

# A Matching Hypothesis for the Activity Level of Actions Involved in Attitude–Behavior Consistency

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## Abstract

Two studies examined a matching hypothesis: Attitudes predict behaviors better when they both involve the same rather than different levels of attitude-relevant action activity. In Study 1, participants listed actions they might take toward gay men and immediately reported their attitudes. One to two weeks later, their reported attitudes were more predictive of behaviors that matched than mismatched the activity level of their listed actions. In Study 2, participants were randomly assigned to make decisions about either active or passive actions toward gay men just before they reported their attitudes. One to two weeks later, their reported attitudes better predicted behaviors that matched than mismatched the type of attitude-relevant action that had been made salient. The results support the importance to attitude–behavior consistency of matching attitude-relevant actions and behavioral measures on activity level, and the utility of considering both positivity and activity level in studies of attitude–behavior consistency.

## Keywords

attitudes, attitude–behavior consistency, matching hypothesis, actions, activity

On February 24, 2011, President Obama announced that he opposed gay marriage, but that his administration would not actively defend an anti-gay marriage law in court. Many politicians and pundits criticized the apparent inconsistency between his stated opinion and his behavior. If he actually opposed gay marriage, they argued, then why was he not actively defending the anti-gay marriage law? One answer to this criticism is that it overlooks the distinction between active and passive behaviors. Doing nothing to overturn a law may not be as active as defending it in court, but even such a passive response might still be considered consistent with opposition to gay marriage.

Previous studies have examined many factors that affect the correspondence between stated attitudes and subsequent behaviors (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Eagly & Chaiken, 1993; Lord & Lepper, 1999; Zanna & Rempel, 1988). One such moderator involves the extent to which the attitude measure and the measure of behavior match on important dimensions. The relationship between attitudes and behavior (the predictive power of attitudes) tends to be greater when the attitude measure and the measure of behavior match than mismatch on such dimensions as their specificity (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977), affective and cognitive attitude components (Millar & Tesser, 1992), affect and overall evaluation (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998), and the type of emotions involved (Seitz, Lord, & Taylor, 2007)—a principle known as “compatibility” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993) or the

“matching hypothesis” (Millar & Tesser, 1992). The present studies examined an additional dimension on which match matter—the *activity* level of the actions involved. Specifically, the present studies tested the novel hypothesis that attitudes will predict behaviors better when they both involve the same rather than different levels of attitude-relevant action activity.

## The Matching Hypothesis

The matching hypothesis states that attitude–behavior consistency is greater when the dimensions of judgment that are salient when respondents answer a general attitude question match rather than mismatch the dimensions that are involved in the behavioral measure. In numerous studies, for example, Wilson and his colleagues (Wilson, Dunn, Bybee, Hyman, & Rotundo, 1984; Wilson, Dunn, Kraft, & Lisle, 1989) made relatively

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cognitive dimensions of judgment temporarily salient, when respondents were answering general attitude questions, by asking participants to list reasons for liking or disliking the attitude object. Wilson and colleagues (1984, 1989) found that this manipulation decreased correspondence between attitudes and behavior because it focused participants' attention more than it would otherwise be on cognitive as opposed to affective dimensions of the attitude object at the time when they were reporting their attitudes. The behavioral measure was not affected (Wilson et al., 1989), but the attitudes that participants reported were less likely to reflect their behavioral choices, which were based on both cognitive and affective considerations.

In support of Wilson et al.'s (1989) findings, Millar and Tesser (1986, 1989, 1992) varied both the dimension that was salient when participants reported their attitudes and the type of behavioral measure that was used. Participants in their studies were reminded of either cognitive or affective aspects of the attitude object (specific puzzles) at the time when they reported their attitudes, and later got an opportunity to do the puzzles either for fun (an affective/"consumatory" behavioral measure) or to practice for a test (a cognitive/"instrumental" behavioral measure). The matching hypothesis was supported, because the attitude-behavior relationship was greater when the dimension made salient for the attitude measure (relatively affective or cognitive) matched than mismatched the dimension involved in the behavioral measure.

