Just Say NO."

The Impact of Negation in Survey Research

Marci Morrow Enos

egation may win elections, but it creates misunderstandings in survey research. Accusations of "negative campaigning" and "negative advertising" abound in political races. The implica tion is that candidates who use negativity take unfair advan tage, since it grabs the public's attention. Negativity made headlines in the Republican presidential primary in South Carolina when Senator John McCain blamed his loss on Governor George W. Bush's

"negative message of fear" (Berke, 2000, February 20).

My story is about negation's effects - not in politics, but in survey research. Long ago I was involved in the development of questionnaires to elicit students' attitudes toward school. The questionnaire items were thoughtfully chosen and closely targeted but, when the results were analyzed by Rasch methodology (Rasch, 1993/1960), a disturbing pattern emerged. The response format used four categories. Positive and negative items were included. Everything was done according to standard research methods. Negative items, which asked about the "bad" aspects of the attitudes examined, were reversed coded so that the respondent's reactions would be "in line" with their responses to the positive items. The problem emerged when the scales were analyzed with Rasch methodology. Many of the negative items misfit and were found to be measuring a variable different from the positive items.

This experience stuck with me and has led me to investigate this phenomenon. Social scientists should try to be as smart as politicians. Politicians understand the unique power of negation. Social scientists seem to think it is just affirmation flipped over!

Abuse of the Positive and Misuse of the Negative

The once popular concept of self-esteem has taken a beating in recent years. A New York Times article (Johnson, 1998, May 5) criticized a self-esteem survey instrument (Rosenberg, 1979) used in a study of educational change in the California school system. Educators and researchers expressed disappointment in the project. The results did not yield the expected correlations with aptitude and achievement and, therefore, could not predict the direction of academic progress.



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The whole idea of "self-esteem" was called into question.

While conceding that the self-esteem studies may have suffered "distortions in how self-esteem statistics had been gathered," the Times article cites several prominent educators who bash self-esteem as a construct:

- Research [indicates] that esteem is not in and of itself a strong predictor of success. The idea that high self-esteem is the exclusive province of those with admirable achievements has been rejected.
- Questions have been raised about the size of [self-esteem] effects and the direction of effects and whether in fact it's a mixed blessing to even have high self-esteem.
- Criminals and juvenile delinquents . . . often have high self-esteem.
- Self-esteem . . . mutated instead into a kind of crutch that explains . . . low achievement.

The baby was being pitched out with the bath water. The belief that the constellation of ideas and opinions we have about ourselves shapes how we behave makes sense. These ideas, under a variety of names – self-image, self-esteem, identity, ego, self awareness or self-concept – have long been used by human behavior researchers such as Bloom (1976), Brookover (1964), Coopersmith (1967), Epps (1969), Purkey (1970), and Rosenberg (1965). What was wrong? I reexamined the Rosenberg Scale to find out why this instrument did not lead to useful results.

Raw scores were used in the computation of esteem scores. But raw scores are not linear (Wright & Stone, 1979), and perhaps that was the problem. The inches on a yardstick tive items to carry the weight of self-esteem on their backs.

The Rosenberg directions say to score the negative items in the opposite direction from the positive and add them to the positive scale. Social science research has long utilized this positive plus reversed negative strategy to combat a "mind set" in the respondents. Wright and Masters (1982), citing Angell (1907), discuss this practice of constructing attitude measures from equal numbers of positive and negative statements—done with the hope of "balancing out" the effects of individual response styles. Wright and Masters show us that this strategy does not correct the problem. It is more important is to discover whether all items "provide consistent information about a person's attitude before combining them to obtain a single attitude for that person" (p. 135).

Why Isn't Negative the Opposite of Positive?

In *De Anima*, Aristotle wrote that "knowledge of the soul admittedly contributes greatly to the advance of truth in general and, above all, to our understanding of Nature" and noted further that "to attain any assured knowledge about the soul is one of the most difficult things in the world" (McKeon, 1973, p. 155).

We test designers, attempting to understand our "souls," face this difficult task when we develop survey instruments. We devise affirmative statements, targeted on our variable, which we expect respondents high in the trait will affirm. Our dream is that our respondents will treat the negative statements in a manner consistent with the way they affirm positive statements. If they "mildly agree" with a positive state-

are useful only because each inch is the same as the one before it and the one after. One yardstick is like another. My height is the same using my yardstick and the one at my doctor's office. Because of this uniformity, my height is predictable.

