seats for locally elected representatives were reserved for women (World Bank, 2001). In entrance examinations for civil servants, Korea sought to address AAPs for local universities, disability, and gender.

The same institution for affirmative action produces different results. Only India and Thailand hold simple majority voting in which the candidate with the most votes wins. While India has a quota system for women, it only applies to local level bodies in rural areas. This may be one reason why female representatives in political bodies in both countries remain below 10 percent. In the case of India, even though women’s groups that seek the goal of improving the condition of women, have played a vital role in improving women’s roles in the public sphere by changing institutional laws, such as the Women’s Reservation Bill, obstacles still remain in ensuring women’s entry into state and national bodies (Kasturi, 1998). According to Sharma (2000), the factors against women are tied to complex factors, such as the historical legacy of women’s oppression and disadvantage, the nature of gender inequality, male dominance in political institutions, gender insensitivity vis-à-vis systems of governance, the nature of electoral politics, and so on.

Indonesia and South Korea have election laws for including a quota for women candidates, but the Philippines and Taiwan have reserved seats for women in national parliaments (in the lower house

for the Philippines), thus these two countries have a higher percentage of female representatives—17.8 percent in Philippines and 22.2 percent in Taiwan (Sun, 2004). In the case of Korea, in order to enhance the employment quality of female workers, the government adopted the Equal Employment Opportunity Act in 1987, which aimed to provide the chance for equal employment and a non-discriminatory working environment.

The Korean government required public and private organizations to balance employment ratios between male and female workers. In 1996, it set up a hiring quota of 10 percent for female applicants in the Grade 5 civil service entrance examinations. Then, in 2003, it raised this quota to 30 percent of the employment target for female applicants. According to the Act on Equal Employment and Support for Work-family Reconciliation, enacted in 2006, the organizations in the public or private sectors, employing more than 500 workers, should try to maintain female workers at more than 60 percent of the industry average. Those that did not maintain that ratio were penalized and had to pay a negligence fee. Such measures have resulted in an increase in the number of women representatives in most Korean government agencies (see Kim, 2011). After the gender quota system was introduced, the ratio of employed women has increased from 9.9 percent in 1996 to 38.8 percent in 2010 in the case of Grade 5 and from 8.2 percent to 34.4 percent in the case of Grade 7 (MPAS, 2011).

Although the number of newly employed females in government has increased, their proportion in higher positions is still insignificant and consistently represents around 1 to 1.5 percent over the 20 year period (Park, 2013). In the private sector, for firms with 1,000 or more employees, between 2006 (when Affirmative Action was first enforced) and 2010, the ratio of female employees rose from 30.7 percent to 35.6 percent, and that of female managers increased from 10.2 percent to 14.7 percent (Jung et al., 2012). However, as Korean affirmative action focuses primarily on the female ratio among total workers or managerial workers, it does not take into account either

the work quality or earnings inequality (*ibid.*, 2012).

Regarding the effects of AAPs, Crosby and Clayton (2001) and Crosby et al. (2006) hypothesized that AAPs have two positive impacts: first, they increase ethnic and gender diversity in the workplace, and second, they improve the fairness in a given organization or school, both overcoming the problems of meritocracy and contributing to social stability. Research studies regarding AAPs have yielded extensive findings (for reviews, see Kravitz et al., 1997; Harrison et al., 2006; Taylor-Carter et al., 1995). Harrison et al. (2006) explained that understanding psychological reactions to AAPs is important because such attitudes play important roles in the development of affirmative action policies in organizations. In addition, Crosby et al. (2006) point out that support from the executive level is key to the success of affirmative action because executives facilitate the mobilization of the resources needed for its implementation. In particular, in an organizational setting, an affirmative-action-friendly attitude among organizational members would lead to expanding and enriching diversity and increasing equality in employment, finally enhancing organizational effectiveness by reducing the conflict regarding AAPs. Enhancing women's well-being in organizational life by managing AAPs, the programs require knowledge about the nature of support for them.

To explain variations in attitude toward affirmative action, scholars have developed a number of specific theoretical frameworks, such as symbolic politics, intergroup conflict, self-interest, ideologically delimited cognition, and principled objections (see Crosby et al., 2006). However, earlier studies have faced three criticisms, even those that have accumulated extensive evidence of support for AAPs. First, there is some degree of theoretical fragmentation in studying the factors of support for AAPs. Many studies have only made limited attempts to identify determinants in terms of theoretical perspectives, although they do not all explicitly agree. Each discipline in the study of AAPs has its own favorite theoretical concepts and models. For example, political approaches have preferred to focus on

political value (for example, egalitarianism, as in Fried et al., 2001 and Fletcher & Chalmers, 1991) and interests (Bobo & Kluegel, 1993). Gender studies have attempted to discover distinctions between males and females (Kondard & Hartman, 2001; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; Summers, 1995). Psychology has mainly been interested in perceptual or cognitive biases, such as prejudice (Little et al., 1998; Tougas et al., 1995), stereotypes (Tan et al., 2000; Bobo & Johnson, 2000), and types of attributes (Matheson et al., 1994). Organizational behavior and sociology have been engrossed with socio-structural factors, such as organizational culture (Ryan, 1992), social relationships (Bell, 1989) and social contexts, class, or intergroup inequality (Quillian, 2006), and sectoral differences (Fletcher & Chalmers, 1991), such as public versus private sectors. We defined social structure as fundamental and within which individuals are embedded. Socio-structural factors include macro-variables, rather than attributes that individuals cannot control, distinguishing between psychological attitude and political interest, which are easily attributed to individuals.

Second, such theoretical fragmentation does not encourage an integrated research model that would cover micro and macro variables or the range from psychological to socio-structural variables, regardless of discipline. Harrison et al. (2006) reported that although a large body of evidence about attitudinal reactions to AAPs in employment has been accumulated for over 35 years—based on at least 126 independent samples involving 29,000 people—findings are still not firmly established or integrated.

Third, in terms of method, the research design and sampling used by previous studies have had a restricted scope in the study of AAPs. Most studies on these adopted the experimental method, small samples, and convenient samples. Although such research practices had the merit of increasing the reliability and understanding of specific determinants of support for AAPs, they narrowed down the scope of the research topics, biased the empirical results, and blocked the generalization of findings.

Why is theoretical or methodological fragmentation critical? First, even if each discipline has strengths in terms of theory and method, each one also has weaknesses. For example, psychologists have highlighted the role of prejudices and stereotypes in determining individual-level support for AAPs. However, they have dismissed social and political factors, which have mainly been the focus of studies by sociologists and political scientists. Social structure and political variables as macro factors critically influence individuals' prejudices and stereotypes. Hence, even if prejudices and stereotypes direct the determinants of support for AAPs, they can be changed according to varying socio-structural contexts and political interests.