In addition, studies have tested the matching hypothesis both by experimentally manipulating the salience of a dimension when participants report their attitudes (e.g., Millar & Tesser, 1986; Seitz et al., 2007) and using participants for whom one dimension or another was known to be chronically salient (Seitz et al., 2007). No previous study, however, has tested the matching hypothesis as it might apply to the *activity level* of attitude-relevant actions.

## Activity Level of Actions

Researchers who have studied actions in other contexts have consistently found that actions can be described along at least two prominent dimensions. Actions, like other constructs, differ both in their positivity and in their activity level (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). Some actions are relatively active and others are relatively passive. Active attitude-relevant actions are typically defined as overt, explicit, and effortful behaviors toward an attitude object, whereas passive actions are covert, less effortful, and less directed (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). Helping another person and being understanding are both positive, but helping is more active than understanding. Ostracizing another person and ignoring him are both negative, but ostracizing is more active than ignoring.

Factor analytic studies of interpersonal actions have consistently identified two major dimensions (Foa, 1961; Lorr & McNair, 1965; Pincus, Gurtman, & Ruiz, 1998). Both Bierman (1969) and Chance (1966) labeled these two dimensions positive-negative and active-passive. Other researchers have used approximately synonymous labels such

as facilitation-harm, love-hate, and dominate-submit to describe the two basic dimensions of actions (Cuddy et al., 2007; Kiesler, 1983; Leary, 1957). The positive-negative and active-passive dimensions have emerged in studies of parents interacting with their children (Duncan & Biddle, 1974), spouses interacting with each other (Schaefer & Burnett, 1987), therapists interacting with their clients (Benjamin, 1974), and many other types of social interaction (Leary, 1957). In addition, group stereotypes are known to involve both a warm-cold and a competent-incompetent dimension that seem very similar to positivity and activity level (Cuddy et al., 2007). No previous studies, however, have tested the possible role of action activity in moderating the relationship between attitudes and behaviors.

## The Present Studies

Previous studies of attitude-behavior consistency have focused almost exclusively on an action's positivity and not on its activity level. The present studies deviated from that tradition by testing whether the activity level of attitude-relevant actions might be an important dimension for the matching hypothesis—an important moderator of attitude-behavior consistency. The overall prediction was that the relationship between reported attitudes and subsequent behaviors would be greater when the activity level of attitude-relevant actions that was salient for the attitude measures matched rather than mismatched the activity level of actions involved in the behavioral measure.

Study 1 tested this overall prediction by assessing the extent to which participants who had relatively active or passive actions chronically salient for a specific attitude object would display greater attitude-behavior consistency 1–2 weeks later on behavioral measures that involved either active or passive actions. Study 2 took an experimental rather than correlational approach by manipulating the temporary salience of either active or passive actions when attitudes were measured, and 1–2 weeks later providing the same participants with some behavioral opportunities that matched and other behavioral opportunities that mismatched that type of action.

## Study 1

To test the overall hypothesis in Study 1, it was necessary to determine the extent to which individual participants spontaneously associated active versus passive actions with their attitudes toward a specific attitude object. That research goal was accomplished by asking participants a single question about their general attitudes toward gay men, and then immediately asking them to list up to five actions that they associated with those attitudes. Other participants rated the listed actions on activity level. One to two weeks later, the original participants were given opportunities to behave in four active and four passive ways toward a specific gay man. The matching hypothesis prediction was that the correspondence between reported attitudes and subsequent behavior would be greater on whichever set of

behaviors matched than mismatched the types of actions (active or passive) that individual participants had earlier said they associated with their attitudes toward gay men.