Perhaps the Rosenberg Scale (Table 1) is too abbreviated. It has only ten questions. Five of them are worded positively. This may be too few to delineate such a complex variable.

When we intend to develop a linear variable, it is important to use a range of items. The scale should include some easy items, some a bit more challenging, and some that are hard. It is unrealistic to expect only five posiTable 1 Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

- 1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
- 2. At times I think I am no good at all.
- 3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
- 4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
- 5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
- 6. I certainly feel useless at times.
- 7. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least the equal of others.
- 8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
- 9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
- 10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

Scoring directions state:

Half the questions are phrased positively and half negatively. For the positively phrased questions...score as follows: Strongly Agree, 4 points; Agree, 3 points; Disagree, 2 points; Strongly Agree, 1 point. For the negative questions... reverse the scoring so that strongly agree is worth one point and so on. The maximum is thus 40 points, the minimum is 10. (NYT, 1998)

ment, they will "mildly disagree" with its opposite. Were this to happen, a smooth, linear variable would emerge when positives and reversed negatives are added together. Rasch analysis shows this does not happen.

This analysis reveals that to say "No" to a statement is not the equivalent of saying "Yes" to its opposite. If I should strongly reject the statement, "I hate you," it does not follow that I would strongly endorse the statement, "I love you," or even, "I like you." A negative statement is not the opposite of a positive one.

There is No "Just" in "Just Say No!" "No" is a big deal-an important thing to say. Ask the mother of any two-year-old. Of the many ways we try to control of our lives, an important one is our ability to refuse, to abstain, to object, to fight back, to resist, to say "No!" We don't "just" say it randomly, without some preparation, some adjustment of our mental state. Biological, developmental, linguistic, and psychological necessities are the antecedents of this behavior.

In "On Negation" (1925), Freud understands negation of a thought as a way of denying that we could have ever had that thought, thereby allowing repressed ideation to enter our consciousness. By negation, we can think about forbidden ideas.

What others might think keeps us from confessing ideas we fear would cause us shame or disapproval. We can think about forbidden ideas by denying them or by joking about them. "Thou shalt not kill," presumes our capacity for such behavior. We fear death. Yet jokingly we say, "Oh, you'll die when you hear this!" or, "I almost died when he said that!" or, "It scared me to death!"

When Less Is More: Separating Analyses

To understand negative vs. positive, I developed a longer self-esteem test from the Rosenberg items. The new test, "Thinking About Myself" (Table 2), has twenty items, ten negative and ten positive. The response format has four categories: "Strongly Disagree," "Disagree," "Agree," and "Strongly Agree."

Three forms were composed. In Form M (Table 2), the twenty negative and positive items were intermixed. In Form P, the ten positive items were given first, followed by the ten negative items. In Form N, the ten negative items were given first, followed by the ten positive items.

The forms were administered to graduate students. Some students took Form N, while others took Form P. All students took Form M, with items intermixed.

Responses from all three versions (Forms N, P, and M) were combined into one analysis. Responses were analyzed three ways: (1) responses to the 20 negative and positive items of all three forms together; (2) responses to the 10 negative items across all three forms; and (3) responses to the 10 positive items across all three forms. Because the category "Strongly Disagree" was hardly chosen for the positive items, "Strongly Disagree" and "Disagree" were combined. Responses to "Strongly Agree" and "Agree" were combined for the reversed-coded negative items.

Using the WINSTEPS computer program (Linacre, 2000) employing Rasch analysis, linear measures (logits) were constructed from raw scores. This

made it possible to compare item calibrations across questionnaire versions. The analysis of combined positive and negative items yielded the "map" of items shown in Table 3.

Table 2

New Self-Esteem Questionnaire

Thinking About Myself - Form M (Mixed)

- 1. In general, I am satisfied with myself.
- 2. I think that I am no good at all.
- 3. I see many good qualities in myself.
- 4. I can accomplish things as effectively as others.
- 5. I am not proud of myself.
- 6. I feel useless much of the time.
- 7. I know that I am a worthwhile person.
- 8. I do not have much respect for myself.
- 9. I tend to see myself as a failure.
- 10. I have a very positive attitude about myself.
- 11. There are more successes than failures in my life.
- 12. It is hard for me to feel positive about myself.
- 13. I have a strong sense of self-respect.
- 14. Sometimes I just feel worthless.
- 15. There are many important things that I do poorly.
- 16. I am a useful person.
- 17. I am very proud of who I am.
- 18. My bad qualities overshadow the good ones.
- 19. I am dissatisfied with the person I have become.
- 20. I consider myself a really good person.