Second, fragmentation has created obstacles in identifying all causal mechanisms. If we do not overcome a narrow theoretical or methodological scope in research, we cannot fully comprehend the causal mechanisms, that is, the entities, activities and/or parts that change the linear or regular relationships between predictors and predicted variables. Because the determinants of support for AAPs are intertwined, researchers should pay attention to causal mechanisms, which can be found by focusing on moderation and mediation. Even though studies on moderation and mediation effects would provide useful information regarding causal mechanisms and the contextual conditions for direct effects, there are few studies on moderation (Bobo & Johnson, 2000; Parker et al., 1997) or mediation (Kondard & Hartman, 2001) with regard to support for AAPs. To determine moderation and mediation effects, it is necessary to establish heterogeneous theoretical concepts based on different disciplines and then test them as moderators and mediators.

These criticisms provide the research motives in our study. To reflect the theoretical advantages and comparative strengths of different disciplines, such as gender studies, politics, psychology, sociology, and organizational behavior studies, we adopt a more comprehensive approach. Moreover, to explore causal mechanisms by studying the moderation, mediation, and causation effects, we use heterogeneous theoretical concepts, that is, factors that derive from the four

different disciplines, gender studies, political science, psychology, and sociology.

The next section will comprehensively review the literature related to eight variables we investigate—based on the disciplines of gender studies, psychology, politics, and sociology—in terms of not only their main findings, but also their theories and methods. These variables as predictors have been extensively examined in previous empirical research. Finally, we analyze not only the determinant structure based on the variables but also the mediation, moderation, and overall causal relationships within the predictors.

The Four Factors in Affirmative Action Studies

The gender factor

Previous studies have compared women's responses to AAPs with those of men. They have found the consistent effect of gender in judging AAPs. Although in a few studies, attitudes toward affirmative action were not significantly correlated for women (Kravitz et al., 2000); many studies have provided consistent evidence that women have more positive attitudes toward AAPs than do men (Kondard & Hartman, 2001; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; Summers, 1995). Based on survey data from a sample (N=198) of university students, Kondard and Hartman (2001) showed gender differences in attitudes toward affirmative action programs in Australia. From a different sample of undergraduates (N=349), opposition to potential AAP components varied, depending on gender and ethnicity; women evaluated affirmative action more positively than did men (Kraitz & Platania, 1993, p. 934). Similarly, based on another sample of university students (final N=80), Summers (1995) discovered that women were quite favorable in their attitudes towards affirmative action.

Few studies have made a comprehensive comparison of determinants or identified the causal mechanisms between determinants and outcomes. Summers (1995) showed that after controlling for

self-interest, significant differences in men's and women's attitudes toward AAPs disappeared. Kondard and Hartman (2001) showed that the relationship between gender and affirmative action attitudes was mediated by other perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. Parker et al. (1997) found that gender moderated people's reactions to their organizations' policies on affirmative action/equal opportunity (AA/EO).

The political factors

Interest: Self-interest at the individual and collective levels has a positive impact on attitudes toward AAPs because affirmative action provides a potential or real benefit to its beneficiary individual or groups. Individual self-interest is often defined narrowly to mean tangible losses or gains to an individual or his or her immediate family (Bobo & Kluegel, 1993). Summers (1995) demonstrated that attitudes toward affirmative action in general were related to differences in self-interest. According to a meta-analysis by Harrison et al. (2006), there were positive relationships between AAP attitudes and personal self-interest as well as collective self-interest. However, this interest straightforwardly influences support for AAPs. Bobo and Kluegel (1993) accordingly argued that the degree of influence of individual self-interest, beliefs about inequality, and racial attitudes hinge on the explicitness of the targeting of race and whether the policy's goal is opportunity enhancement or equality of outcomes.

A few studies have extensively compared the effects of different independent variables and the process of these effects on the acceptance of AAPs; for example, women evaluated affirmative action more positively than men did because of not only self-interest but also their tendency toward cooperative interests and a liberal orientation (Kraitz & Platania, 1993: 934). In seeing the process of cause to outcome, attitudes toward specific AAPs were only partly mediated by perceived threats to personal and collective self-interest (Kravitz, 1995).

Egalitarianism: A political worldview may determine what may be seen as being in the best interest of one's group or self and may

determine how one judges merit (Crosby et al., 2006: 599). Among political worldviews, liberals are more positive toward AAPs than are conservatives (Kravitz et al., 2000). Liberalism is closely linked with egalitarianism, which is defined as the belief that inequality is harmful to a society (Feldman, 1988). Egalitarians tend therefore to believe that ensuring formal equal opportunity is insufficient to offset the effects of prior discrimination and inequality in the distribution of resources. Therefore, it is legitimate for the government to promote equal outcomes by intervening on behalf of disadvantaged groups (Fried et al., 2001: 564).

After analyzing survey data based on a sample of 185 undergraduates, Nosworthy et al. (1995) empirically proved that egalitarianism as a justice ideology was correlated significantly with attitudes toward one of four AAPs. Furthermore, based on data from 1,150 white respondents, Bobo and Kluegel (1993) showed that egalitarianism (the belief that inequality in income is unfair) was related to support for affirmative action policies. Egalitarians who viewed fairness in terms of group equality were more supportive of AAPs than were individualists, who viewed fairness from the perspective of the individual (Fried et al., 2001).

A small number of studies have made comparisons between the determinants of support for AAPs. Attitudes toward affirmative action in general vary not with belief in the dominant ideology of opportunity but with self-interest and racism (Kravitz, 1995). Moreover, Fried et al. (2001) showed inconsistent effects of ideology, in which the impact of egalitarianism on acceptance of AAPs depended on different experiences with discrimination. These effects of egalitarianism are contingent on experience. Taylor-Carter et al. (1995) proposed that egalitarians would be more likely to support affirmative action in contexts in which they believed that past discrimination was responsible for racial or gender discrimination.

The psychological factors

Prejudice: Our study uses prejudice as understood in psychology, not

sociology, as the expression or experience of a negative attitude or feeling toward another person or group based on certain group-based characteristics (Steele et al., 2004). Taylor and Pettigrew (2000) designated two elements of prejudice: *antipathy*, a negative emotion or affective feeling toward target groups and *stereotypes*, poorly founded beliefs about target groups. Sexism is a prejudiced attitude or discrimination mainly based on sex and specifically aimed at women. The more prejudiced or sexist a person feels regarding specific target groups in affirmative action, the more resistance they display toward AAPs.

Based on path analysis, tested with a sample of 130 male students, Tougas et al. (1995) demonstrated that sexism consistently predicted opposition to affirmative action. The construct of symbolic prejudice was found to predict perceptions about affirmative action in the workplace (Little et al., 1998). Harrison and others' (2006) meta-analysis concluded that the correlations between sexism and support for AAPs were strong and negative.

In comparing self-interest and prejudices in explaining anti-discrimination policies, McConahay (1982) showed that the former related less to these policies than did the latter. Kravitz (1995) found that in perceiving the fairness of an AAP structure, personal self-interest was more important than prejudiced racism. Regarding research on the support for AAPs, after showing the negative relationships between egalitarianism and prejudice, Rabinowitz et al. (2005) suggested that the extent of the relationship between egalitarianism and prejudice could be explained by out-group orientation.