### Method

**Participants.** Two hundred seventy-six college students (104 men and 172 women) participated for course credit.<sup>1</sup>

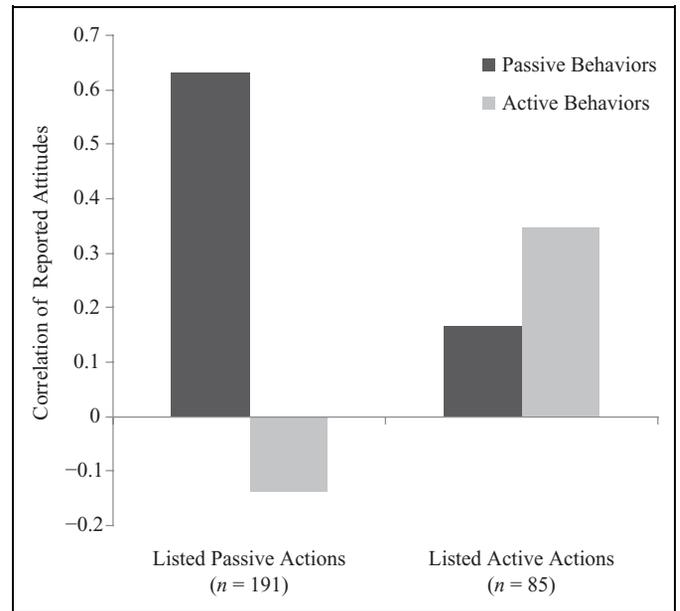
**Procedure.** As part of a large questionnaire, all participants reported their attitudes toward gay men on scales from  $-3 = \text{very negative}$  to  $+3 = \text{very positive}$ , and listed up to five actions that they associated with their attitudes toward gay men. An additional 76 college students rated each listed action on its activity level, on scales from  $1 = \text{very passive}$  to  $7 = \text{very active}$ . Mean ratings of the listed actions were used to calculate a separate activity level score for each participant.<sup>2</sup>

One to two weeks later, participants in the main study read about several transfer students, one of whom was openly gay and said to be representative of his group. The participants were asked to rate how willing they would be to engage in eight different behaviors toward each transfer student and the group that he represented. Four of the behaviors were (according to pretest ratings) relatively active: sign petitions for versus against, volunteer for versus against, raise money for versus against, attempt to get versus keep from jobs. The other four of the behaviors were (according to pretest ratings) relatively passive: give approving versus disapproving looks, smile at versus frown at, pay attention to versus ignore, and treat the same as versus different from others. These eight behaviors have all been used frequently in previous studies of attitude–behavior consistency (for review and meta-analysis, see Wallace, Paulson, Lord, & Bond, 2005). Participants were told that they might be called on to perform these behaviors later in the semester. Then they rated their willingness to perform each behavior toward each transfer student, on scales from  $1 = \text{not at all willing}$  to  $7 = \text{very willing}$ . They were then debriefed and thanked for their participation.

### Results and Discussion

Participants who had listed actions that averaged below the midpoint on the activity scale were classified as relatively passive ( $n = 191$ ) and those who had listed actions that averaged above the midpoint on the activity scale were classified as relatively active ( $n = 85$ ). Ratings of the eight behaviors were subjected to a factor analysis with varimax rotation that yielded two factors, with the four active behaviors loading on one factor and the four passive behaviors loading on the other factor. As a result, ratings of willingness to perform the four active behaviors were averaged ( $\alpha = .883$ ), as were ratings of willingness to perform the four passive behaviors ( $\alpha = .888$ ).

Figure 1 shows correlations between participants' reported attitudes toward gay men and their mean willingness to enact the four passive behaviors, and the four active behaviors, toward the gay transfer student. For participants who had listed relatively passive actions associated with their attitudes toward



**Figure 1.** Correlations of reported attitudes with active and passive behaviors, for participants who had earlier listed relatively active or passive actions that they associated with their attitudes (Study 1).

gay men, attitude–behavior correlations were greater on the passive behaviors ( $r = .631$ ) than on the active behaviors ( $r = -.137$ ),  $z = 12.08$ ,  $p < .0001$ . For participants who had listed relatively active actions associated with their attitudes toward gay men, in contrast, attitude–behavior correlations were greater on the active behaviors ( $r = .348$ ) than on the passive behaviors ( $r = .166$ ),  $z = 1.77$ ,  $p < .05$ .<sup>3</sup> For all participants, attitude–behavior consistency was significantly greater on whichever type of behavior (active or passive) matched ( $r = .536$ ) than mismatched ( $r = .104$ ) the type of actions they had listed when they reported their attitudes,  $z = 8.13$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