Table 3 offers us a confusing story. In this WINSTEPS map, the easiest items are at the bottom, the hardest at the top. This map shows that the easiest items are negative. Re-

	Table 3
WINSTEPS Ma	p of Students' Self-Esteem Ideas
Thinkir	ng About Myself - Forms NPM
Hardest to reject :	Just feel worthless
Hardest to agree with:	+i'm useful person
	+I do poorly
	+Have Positive Attitude
	+Very proud
Moderately hard to agree with / reject:	+Accomplish things, -Not proud
	-Have bad qualities, -Not positive about self,
Moderately easy to agree with;	+Good Person, +Strong self respect
	+Satisfied w/self,
	-Dissatisfied w/self, +More successes, +Worthwhile
Easy to reject	-A failure, -Not much self respect, -Feel useless, +Good Qualities
Very easy to reject	-I'm no good

spondents found it easier to reject negative items than to affirm positive items. The very hardest item was also a negative one. It was very hard to reject feeling "Worthless," although it

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was easy to affirm being "Worthwhile." Being worthwhile was not seen as the opposite of being worthless. Only two negative items were successfully seen as the obverse of their positives: "Satisfied - Dissatisfied" and "Very proud - Not proud" which When asked later, they said the questionnaire made them feel uncomfortable by confronting them immediately with a string of negative ideas about themselves. This was an unexpected, serendipitous observation, yet in line with what we

	Table 4		Table 5		
Positive Items Only (Measure Order)		Negative Items Only (Measure Order)			
Measure	Esteem Idea	Measure	Esteem Idea		
71.7	Useful Hardest to Affirm	81.7	-Worthless		
59.2	Positive Attitude	66.7	-Do Poorly		
56.9	Very Proud	53.5	-Not Proud		
51.8	Accomplish Things	52.3	-Bad Qualities		
48.1	Good Person	50.9	-Not Positive		
45.7	Self Respect	50.9	-Dissatisfied		
44.4.	Satisfied	41.1	-Useless		
44.4	Successes	40.0	-No Self Respect		
39.3	Worthwhile	40.0	-A Failure		
38.3	Good Qualities Easiest to Affirm	27.1	-No Good Easlest to Reject		

are close on the variable line. The inclusion of negative and positive items muddles our ability to interpret this analysis.

The story improves when we look at the positive and negative data side-by-side in measure order (Tables 4 & 5).

By separating them, we can discuss more lucidly what the easy and hard items are on each subscale and better understand the story the respondents are telling us. When we draw arrows between the positive items and their negative counterparts, we see differences in location on the measure line. Most egregious are "Useful -Useless," "Worthwhile - Worthless," and "Good qualities - Bad qualities." These so-called reversals evoked different reactions between positive and negative.

The Principal Components (Standardized Residual) Factor Plot and related analysis of the combined positive and negative items shows in another way how respondents reacted to the questionnaire. These two tables (Tables 6 & 7) show us how the negative items drop like stones to the bottom of the analysis. The standardized residuals of the negative items, except for "No Good," are all in the bottom half of the factor loadings, indicating once again that respondents treated negative items differently from positive.

Some students were observed to be in distress while taking Form N of the questionnaire. They complained and squirmed in their chairs.

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POPULAR MEASUREMENT 37

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observed to be the impact of negative stimuli. Although (Tables 8 & 9) border on the astonishing, they are more understandable in light of that revelation from the students.