Stereotype: A stereotype can be defined as an over-generalized belief about a group of people, such as "African-Americans are athletic" (Steele et al., 2004). In terms of gender, the stereotypes are that men and women are thought to differ; men are characterized as aggressive, forceful, independent, and decisive, whereas women are viewed as kind, helpful, sympathetic, and concerned with others (Heilman, 2001). Those holding on to these stereotypes believe that women or other minorities are not qualified for responsible jobs.

Hence, gender stereotypes can obstruct women's advancement in organizational hierarchies (Heilman, 2001).

Taylor-Carter et al. (1995) explained that negative stereotypes about blacks and women might lead people to oppose affirmative action because they believe that these people are not qualified to hold certain jobs. In the study of Tan et al. (2000), negative media portrayals predicted negative stereotypes, which opposed affirmative action policies. Alternatively, positive stereotypes supported such policies. In examining causal mechanisms, according to Bobo and Johnson's (2000) heuristic mode, the effect of a stereotype in opposing affirmative action is not only partly mediated by perceived group competition, but also moderated in some cases by social background characteristics, religious/social values, social contexts, common fates, and identity. A negative effect of a stereotype may depend on the proportion of the majority in particular types of jobs. For example, if the proportion of males increases, the jobs are seen as masculine, leading to resistance against women's entry into these (Greebler et al., 1982).

Causal Attribution: According to Taylor-Carter et al. (1995), an evaluator's causal attribution for inequality may be a key determinant of resistance to or support for affirmative action. If people think that unequal opportunities derive from social structures or organizations, such as institutionalized unequal treatment of target groups rather than the characteristics of the target groups, then they typically support AAPs. Moreover, because those in the minority group attribute inequality to socio-structural forces rather than their own capability, they strongly support AAPs.

Those who believe that employment inequalities are the fault of a minority group or women, tend to oppose affirmative action (Taylor-Cater et al., 1995). When Matheson et al. (1994) examined women in a law and security police-training stream (N=19), those who thought the cause of the employment discrimination was their fault, revealed support for all forms of affirmative action. However, this attribution effect depends on situational conditions. According

to Quinn et al.'s (2001) experimental studies of 95 students, reactions to affirmative action were determined by their attribution of responsibility for causing and resolving their own disadvantage. When responsibility was ascribed to minorities for either causing or solving their underemployment problems, participants were more likely to endorse specific affirmative action programs, rather than when either full or no responsibility was ascribed to minorities.

The socio-structural factors

Public Sector: According to Taylor-Carter et al.'s (1995) extensive reviews, attitudes resisting or accepting AAPs were influenced by two main types of factors, the evaluator's *perspective* and the *context* in which the policy is embedded. Whether employment is in the public or non-public (private) sector is one of the socio-structural factors that have formed an invisible climate for affirmative action. Fletcher and Chalmers' (1991) empirical findings show that respondents express more support for affirmative action when a program is situated in the government sector. Ortega et al. (2012) measured managers' perceptions about affirmative action and workplace discrimination in two cities (Phoenix, Arizona and San Antonio, Texas) and found that public-sector managers did not believe that affirmative action policies and workplace discrimination had affected their own advancement.

Organizational Culture: Organizational culture is an invisible collective byproduct shared by people in an organization. Dass and Parker (1999) point to the existence of variations in organizational culture regarding affirmative action and diversity. Introducing affirmative action to an organization has impact on organizational culture. On the one hand, as Ryan (1992) explained, AAPs redefine an organization's culture by explicitly acknowledging a managerial imperative to sustain integration, thereby refocusing organizational assumptions about minorities as employees. On the other hand, equal (or discriminatory) experience in organizational contexts induces positive (or negative) attitudes toward AAPs (*ibid.*: 2).

In organizational settings, the more the people who perceived

discrimination in a particular organizational culture, the more they supported affirmative action. Kravitz et al. (2000) proved that attitudes toward affirmative action were positively associated with the perceived frequency of employment discrimination experienced by the target group. Hence, those who have experienced more discrimination tend to support AAPs.

Several studies have examined how a discriminatory culture in an organization provided the context for the effect of predictors on support for AAPs. For example, Fried et al. (2001) demonstrated the moderating effect of discrimination in the workplace and the effects of political ideology on personnel attitudes toward affirmative action that in turn depended on the degree of experience of discrimination in the organizational setting.

Sample and Methodology

We used open data (Survey title: *Survey on Workers' Attitude towards Equality of Men and Women*) that were downloaded from the Korea Social Science Data Archive (<http://www.kosstda.or.kr>, No. of Data: A1-2006-0049). Originally, these were collected for a research project entitled "Searching for Alternative for Building Gender Partnership for Resolving the Sex Conflict" by Suyeon Lee of the Korean Women's Development Institute (<http://www.kwdi.re.kr>). The survey selected samples based on the national population. It also adopted the proportional quota sampling method, which first reflected the sizes and kinds of enterprises and regions and then chose its respondents from a given workplace through random sampling. Data from a total of 1,029 respondents were employed, 826 (80.3 percent) in the private sector and 203 (19.8 percent) in the public sector. In the case of the private sector, four to six employees were randomly selected from each private company and classified into 11 industry types. For the public sector, quota sampling was adopted based on

Table 1. Variable Concept and Question Statements

Variable concept	Statement
Support for Affirmative Action Programs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - When recommending candidates for congressional representatives, the institution ensures that 50% of them are women. - When recruiting new professors at a national or public university, it is required to select a certain percentage of women. - Government should give benefits to enterprises that favor women in employment.
Self-interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Women have the greatest interest in affirmative action because they have experienced the greatest disadvantage in our society. - Because it is an injustice for either women or men to receive excessive benefits correcting, this requires a public policy that gives preferential treatment to women. - We do not need affirmative action that results in reverse discrimination and means men will lose the benefits of such jobs. (Reversed)
Egalitarianism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I treat, to a large extent, women and men equally compared with others. - I am confident that I treat women and men equally regardless of others' concerns. - I will divide property equally between my son and daughter.
Prejudice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Compared with men, women can't manage workers. - Women are not talented in science and mathematics. - Men are more capable of planning and implementing business than women.
Stereotype	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - If women are too proud, it will make men depressed. - In relationships between women and men, the former should not lead the latter. - Women's most important role is to take care of children and do household chores.
External attribution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The promotion rate of women is low because they face disadvantages in personnel evaluations. - Women have a low promotion rate because employers or organization chiefs have favored male managers over female managers. - Women experience slow promotions because they have been usually employed in less favored jobs.
Discriminatory culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Our organizations have preferred men over women in selection and advancement. - Male employees usually have a better chance at receiving education and training considered important to the organization than do women employees. - In general, women take longer to get promoted than do men.

both the ratios of civil servants between central and local governments (respectively, 63.3 percent and 35.7 percent) and class (50.0 percent in the sixth class or higher and 50.0 percent in the seventh class or below). The final analysis reflected data from 1,029 re-

spondents, with 577 men and 452 women in the sample. The survey was executed via face-to-face interviews (6-28-2006 through 7-20-2006) by professional interviewers who were employed at Gallup Korea.