In addition to using a median split to examine correlation coefficients for different categories of participants, researchers can also take a regression approach by calculating how congruent versus discrepant each participant's behavior was from his or her attitude when attitude and behavior are expressed on a common metric (e.g., McIntyre, Paulson, Lord, & Lepper, 2004; Zhou, Wang, Dovidio, & Yu, 2009). Two discrepancy scores were calculated for each participant by taking the absolute difference between the participant's standardized attitude and standardized willingness to perform the four active behaviors, as well as the absolute difference between the participant's standardized attitude and standardized willingness to perform the four passive behaviors. In a regression analysis, the activity level of participants' listed actions (treated as a continuous variable) significantly predicted the difference between (standardized) attitude–active action discrepancies and (standardized) attitude–passive action discrepancies,  $\beta = .206$ ,  $b = .224$  ( $SE = .064$ ),  $t(274) = 3.49$ ,  $p < .001$ .<sup>4</sup>

Both the correlations that were based on a median split, and the regression analysis that treated activity level as a

continuous variable, supported the matching hypothesis for activity level of attitude-relevant actions. These results, however, were correlational, and might have resulted from numerous unmeasured third variables that happened to correlate with the relationship between activity level of listed actions and active-passive behaviors. Study 2 was designed to *manipulate* activity level of the actions that were temporarily salient when participants reported their attitudes, causing relatively active attitude-relevant actions to become temporarily salient for some participants and relatively passive attitude-relevant actions to become temporarily salient for others.

## Study 2

To test the overall hypothesis in a different way in Study 2, it was necessary to develop a reliable manipulation that could be used to make either active or passive actions temporarily salient in relation to a specific attitude object. Such a manipulation was developed and pretested to be sure that when it was administered just prior to a general attitude question about gay men, it continued to make either active or passive actions differentially salient until after the general attitude question had been answered. Then that manipulation was given to randomly selected participants to render either active or passive actions temporarily salient while they reported their attitudes toward gay men. One to two weeks later (presumably long enough for effects of the manipulation to have dissipated), these participants were given the same active and passive behavioral opportunities toward a gay man as had been used in Study 1. The matching hypothesis prediction was that the correspondence between reported attitudes and subsequent behavior would be greater on whichever set of behaviors matched than mismatched the types of actions (active or passive) that had been made temporarily salient during the earlier attitude measure.

## Method

**Materials.** To make either active or passive actions temporarily salient in connection specifically with gay men, it was necessary to develop an experimental manipulation in which participants would be asked questions about the link between one type of action, themselves, and gay men. Asking about just two of those three elements (self, action, and gay men) would not suffice. The manipulation of choice was to present participants with a list of either entirely active actions (above the midpoint of the activity rating scale used in Study 1) or entirely passive actions (below the midpoint of the activity rating scale in Study 1), and ask, for each action, whether the participant had ever performed that action toward one or more gay men. It would not presumably matter what they answered (because none of those specific actions would be involved in the behavioral measure of Study 2), as long as they contemplated several possible self-action-gay men connections. The idea was to develop a manipulation of action salience that was conceptually analogous to previous manipulations in studies of the matching hypothesis (e.g., Millar & Tesser, 1989).

The manipulation consisted of two action lists (one active and one passive). The nonredundant active and passive actions generated by participants in Study 1, which had been rated on activity level by other students, were used to form the two action lists. Examples of active actions were “have a rally for them” ( $M$  activity on 1–7 scale = 6.88), “date them” ( $M$  activity = 6.50), and “beat them up” ( $M$  activity = 6.96). Examples of passive actions were “say hello” ( $M$  activity = 2.79), “take them for who they are” ( $M$  activity = 2.58), and “not stand close to them” ( $M$  activity = 2.46).<sup>5</sup>