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1 44 50.7 1.04 .97 1g 13 -BadQualities 1 40 49.7 .84 .75 h 20 -Not Prositive 1 35 51.7 .84 .75 h 20 -Not Proud TABLE 8 STUDENTS - POSITIVE ITEMS Principal Components factor 1 explains 17.06 of 46 variance units 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 +	1	44	46.5	.70	. 62	If	11	-Dissatisfied	
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1.0 AC* B Bold w/* = Form N students IG* H IG* H IG* H .9 IG* H .9 I .9 IIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIIII	Princip	al Compone 0 10	20 30	1 exp1 40	ains 1 50	7.06	or 4	0 80 90 100	
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.9 +	1	Bold w/	- Form M		. 1				
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TABLE 9

STUDENTS - POSITIVE ITEMS

PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS STANDARDIZED RESIDUAL CORRELATIONS (SORTED BY LOADING) FACTOR 1 EXPLAINS 17.06 OF 46 VARIANCE UNITS

CTOR	LOADING	MEASURE	MNSQ	MNSQ	INUN	IBER	UCS
1	.98	49.9	.17	.13	A	49	mM1
1	.97	51.6	.16	.13	B	37	mM2
1	.96	50.4	.17	.14	IC	13	nM2*
1	.93	50.5	.16	.12	ID	1	pF1
1	.93	50.5	.16	.12	IE	5	pF2
1	.93	50.5	.16	.12	IF	17	nF2*
1	.93	50.5	.16	.12	IG	23	nF2*
1	.93	50.5	.16	.12	H	26	mF1
1	.93	50.5	.16	.12	II	27	mF2
1	.81	61.5	1.23	1.27	13	11	nF2*
1	.80	19.1	1.35	2.32	IK	16	n164 *
1	.71	70.8	1.58	1.80	L	22	nML+
1	.56	80.1	1.22	1.26	IM	21	nMI.+
1	.53	70.8	1.87	2.02	IN	32	mM4
1	1.45	47.7	.07	.06	10	24	nML+
1	1.39	85.3	1.22	1.15	IP	15	nF2*
1	.35	101.3	1.39	1.73	10	12	nM1 *
1	1 .28	56.3	.41	.34	IR	4	pM2
1	1 .26	101.3	1.43	2.45	IS	7	pF2
1	.23	60.7	1.00	1.02	IT	6	pM1
1	.20	101.3	1.33	1.23	10	18	nML*
1	1 .18	91.8	1.23	,90	14	20	nF1*
1	.15	50.5	2.30	2.54	IW	2	pM4
1	.06	70.8	.89	.90	W	29	mM1
1	.06	70.8	.89	. 90	IV.	30	mM1
1	81	66.3	1.15	1.25	la	35	mF3
1	81	101.3	.53	.22	IC	38	mM4
1	81	101.3	.53	.22	1p	39	mF1
1	76	75.3	1.22	1.45	14	42	mF1
1	175	61.5	1.13	1.11	le	48	mF4
1	170	66.3	1.32	1.40	11	43	mF2
1	65	80.1	2.37	2.24	lg	41	mM1
1	160	70.8	2.22	2.36	Ih	44	mF1
1	156	66.3	1.47	1.59	11	46	mMl
1	54	66.3	1.37	1.48	13	45	mM1
1	152	44.4	.20	.15	1k	40	mF2
1	43	50.5	.86	.89	11	33	mF2
1	36	44.4	1.14	1.16	m	47	mF1
1	35	50.5	.82	.81	In	34	mF2
1	25	44.4	1.29	1.41	10	28	mM2
1	24	80.1	. 69	.66	Ip	31	mF2
1	19	75.3	.74	.74	g	3	pM1
1	12	80.1	.92	1.01	Ir	9	pF1
1	11	19.1	.80	.72	18	25	mM4
1	105	66.3	.81	.72	It	14	n#3*
1	01	70.8	.75	. 69	u	36	mM1

The results yielded by the principal components analysis of the students' responses to the positive items were very interesting. Both the pictorial representation of the plot (Table 8) and the table of standardized residual correlations (Table 9) are shown. For the positive items, all except one of the students who took Form N are located in the upper (positive) region of the factor loadings (in bold, with asterisks). Note that a large portion of the variance (17.06 units) is explained by this factor.

The principal components analysis for the negative items looks very different (Table 10). On that one, the Form N students are scattered among positive and negative loadings in the expected, random way. The dramatic reaction of Form N students to the negative item bombardment was manifested mainly when they responded to the positive items. We could not have learned this if we had not analyzed the positive and negative items separately.