Dependent and independent variables were measured using two or three questions, except for the question on public sector, which was a dummy variable, 0=non-public sector, 1=public sector (see Table 1). Participants were asked to give their opinions about statements after reading and judging them. Responses were on a four-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). Multiple items were averaged to yield the composite score for each concept. Each item was designed to target a particular concept, such as support for AAPs, women's collective interest, egalitarianism, prejudice, stereotype, egalitarianism, external attribution, and organizational culture.

Table 2 provides basic descriptive statistics—the means, standard deviations (SDs), and Pearson correlation coefficients. Gender, interest, egalitarianism, external attribution, and discriminatory culture had positive relationships with support for AAPs, whereas prejudice, stereotype, and public sector maintained negative relationships. Even though these relationships complied with what we would usually expect, it remains questionable that respondents in the public sector showed negative attitudes toward AAPs as discussed below.

Empirical findings: determinants, mediation, moderation, and interaction

Comparing gender, political, psychological, and socio-structural factors

To show the independent or comparative effects of each of the four dimensions (gender, politics, psychology, and social structure), we performed five-step hierarchy regressions (see Table 3). Support for AAPs was regressed on four demographic variables in the first step, followed by gender (Model 2) in the second step, political factors (Model 3) in the third, psychological factors (Model 4) in the fourth,

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics—Mean, SD, and Pearson Correlation

	Mean	SD	Supports for AAPs	Gender	Interest	Egalitarianism	Prejudice	Stereo- type	External attribution	Public sector
Supports for AAPs	2.635	.782								
Gender (male=0, female=1)	.439	.497	.482**							
Interest	2.607	.382	.287**	.153**						
Egalitarianism	2.932	.382	.164**	.147**	.005					
Prejudice	2.217	.511	-.295**	-.338**	-.060	-.256**				
Stereotype	2.138	.498	-.239**	-.339**	-.057	-.262**	.432**			
External attribution	2.556	.559	.328**	.355**	.127**	.016	-.169**	-.126**		
Public sector	.197	.398	-.043	.039	.045	.022	-.037	-.047	-.064*	
Discriminatory Culture	2.552	.617	.245**	.291**	.088**	-.083**	-.064*	-.012	.544**	-.243**

Note: *P< .1, **P<0.05, ***P<0.01.

socio-structural factors (Model 5) in the fifth, and finally the full set of variables (Model 6). Model 1, based on socio-demographic variables, provided the anchoring points to be compared with the other targeted models.

Testing the significance and explanatory power of each additional dimension entails examining the F-value and the change in R-square. Based on the F-value, we concluded that all five dimensions significantly contributed to increments of explained variance. Moreover, the R-square changes (14.6 percent in Model 2, 9.6 percent in Model 3, 12.0 percent in Model 4, and 3.4 percent in Model 5) represented an increased percentage of the variance in support for AAPs explained after adding each dimension. To a large extent there were differences in the explained variances between gender model and social structure model (11.2 percent). This result proved that gender was the critical factor among the independent variables.

In the full model, we simultaneously regressed support for AAPs on the five dimensions to test their significance. The full model with 12 variables explained 34.1 percent of the variance, contrasted with 9.1 percent in Model 1. While all of the interdependent variables in each additional dimension model, from Models 2 to 5, revealed significance, only six out of eight variables in the full model did so. Among independent socio-demographic variables, as age increased, support for AAPs was greater. It is noticeable that higher organizational level implied decreased support for AAPs.

With regard to sex, women had significantly more positive relationships with AAPs. Moreover, the beta coefficient of women (.322) was the largest among the independent variables. This result confirmed previous findings on the gender effect (Kondard & Hartman, 2001; Kravitz & Platania, 1993; Summers, 1995). Next, in terms of the effect of political factors, both self-interest and egalitarianism significantly predicted support for AAPs in Model 2. The positive role of self-interest has been found in previous empirical studies (Harrison et al., 2006; Summers, 1995). These results imply that women's attitudes toward AAPs reflected their collective interests in op-

Table 3. Regression Analysis: Support for AAPs as the Dependent Variable

Model	Model 1: Socio-demographic Factor		Model 2: Gender Factor		Model 3: Political Factor		Model 4: Psychological Factor		Model 5: Structural Factor		Model 6: Full Model	
	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta
(Constant)	3.352(.144)***		2.588(.143)***		988(.264)***		3.144(.216)***		2.602(.190)***		804(.314)**	
Socio-demographic Factors												
Age	-.055(.031)*	-.066	.039(.029)	.047	-.023(.030)	-.027	.012(.030)	.015	-.052(.032)*	-.063	.086(.029)***	.102
Education Level	-.100(.047)**	-.068	-.081(.043)**	-.055	-.123(.045)***	-.083	-.093(.044)**	-.063	-.079(.048)**	-.053	-.067(.042)	-.045
Income	-.092(.037)**	-.097	-.049(.034)	-.052	-.098(.035)***	-.103	-.075(.035)**	-.078	-.079(.037)**	-.083	-.043(.032)	-.045
Organizational Level	-.269(.060)***	-.172	-.053(.057)	-.034	-.260(.057)***	-.166	-.198(.057)***	-.127	-.238(.061)***	-.153	-.098(.055)*	-.063
Gender	-	-	.722(.052)***	.459	-	-	-	-	-	-	.507(.054)***	.322
Political Factors	-	-	-	-	.555(.058)***	.274	-	-	-	-	.433(.053)***	.212
Egalitarianism	-	-	-	-	.314(.058)***	.154	-	-	-	-	.187(.055)***	.092
Psychological Factors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.256(.048)***	-.168	-	-	-.169(.045)***	-.111
Prejudice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.161(.050)***	-.103	-	-	-.062(.047)	-.039
Stereotype	-	-	-	-	-	-	-.345(.040)***	.247	-	-	.189(.044)***	.135
External attribution	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Socio-structural Factor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.086(.064)	.044	-.117(.057)**	-.060
Discriminatory culture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.246(.039)***	.194	.045(.041)	.035
Adjusted R-Square	.091		.237		.186		.209		.124		.333	
R-Square	.095		.241		.191		.214		.129		.341	
R-Square Change	-		.146		.096		.120		.034		.246	
F-Value	26.638***		65.524***		39.954***		39.547***		25.020***		43.565***	
F-Value Change	-		195.672***		60.362***		51.471***		19.813***		47.187***	

Note: *P< .1, **P<0.05, ***P<0.01.

portunities in society. Hence, the greater the numbers of jobs and promotions women obtained with the aid of AAPs, the more they expressed support for them. Moreover, the standardized coefficient of self-interest was the second largest after gender, which demonstrated its important role in explaining women's support.

The more the respondents demonstrated egalitarianism, the more they supported AAPs. Egalitarianism is different from self-interest in that the former, rooted in ideological value, is not usually as versatile as the latter because personal and collective interests are based on more rational thinking. However, egalitarianism has significant independent power. This result is generally consistent with findings from Nosworthy et al. (1995), Bobo and Kluegel (1993), and Fried et al. (2001).