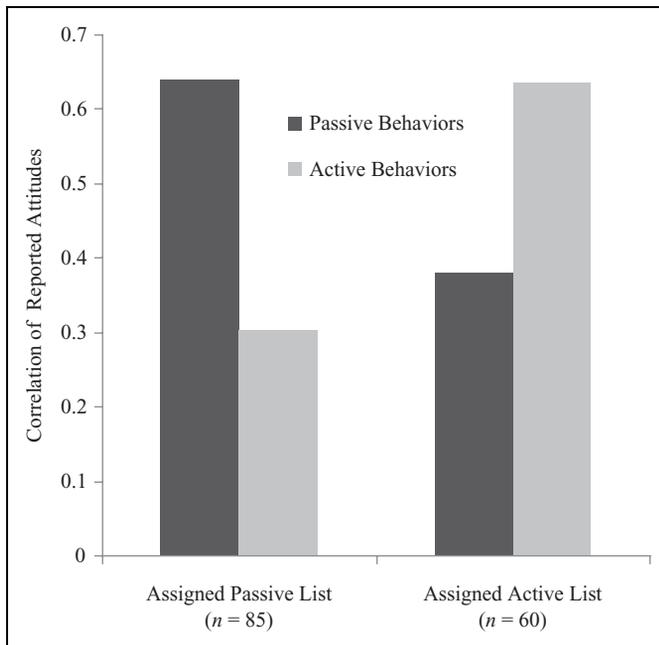
Thirty-one pretest participants were randomly assigned to read a list of actions that had been rated above the midpoint of the activity rating scale in Study 1; 30 other pretest participants were randomly assigned to read a list of actions that had been rated below the midpoint of the activity rating scale in Study 1. All pretest participants were asked to read their complete list of actions, and then to circle the actions from that list that they had ever taken toward gay men. They were then asked to report their attitudes toward gay men on scales from  $-5$  (*very negative*) to  $+5$  (*very positive*). Immediately after reviewing and circling either passive or active actions and reporting their attitudes, pretest participants were asked to complete a lexical decision task on a computer. As each of 120 letter strings were displayed, one at a time on the computer screen, they were asked to answer as quickly as possible whether the string of letters constituted a word or a nonword. Sixty of the letter strings were words and 60 were nonwords. Of the 60 words presented, 30 were one-word active actions (e.g., promote, socialize, attack, and insult) and 30 were one-word passive actions (e.g., greet, condone, ignore, and snub). None of these action words, however, had been on either the active action lists or passive action lists that had been used in the manipulation.

Participants first contemplated the action lists, then reported their attitudes, and then did the lexical decision task. For the manipulation to be deemed successful at making either active or passive attitude-relevant actions salient *during* the attitude reports, participants would have to respond more quickly, on the lexical decision task that followed the attitude reports, to action words of whichever type (active or passive) had been on their list. The manipulation passed this test. Participants answered reliably faster on the action words that matched ( $M$  RT = 621.62 ms,  $SD$  = 107.56) than mismatched ( $M$  RT = 647.16,  $SD$  = 113.48) the activity level of the list they had been given,  $F(1, 59) = 13.88, p < .001$ .

**Participants.** One hundred forty-five college students (58 men and 87 women, none of whom had been in either Study 1 or the pretest) participated for course credit.

**Procedure.** In a first session, participants were randomly assigned to review and contemplate either the list of active actions toward gay men ( $n = 60$ ) or the list of passive actions toward gay men ( $n = 85$ ) and then immediately to report their attitudes toward gay men, exactly as the pretest participants had done.

In a second session, 1–2 weeks later, participants read the same materials as in Study 1 for transfer students, were told that they might be called on to perform the behaviors later in the



**Figure 2.** Correlations of reported attitudes with active and passive behaviors, for participants who had earlier read lists of either active or passive actions and circled ones that they associated with their attitudes (Study 2).

semester, and indicated their willingness to perform the same four passive and four active behaviors toward each transfer student. After completing these measures, participants were debriefed and thanked for their participation.