These analyses demonstrate the difference between

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TABLE 10

STUDENTS - NEGATIVE ITEMS

FACTOR 1 FROM PRINCIPAL COMPONENT ANALYSIS OF STANDARDIZED RESIDUAL CORRELATIONS (SORTED BY LOADING)-FACTOR 1 EXPLAINS 10.75 OF 41 VARIANCE UNITS

FACTOR	LOADING	II MEASURE	MNSQ	OUTFIT MNSQ	I EN	TRY	UCS
1	.93	44.9	.21	.17	A	13	nM2*
1	.93	44.9	.21	.17	B	17	nF2*
1	.93	44.9	.21	.17	IC	24	nM1*
1	.93	44.9	.21	.17	D	26	mF1
1	.93	44.9	.21	.17	IE	27	mF2
1	.93	44.9	.21	.17	F	37	mM2
1	.88	1 105.7	.40	.14	IG	20	nF1*
1	.88	1 105.7	.40	.14	H	42	mF1
1	.69	1 56.0	1.04	1.03	II	39	mF1
1	1 .42	1 75.3	1.11	1.14	13	38	mM4
1	.35	65.8	.97	.92	K	29	mM1
1	.35	65.8	.97	.92	IL	30	mM1
1	.30	61.0	1.00	1.00	M	36	mM1
1	.25	1 75.3	.95	.95	IN	40	mF2
1	.23	61.0	.74	. 64	10	6	pM1
1	.22	1 75.3	1.10	1.12	IP	21	nM1*
1	.20	94.3	.95	.77	10	9	pF1
1	1.03	80.5	1.00	.93	IR	3	pM1
1	- 93	1 105 7	1 40	53	+	41	mM1
1	- 72	1 33.5	1 14	1 53	Ih	20	mM2
1	- 62	1 28.2	3 34	8 33	10	16	mbild th
1	- 50	56 0	1 17	1 31	14	10	mMd.
1	- 40	1 43.0	1.11	5.0	In	40	mM1
1	40	61 0	2 20	2 20	If	49	mFA
1	- 30	1 33 5	1 14	1 10	10	40	mM2
1	35	56 0	25	20	19 Ib	22	priz
1	- 30	1 90.5		. 2.9	14	45	mM1
1	32	65.0	1 26	1 54	14	40	TCAN
-	31	56.0	1.30	1 35	11	32	mLE Z
1	30	1 30.0	1.33	1.33	IK	34	mm4
-	15	1 70.5	. /4	.0/	14	34	me 2
1	114	1 56.0	1.55	1.74	Im	2	pm4
1	12	1 39.1	2.10	2.85	In	25	mm4
+	112	80.5	.88	.85	10	45	mmi
1	110	51.5	.45	.35	IP	11	nF2*
1	10	80.5	.84	.83	PI	47	mF1
1	10	50.7	.42	.33	IS	1	pF1
1	10	50.7	.42	.33	Ir	35	mF3
1	10	65.8	.76	.71	It	22	nM1 *
1	108	1 70.5	1.79	2.00	U	15	nF2*
1	104	65.8	.80	.82	IT	33	mF2
1	104	1 75.3	1.03	.94	IS	14	nF3*

how we react to positive and negative statements. Remember, these are just sentences on a piece of paper, no curse words, no punches were thrown, no mud was slung - or so we thought.

Although a small study, this analysis revealed a surprising trend. The map of mixed items along the logit "ruler" is muddled by the inclusion of both negative and positive items. The "story" about what is easier and harder to believe about ourselves is immediately clearer when negative and positive items are analyzed separately. When we look at the principal components analysis of the mixed items, we see the negative items showing they are a separate factor.

The principal components analyses give us evidence

that the students who took Form N, with all the negative items first, experienced a common reaction. What was it? Anger? Anxiety? Depression? Whatever it was altered their behavior when they took the positive items both at the end of their Form N questionnaires and also mixed on the Form M questionnaire. For a few moments, Form N students were more like one another than they were before they undertook this task. This hints at the impact of other kinds of more active, traumatic negative experience, particularly educational evaluations.

The "Moral of the Story" is that negation is not the opposite of affirmation. Negativity has a powerful effect. Negative and positive items are not additive. This study brings out the inherent and previously unacknowledged confusion that occurs when we use an arithmetical maneuver to solve what is actually a profound psychological misunderstanding. NA

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The usefulness of the idea of self-esteem (and many other "self" ideas examined over the years, such as motivation, aspiration, and sense of control) might not be at an end after all. What needs to be abandoned is the way survey instruments which attempt to target these variables are analyzed. Thoughtful analysis using Rasch methodology to construct useful measures from responses will make it possible to construct stable inferences from these old friends.

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