In terms of psychological variables, stronger prejudice and stereotypes triggered less support for AAPs, whereas external attribution increased this support. These results appeared consistent with findings from previous studies on prejudice (Little et al., 1998; Tougas et al., 1995) and external attribution (Taylor-Carter et al., 1995; Matheson et al., 1994). However, even though negative stereotypes about women decreased support for AAPs, the result did not have statistical significance. The larger correlation (.432 in Table 2) between prejudice and stereotypes may have suppressed the latter's coefficient in regression.

Regarding the two socio-structural variables, only working in the public sector appeared to be significant; respondents affiliated with a public organization expressed less support for AAPs. This contrasted with previous findings by Fletcher and Chalmers (1991). Because affirmative action was generally implemented early and easily in the public sector, this was an unexpected result. We can suggest a plausible hypothesis, in that the more discriminatory practices and cultures there are in the private sector, the greater the increase in the demand and support for AAPs. In contrast, however, in the public sector a widespread affirmative-action-friendly environment did not necessarily urge respondents to increase their support

Table 4. Regression of Gender Effect

Model	Model 7: Non-Gender		Model 8: Gender		Model 9: Female		Model 10: Male	
	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta	B(Std. Error)	Beta
(Constant)	1.029(.326)***		.804(.314)**		1.446*** (.430)		.723(.456)	
Age	.033(.030)	.039	.086(.029)***	.102	.081** (.040)	.109	.086(.042)**	.097
Education Level	-.091(.043)**	-.061	-.067(.042)	-.045	-.033 (.054)	-.029	-.087(.063)	-.058
Income	-.073(.033)**	-.076	-.043(.032)	-.045	-.023 (.048)	-.027	-.053(.044)	-.057
Organizational Level	-.207(.056)***	-.132	-.098(.055)*	-.063	-.053 (.081)	-.035	-.101(.077)	-.062
Interest	.483(.055)***	.236	.433(.053)***	.212	.440*** (.080)	.241	.431(.071)***	.239
Egalitarianism	.221(.058)***	.109	.187(.055)***	.092	.186** (.075)	.119	.195(.081)**	.098
Prejudice	-.223(.048)***	-.146	-.169(.045)***	-.111	-.123** (.061)	-.098	-.196(.066)***	-.127
Stereotype	-.130(.048)***	-.083	-.062(.047)	-.039	-.147** (.066)	-.108	-.025(.066)	-.017
External attribution	.255(.045)***	.183	.189(.044)***	.135	.109* (.058)	.094	.247(.067)***	.175
Public sector	-.030(.059)	-.015	-.117(.057)**	-.060	-.231***(.074)	-.156	-.028(.085)	-.015
Discriminatory culture	.100(.042)**	.079	.045(.041)	.035	.061 (.049)	.065	.034(.067)	.025
Gender Factors	-	-	.507(.054)***	.322	-	-	-	-
Adjusted R-Square	.275		.333		.145		.123	
R-Square	.283		.341		.166		.139	
R-Square Change	-	-	.058		-		-	
F-Value	36.263***		43.5665***		7.854***		8.289***	
F-Value Change	-	-	.89.053***		-		-	

Note: *P< .1, **P<0.05, ***P<0.01.

for AAPs.

Specifying the Gender Effect

To specify the effect of gender on support for AAPs, we first compared the regression in Model 8, which included gender variables, with that of Model 7, which did not. In addition, to compare the different determinants between the two genders, shown in Model 9 and Model 10, we regressed the support for AAPs on models based on each final sample from females (N=452) and males (N=577).

In Model 7 and 8, in which we included gender in the regression model, there was a significant increase in R-square from .283 to .341, or a 5.8 percent increase in explained variance. This gender-related effect confirms the findings from Kravitz and Platania (1993) and Summers (1995). Next, when we compared the significance of the individual independent variables in both models, it was noticeable that they had differences. Stereotypes and discriminatory culture revealed their statistical significance in Model 7, whereas they did not possess statistical power in Model 8. These results imply that gender had too large a covariance with these two variables. If there had been a large covariance between gender and these two, their impact on the dependent variables would have largely depended on the specification of the model. Moreover, if the effects of stereotypes and discriminatory culture on support for AAPs had been related to gender, it could have substantially changed the direction and degree caused by the two variables. To demonstrate the intervening effect of gender on the relationships between stereotypes/discrimination and support, we illustrated Figures 1 and 2. To prepare the figures, we used the procedure suggested by Aiken and West (1991) and Frazier et al. (2004). Both figures demonstrate that even when stereotypes and discriminatory culture influenced support for AAPs, these outcomes largely depended on gender. In this case, gender moderated the relationships between predictors and outcomes. Gender attenuated the impact of stereotypes on AAPs and reinforced the effect of discriminatory culture on support for them.

Figure 1. ST×gender=SAAPs

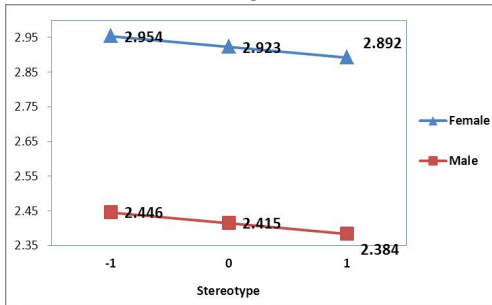
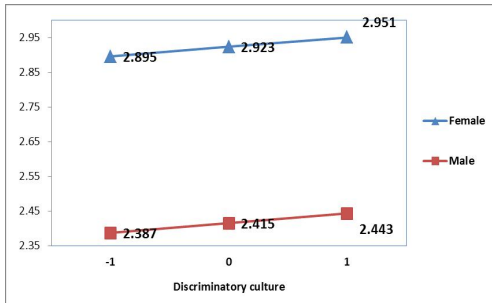


Figure 2. DC×gender=SAAPs



Note: ST: Stereotype, DC: Discriminatory Culture, SAAPs: Support for Affirmative Action Policies

Next, in Model 8, in which we included the gender variable, the public sector had more statistical power than it did in Model 7. This emergence of significance implies that gender as a suppressor may have constrained the effect of the public sector on support for AAPs. A simple comparison of the mean value of support for AAPs, between the public and non-public sectors, confirmed such a possibility; without gender, public sector (mean=2.568) versus non-public sector (mean=2.652) was not significant (ANOVA F-value=1.863, P-value >.10). Next, when we considered gender, the male group did not show a significant difference with regard to the public sector

(mean=2.255) versus the non-public sector (mean=2.313), with ANOVA F-value=.535, P-value >.10. However, in the female group, comparing public sector (mean=2.911) and non-public sector (mean=3.103) showed a significant difference, with ANOVA F-value=7.629, P-value <.01. It is plausible that the sufficient variance—in particular among females—in the public sector, after controlling for gender, contributed to regaining significant power in Model 8.