### Results and Discussion

Figure 2 shows correlations between participants' reported attitudes toward gay men and their mean willingness to perform the four passive behaviors, and the four active behaviors, toward the gay transfer student. Participants who had reviewed actions from a list that contained only passive actions at the time when they reported their attitudes displayed greater attitude-behavior correlations 1–2 weeks later on the passive behaviors ( $r = .640$ ) than on the active behaviors ( $r = .305$ ),  $z = 4.01, p < .001$ . Participants who had reviewed actions from a list that contained only active actions at the time when they reported their attitudes, in contrast, displayed greater attitude-behavior correlations 1–2 weeks later on the active behaviors ( $r = .636$ ) than on the passive behaviors ( $r = .379$ ),  $z = 2.66, p < .01$ . For all participants, attitude-behavior correlations were higher on whichever behaviors (active or passive) matched ( $r = .587$ ) than mismatched ( $r = .304$ ) the activity level of actions on the lists that they had reviewed when they reported their attitudes,  $z = 4.28, p < .001$ .

To keep the analyses of the two studies parallel, two discrepancy scores were calculated for each participant by taking the absolute difference between the participant's standardized attitude and standardized willingness to perform the four active behaviors, as well as the absolute difference between the participant's standardized attitude and standardized willingness

to perform the four passive behaviors. These discrepancy scores were subjected to a 2 (Type of actions: active, passive)  $\times$  2 (Type of behavior: active, passive) mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA), with type of actions between-participants and type of behavior within-participants. The ANOVA yielded the predicted significant interaction,  $F(1, 143) = 19.08, p < .001$ .<sup>6</sup>

Discrepancy scores on the active behaviors were lower (greater attitude-behavior consistency) for participants who had reviewed a list of active actions when reporting their attitudes ( $M = 0.66, SD = 0.64$ ) than for participants who had reviewed a list of passive actions when reporting their attitudes ( $M = 0.92, SD = 0.74$ ), simple effects,  $F(1, 143) = 4.62, p = .033$ . In contrast, discrepancy scores on the passive behaviors were lower (greater attitude-behavior consistency) for participants who had reviewed a list of passive actions when reporting their attitudes ( $M = 0.65, SD = 0.57$ ) than for participants who had reviewed a list of active actions when reporting their attitudes ( $M = 0.88, SD = 0.59$ ), simple effects,  $F(1, 143) = 5.45, p = .02$ .

### General Discussion

The two studies provided convergent evidence, from both a correlational and an experimental approach, for a matching hypothesis regarding the activity level of attitude-relevant actions. In Study 1, participants who spontaneously listed either active or passive actions as associated with their attitudes toward gay men later displayed greater attitude-behavior consistency on behavioral measures toward a gay man that matched than mismatched the activity level of the actions they had listed when reporting their attitudes 1–2 weeks earlier. In Study 2, participants were randomly assigned to make decisions about either active or passive actions toward gay men as their attitudes were being measured—a manipulation shown in a pretest to render that type of action temporarily more salient. One to two weeks later, the same participants behaved more in line with their earlier reported attitudes toward gay men (and only gay men) on behavioral measures that matched than mismatched the type of actions toward gay men that they had earlier been assigned to consider. The parallel results of these two studies inspired further confidence in the matching hypothesis for attitude-relevant action activity, in that attitudes predict behaviors better when they involve the same levels of attitude-relevant action activity.

The results both supported the matching hypothesis (Millar & Tesser, 1992) and suggested that activity level of actions is an important dimension to be taken into account when it comes to predicting behaviors from attitudes. Even though Osgood et al. (1957) and others (Bierman, 1969; Chance, 1966; Foa, 1961; Lorr & McNair, 1965) had identified action activity level as a dimension of meaning that is almost as important as positivity, previous studies of attitude-behavior consistency have focused almost entirely on the positivity of attitude-relevant actions rather than their activity level. The one possible exception to the neglect of activity level has come from studies of the

ease versus difficulty with which the behaviors in studies of attitude–behavior consistency can be performed. Schultz and Oskamp (1996; see also Bagozzi, Yi, & Baumgartner, 1990; Diekmann & Preisendörfer, 1998) argued that attitude–behavior consistency would be greater on easy than difficult behaviors. This principle was conceptually supported in a meta-analysis of more than 1,000 effect sizes (Wallace et al., 2005).