Models 9 and 10 showed similar or different determinants of female and male samples. In both models, regardless of gender, “interest, egalitarianism, and external attribution” significantly increased support for the AAPs, whereas prejudice decreased it. Personal interests in both models had the largest impact on support for AAPs. Discriminatory culture had no significant impact in either model. However, two differences appeared among the determinants. First, out of the 11 independent variables, seven in Model 9 were significantly effective, contrasting with five in Model 10. With regard to significance coefficients, stereotypes and public sector showed statistical significance only in the case of females. Considering that negative stereotypes have been exclusively attributed to men in previous studies, the finding that the negative impact of the stereotypes on support for AAPs was related only to women is theoretically interesting. This finding means that alternative methods for reducing negative stereotypes about women should focus more on women than on men. Second, in terms of the size of the standardized coefficient (beta), females and males had different ranking of predictors. In a noticeable difference, external attribution had a larger share in explaining the variance for males than it did for females. In short, the above findings demonstrate the significance of gender in support for AAPs: Even though common factors existed across genders, different determinants could still be observed.

Exploring the various roles of predictors

Predictors as moderators: To explore multidimensional relationships in terms not only of dependent/independent variables (two parties), but

Table 5. Coefficients of Interaction Terms

	Gender	Interest	Egalitarianism	Prejudice	Stereotype	External attribution	Public sector	Discriminatory culture
Gender								
Interest	-.009(.112)							
Egalitarianism	.015(.107)	-.038(.139)						
Prejudice	.049(.067)	-.043(.100)	.146(.093)					
Stereotype	-.077(.088)	-.126(.102)	.249(.096)***	-.105(.064)				
External attribution	-.112(.078)	-.012(.090)	.131(.087)	.001(.064)	.000(.064)			
Public sector	-.164(.102)	.106(.135)	.113(.133)	.052(.104)	.179(.103)*	.217(.089)**		
Discriminatory culture	-.014(.069)	-.093(.081)	.078(.079)	.006(.059)	-.097(.064)	-.081(.048)*	.132(.091)	

Note: The figures inside the parentheses indicate the standard error of coefficient,*P< .1, **P<0.05, ***P<0.01.

also of independent/independent/dependent variables (tripartite), we first analyzed the between-independent-variable interaction effects for AAPs. The interaction effect is checked by moderation. A small number of studies have focused on such interaction effects. According to Bobo and Johnson (2000), the effects of stereotypes on affirmative action are moderated by various factors. Moreover, Fried et al. (2001) showed that the effects of political ideology on attitudes toward affirmative action are moderated by experience of discrimination.

To construct the interaction terms, we multiplied each variable in each row by each one in column in Table 5. Then, after adding each interaction term to Model 6 (the full model), we regressed the support for AAPs on that model. For a simpler explanation, Table 5 provides only the beta-coefficients and the significances of their interaction terms.

We observed the significant effects of *four interaction terms* out of 28: stereotypes × egalitarianism, public sector × stereotypes, public sector × external attribution, and discriminatory culture × external attribution. To illustrate this interaction effect, we plotted four inter-

actions, shown below from Figure 3 to Figure 6, according to the method used by Aiken and West (1991). After we standardized the values for independent variables, except for the public sector, we again calculated the coefficients that were used for drawing the lines in the figures below. In these figures, we set up public sector and discriminatory culture as moderators because they have characteristic structural contexts that could have changed other variables. In addition, when we modeled the relationship between egalitarianism and stereotypes, the latter was regarded as the moderator because the former is a fundamental value that cannot be easily changed whereas the latter is a cognitive base that can be changed if a person is provided with appropriate stimuli.

The interaction between stereotypes and egalitarianism in Figure 3 reveals that stereotypes largely reduced support for AAPs when there was a low level of egalitarianism; in contrast, stereotypes increased acceptance of AAPs slightly when there was more egalitarianism. Egalitarianism diverged the effect of stereotypes on support for AAPs. However, the decreasing number of stereotypes showed a clearer pattern under weak egalitarianism than did the increasing pattern of stereotypes under strong egalitarianism.

The interaction between the public sector and stereotypes in Figure 4 shows that with a high level of stereotypes, the moderating effect of the public sector converged in support for AAPs. Stereotypes decreased support for AAPs in the non-public sector but increased support in the public sector. It seems that the specific culture of “publicness” or equity in the public sector, attenuated the negative effects of stereotypes.

From the interaction between the public sector and external attribution in Figure 5, external attribution generally increased support for AAPs. At a low level of external discrimination, those in the non-public sector revealed more support for AAPs than did those in the public sector. However, at the high level, there were no differences between the two groups, implying that the effect of sector influenced relationships between external attribution and support for

AAPs. The interaction between discriminatory culture and external attribution in Figure 6 shows that the effect of discrimination culture converged when the effect of external attribution on support for AAPs increased. Even though discrimination culture as a moderator had positive effects on AAPs, these effects were facilitated more so in strongly discriminatory cultures than they were in weakly discriminatory cultures.

In short, although the various predictors had impact on AAPs, their roles in the causal mechanisms appeared different. For example, they (e.g., the public sector, discriminatory culture, and egalitarianism in our case) played roles not only as independent variables but also as secondary moderators.

Predictors as mediators: To determine whether each predictor would mediate the effect of other predictors on support for AAPs, we conducted a path analysis using the AMOS software. Mediators

Figure 3. ST(I) ×EG(M)=SAAPs(D)

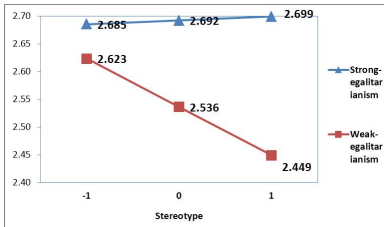


Figure 4. ST(I) ×N/P(M)=SAAPs(D)

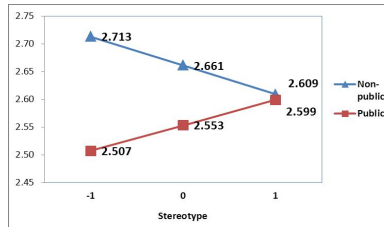


Figure 5. EX(I) ×N/P(M)=SAAPs(D)

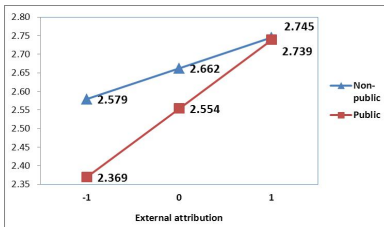
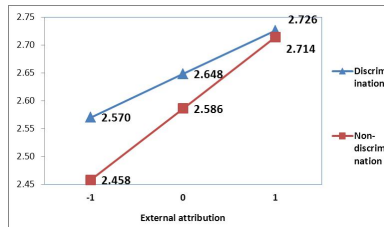


Figure 6. EX(I) ×DC(M)=SAAPs(D)



Note: ST: Stereotypes, EG: Egalitarianism, N/P: Non-public sector and public sector, EX: External attribution, DC: Discriminatory Culture, SAAPs: Support for Affirmative Action Policies. I: Independent variables, M: Moderator, D: Dependent variable.

show “how” or “why” one variable predicts or causes an outcome variable (Frazier et al., 2004). However, there is very little discussion of mediation effects in studies on support for AAPs. When constructing the path models, there were 42 combinations between the eight predictors, as shown in Table 6; the second row is the name of the mediator in each given mediation model and the second column is the independent variable in the mediation model. We did not input gender and public sectors into the mediator role because they could not be changed by independent variables. Hence, as shown in Table 6, there were three coefficients (from IV [independent variable] to MV [mediating variable], MV to DV [dependent variable], IV to DV) under each model in which AAPs were always regarded as the DV.

Among the 42 models, 34 showed significant mediating effects, of which two models showed full mediation and 32 had partial mediation. The effect of public sector on support for AAPs was fully mediated only by external attribution and discriminatory culture. However, statistical significance did not prove theoretical and logical validity. Frazier and others (2004: 126) argued that at the conceptual level, the proposed relationships between the predictor and the mediator should be grounded in theory and clearly articulated. Moreover, they should satisfy the causation condition: that the mediator both is caused by the predictor variable and causes the outcome (Baron & Kenny, 1986). Among 34 forms of mediation, only a few—such as by egalitarianism in Kondard and Hartmann (2001), personal and collective self-interest, or by self-interest (Kravitz, 1995)—have been empirically tested.

Moreover, we evaluated the mediation in terms of the mediator’s statistical power and comparison. First, Hoyle and Kenny (1999) explained that the power of mediation is greatest when the relationship between the mediator and the outcome goes beyond a relationship between the predictor and the mediator. In our case, interest and egalitarianism as mediators showed higher values in the relationships between the predictors and the mediator than in those between the mediator and the outcome. Second, in the comparison of

Table 6. Mediation Effects

	Mediator																	
	Interest		Egalitarianism		Prejudice		Stereotype		External attribution		Discriminatory culture							
	IV→M	M→DV	IV→DV	IV→DV	IV→M	M→DV	IV→DV	IV→M	M→DV	IV→DV	IV→M	M→DV	IV→DV					
Gender	.12***	.45***	.71***	.11***	.19***	.74***	-.35***	-.23***	.68***	-.34***	-.13**	.71***	.40***	.25***	.66***	.36***	.14***	.71***
Interest	-	-	-	.00	.33***	.59***	-.08*	-.43***	.55***	-.07*	-.35***	.56***	.19***	.41***	.51***	.14***	.28***	.55***
Egalitarianism	.00	.59***	.33***	-	-	-	-.34***	-.41***	.19***	-.34***	-.33***	.22***	.02	.45***	.32***	-.13***	.33***	.38***
Prejudice	-.04*	.55***	-.43***	-.19***	.19***	-.41***	-	-	-	.42***	-.21***	-.36***	-.18***	.40***	-.38***	-.08	.29***	-.43***
Stereotype	-.04*	.56***	-.35***	-.20***	.22***	-.33***	.44***	-.36***	-.21***	-	-	-	-.14***	.42***	.31***	-.01**	.31***	-.37***
External attribution	.09***	.51***	.41***	.01	.32***	.45***	-.15***	-.38***	.40***	-.11***	-.31***	.42***	-	-	-	.60***	.12***	.39***
Public sector	.04	.59***	-.11*	.02	.34***	-.09	-.05	-.45***	-.11*	-.06*	-.38***	-.11*	-.09**	.46***	-.04	-.38***	.32***	.04
Discriminatory culture	.05***	.55***	.28***	-.05***	.38***	.33***	-.05**	-.43***	.29***	-.06	-.38***	-.11**	.49***	.39***	.12**	-	-	-

Notes: Standard coefficients were estimated using the maximum likelihood method by using AMOS 18.0 version. IV: Independent Variable;

M: Mediator, DV: Dependent Variable. *P<.1, **P<0.05, ***P<0.01

indirect effect with direct effect, out of 32 partial mediations, only one mediation—discriminatory culture (IV)→external attribution (MV)→support for AAPs (DV)—had a larger coefficient in the indirect effect (.191) than in the direct effect (.121). In other mediations, direct effect had larger coefficients than did indirect effect. In short, even though much mediation existed between the eight variables and support for AAPs, we acknowledge that it is difficult for them to satisfy statistical or theoretical conditions.

Causal relationships within predictors: To explore the more complicated relationships among predictors rather than between predictors and outcomes, first the two groups, female and male, were separated, because we already recognized the different determinant between females and males. Then, after controlling for variables, including sex, age, and organizational level, we executed partial correlation analysis. Lastly, to display a causal map based on the significant correlations underlying the predictors, as shown in Figures 7 and 8, we drew causal or interactive lines based on the correlation coefficients presented in the parentheses only if they had statistical significance.

The two figures above (7 and 8) highlight several ideas for causal relationships among predictor variables. First, a different pattern of predictors between females and males appeared not only for the determinants, as already analyzed, but also *among predictors*. For males, the discriminatory culture maintained relationships with all

Figure 7. Causal Map for Females

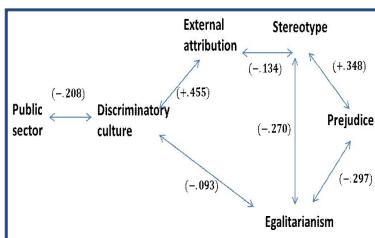
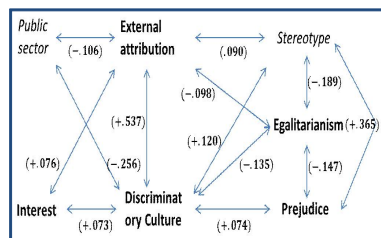


Figure 8. Causal Map for Males



Note: Variables have significant relationships with AAPs except *italic* variables.

other predictors, whereas for females, discriminatory culture only maintained relationships with three predictors and kept the weak coefficients. Second, in comparison of the coefficients, each gender had particular correlations that retained higher values: three coefficients, between prejudice and egalitarianism, between stereotypes and egalitarianism, and between external attribution and stereotypes, had higher correlations for females than they did for males. However, other coefficients were greater for males than for females. Third, we recognized the diversity and density of the relationships underlying the predictors of support for AAPs. As shown in Figure 8, males had more diverse relationships between predictors than did females, shown in Figure 7. The predictors for females had an average of 1.16 (=the number of relationships; predictors in the correlation map=7/6) relationships with others, whereas the predictors for males had an average of 1.8 relationships (=13/7). Moreover, on the correlation map for females, stereotypes and egalitarianism took on a structural role, which means that they had more relationships with other predictors. However, for males external attribution and discriminatory culture played the structural role.

Summary and Implications

Even though many studies on AAPs have contributed to learning about their determinants and the nature of support for them, there are few comprehensive and integrated analyses in which the heterogeneous variable and causal mechanisms have been considered under an integrated model. Among the dominant affirmative action studies, there are four parallel perspectives of gender studies, political science, psychology, and sociology. Because these have not been consolidated into a more comprehensive and integrated model, we tested not only a more integrated model, but also causal mechanisms, such as the effect of mediation, moderation, and internal causal interactions among predictors. Empirical results based on a large

sample of workers revealed the following findings:

First, based on hierarchical regression testing, the four dimensions (gender, politics, psychological factors, and social structure) each have a niche to explain support for AAPs. Moreover, we know the comparative power of explanation of each of the four factors and the eight variables. In particular, in comparing the standardized coefficients in regression, it appeared that gender was a critical factor in explaining support for AAPs, followed by political interest, external attribution, and prejudice. In the full model, gender, self-interest, egalitarianism, and external attribution had positive impact on support for AAPs whereas prejudice, stereotypes, and public sector affected it negatively.