Not all the empirical evidence, however, supports this idea. Kaiser and Schultz (2009) found a curvilinear relationship such that attitude–behavior consistency was lower on extremely easy or extremely difficult behaviors than it was on behaviors that were moderately difficult to perform. If activity level of attitude-relevant actions could be assumed to be conceptually similar to their ease versus difficulty (an assumption that seems logical but has not been tested empirically), then the present studies add the important new information that neither active (relatively difficult) nor passive (relatively easy) behaviors are guaranteed to produce better attitude–behavior consistency. Instead, attitude–behavior consistency is moderated by the extent of match between the type of attitude-relevant action that is salient when attitudes are measured and the type of attitude-relevant action that is required by the behavioral measure. Participants presumably behaved no differently regardless of which type of action was salient during the previous attitude measure (Wilson et al., 1989), but the attitudes that they reported were different depending on the type of action that was either chronically salient for the individual, or made temporarily salient by the context.

The present results, and results from earlier studies of the matching hypothesis, are consistent with numerous demonstrations of context effects in attitude measurement (Schwarz & Sudman, 1996). Participants in previous studies have given very different answers to the same general attitude questions depending on what types of thoughts or dimensions of comparison were made salient just before they answered (Schwarz, 2009; Schwarz & Oyserman, 2011; Strack & Schwarz, 2007). The results of the present Study 2, then, might be seen as a further demonstration of context effects in attitude measurement, in that participants presumably reported somewhat different general attitudes toward gay men (better calibrated to active vs. passive behavioral opportunities) after having had active versus passive actions made temporarily salient in connection with gay men. The present studies made a contribution to previous demonstrations of context effects by assessing not just changes in the positivity of reported attitudes, but also the extent to which attitude reports were congruent with responses to different types of behavioral opportunities that occurred 1–2 weeks later.

As suggested in the introduction, critics who accused President Obama of attitude–behavior inconsistency ought to have considered the possibility that the actions Obama spontaneously connected with his stated opposition to gay marriage did not include anything as active as mounting a vigorous legal defense of an anti-gay marriage law. Several participants in the present Study 1 claimed to oppose gay men but linked only

passive actions (e.g., “ignore them”) with their attitudes. When these participants were later asked how willing they would be to perform behaviors like raising money to fight against gay men and keeping gay men from getting jobs, it is not surprising that their reported attitudes did not predict these very active behaviors very well. When it comes to attitude-relevant actions, the distinction between active and passive types of actions suggests that consistency may be less in the eye of the beholder than in the mind of the person who states an attitude and is later asked to perform what seems *to others* like a relevant behavior.

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### Notes

1. Participant sex had no effect on the results to be reported in either Study 1 or 2.
2. Consistent with previous research (Osgood et al., 1957), ratings of activity level were independent of rated positivity ( $r = .03$ , *ns*). Actions and their ratings are available from the authors on request.
3. Overall, attitude–behavior consistency was greater on passive than active behavioral measures, which was conceptually consistent with previous findings that attitudes are better at predicting behaviors that are relatively easy than difficult to perform (Wallace et al., 2005).
4. This analysis remained significant when controlling for initial attitude positivity,  $t(273) = 6.01$ ,  $p < .001$ , or initial attitude extremity,  $t(273) = 2.65$ ,  $p < .01$ .
5. The active list had more actions (177) than did the passive list (124) because participants in Study 1 had generated more nonredundant active actions (i.e., more nonredundant actions that pretest participants rated to the “active” side of the scale midpoint). Splitting at the median rating instead of the scale midpoint would have resulted in calling some actions “passive” when pretest participants had clearly labeled them “active.” The two lists did not differ in proportion of positive actions (.49 active list; .47 passive list),  $z = .34$ , *ns*.
6. Participants answered the same behavioral intention questions for two other transfer students—one a former substance abuser and the other a former mental patient. When congruency scores for these two attitudes were subjected to Type of Action  $\times$  Type of Behavior ANOVAs, the interaction terms were not significant (both  $F_s < 1$ ). The gay men action list manipulation did not make participants behave more consistently with their attitudes toward other groups, but only toward gay men.

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