Second, when specifically examining the effect of gender, we found it had a powerful impact on changing the structure of the determinants. Moreover, gender intervened in the relationships between other predictors and outcome variables; although the culture of stereotypes/discrimination influences the support given, it depends on gender. This was evident in that females expressed more support for AAPs than did males, given the same culture of stereotypes/discrimination. In addition, each negative stereotype and the public sector showed statistically significant negative impact regarding support for the AAPs only in the case of females. In terms of each predictor's explained variance, females and males showed a different order.

Third, we screened the relationships between predictors comprehensively, particularly focusing on the mediation, moderation, and causal relationships among predictors. In interaction terms, four terms out of 28 had significant explanation power: stereotypes \times egalitarianism, public sector \times stereotypes, public sector \times external attribution, and discriminatory culture \times external attribution. Following the logical step, this means that public sector, discriminatory culture, and egalitarianism were not only independent variables but also moderators. However, this varying role of specific variables should be examined in future empirical research.

Next, in the mediation process, out of 42 models, 34 showed significant mediating effects, among which two models showed full mediation and 32 showed partial mediation. Although such causal mechanisms need more examination using theoretical or statistical methods, they provide for various possible relationships between predictors and outcomes. When we examined inner causal relationships among predictors, gender provided the fundamental context that influenced causal relationships between predictors. Moreover, we recognized the diversity and density in the underlying relationships between predictors of AAP support.

Based on the four factors discussed in this study, we determined the niche or comparative power of explanation that theoretical concepts used by different disciplines have and the new mediation and moderation effects that existing studies have dismissed. We demonstrated that more comprehensive and integrated approaches can contribute to carving out an entangled causal structure and mechanism for AAP support.

These findings lead to the following implications. First, attitudes toward AAPs have many comprehensive causes and varied causal mechanisms. The more complicated the intervention by various predictors, the wider the demand for theoretical and methodological views covering various topics, such as gender, politics, psychological factors, and social structure. Hence, more integrated theoretical models or approaches across different disciplines are required. Similarly, after reviewing the research on prejudice, Quillian (2006) concluded that discrimination, racism, and prejudice, largely addressed by psychologists, should be incorporated into sociological accounts as well.

Second, the results regarding causal mechanisms suggest that support for AAPs is not a direct output from independent variables but a process outcome from interactive relationships between variables. Apparent variability in support for affirmative action may also be a function of variation in how attitudes operate (Crosby et al., 2006: 595). This implies that attitudes toward AAPs are compli-

cated, which require researchers to consider the various factors together. Moreover, to address the more complicated relationships between predictors, we should proceed with further studies, incorporating both more logical deliberation and more theoretical validation.

Third, from the practical viewpoint of managing AAPs in organizations, management efforts to increase support for AAPs need a more comprehensive or balanced approach. For example, managing political interests is different from managing psychological stereotypes; the former are related to the exchange of interests between stakeholders, whereas the latter relate to changes in cognitive structure. Moreover, if there are different paths and variables in the course of effecting support for AAPs, we should account for a mix of diverse public management efforts that cover various possible solutions and that consider moderation, mediation, and causal interactions.

Research about affirmative action is closely related to arguments supported by liberal feminism. The latter has argued that there should be no discrimination against women since there are no biologically-based differences between men and women. People, regardless of their sex, should have equal opportunity to prove themselves. If there are any systems that bolster the unequal treatment of women, they should be gotten rid of. Law and regulation should set up the foundation for gender equality in the public sphere. Liberal feminism thus stresses the role of the state and political rights for protecting individual rights, in particular of women (Levy, 2002). It has supported affirmative action because this can correct the unfair discrimination that exists in male-dominant society. Affirmative action both corrects existing unfair treatment and gives women equal opportunity in the future. The support for it is a basic foundation for introducing and enforcing these.

Affirmative action is particularly important for Asian countries, because they have maintained a patriarchal paternalistic culture for a long time. Some of these countries have been influenced by Confucianism, stressing the hierarchical order of human society.

Chinese culture has always assumed that “man” and “woman” are socially constructed categories (Brownell & Wasserstrom, 2002). As the male had precedence over the female, the inferiority of women was socially accepted and social practice was developed on this basis (Jayawardena, 1986). According to the UN’s Human Development Reports, Asian countries as per the Gender Inequality Index (GII), did not rank among the highest: Japan: 21st, Korea: 27th, China: 35th, Viet Nam: 48th, Nepal: 102nd, and Bangladesh: 111th. As patriarchal culture has simply overlooked many qualified women applicants, there is an imbalanced ratio between men and women. Many Asian women have suffered social and economic discrimination. However, in Asia, it is not easy to introduce affirmative action programs because of the overwhelming traditionalism of its patriarchal cultures. Hence, several attempts at introducing affirmative action have been made recently to reduce discrimination based on gender and to mitigate the effects of past discrimination (Kim & Yoo, 2010). However, introducing affirmative action is not all. To ensure substantial outcomes in a given society, efforts for affirmative action should focus on attitudes toward discriminatory practices and behaviors.

Our research has several limitations, including those that we did not consider as relevant variations and options for the AAPs themselves. Different AAP alternatives can change attitudes, for example, Kravitz and Platania (1993) found that recruitment, training, and attention to qualifications of applicants were favored, whereas discrimination, quotas, and preferential treatment were opposed. Second, as our study has focused on exploring diverse relationships rather than testing a specific hypothesis, our research results need further elaboration in the future.

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Abstract in Korean

본 연구의 목적은 적극적 고용평등프로그램(AAPs: Affirmative Action Programs)에 대한 지지에 영향을 미치는 결정요인과 관련된 기제를 탐구하는 데 있다. 조직내 여성들의 삶의 질을 제고하고 적극적 고용평등과 관련된 프로그램을 관리하기 위해서는 적극적 고용평등 지지에 대한 지식과 연구가 필요하다. 기존에 이에 대한 연구가 존재하지만 특정 이론적 시각에서 연구하고 있다는 한계가 있다. 본 연구에서는 젠더, 정치적 요소, 심리적 요소, 사회적 구조 등 4개의 요소가 적극적 평등 지지에 미치는 영향을 분석한다. 이들 네 요소는 다시 8개의 변수로 구체화된다. 아울러 본 연구는 이들 변수들간 인과관계와 조절, 매개와 관련된 인과기제의 다양한 측면을 분석한다. 본 연구는 적극적 평등을 지지하는데 있어 네 가지 요소들이 가지는 상대적 설명력, 이들이 가진 조절, 매개, 인과적 효과를 파악했다는 데 의의가 있다.

Keywords

적극적 고용평등 프로그램; 젠더; 차별