

BUFFERING STEREOTYPE THREAT IN ORGANIZATIONS: AN ANALYSIS OF SUCCESSORS,
ETHNIC IDENTITY AND INCLUSIVE ORGANIZATIONS AS BUFFERS TO STEREOTYPE
THREAT

by

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(Under the Direction of Kecia M. Thomas)

ABSTRACT

Organizations are becoming increasingly diverse with more women and people of color moving into managerial positions previously only held by White males. The experiences of stereotype threat and perceptions of organizational diversity can cause many of these individuals to leave their current organization for one where they feel more valued. Some individuals may have a salient role model of the same gender or race who has occupied the position before them, which may buffer this threat. Beyond this, the level of an individual's ethnic identity has been suggested to reduce perceptions of stereotype threat among minority workers. The current study seeks to examine whether individual differences (e.g., pioneer or settler) or organizational level differences (e.g., perceived diversity climate) are better at reducing perceptions of stereotype threat and lowering turnover intentions.

INDEX WORDS: Stereotype Threat, Ethnic Identity, Diversity, Climate, Pioneers, Turnover Intentions.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving parents, Donald Dawson and Magari Shuford. Without their patience, love and warmth I would not have achieved what I have today. From the days of “word space word” to offering guidance on raising a new baby, you have always been there for me and I truly appreciate it. I would like to thank my loving wife, Tiffany and my two beautiful children, Aislin and Ari for inspiring me to be the best at whatever I do, and for providing many laughs, hugs and kisses along the way.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Increases in the percentage of African Americans, Hispanics, Asians and women in the workforce have made diversity a reality of organizational life. While these trends have been touted as an opportunity for organizations to become more creative and reach untapped niche markets in an effort to maintain a competitive edge, research has found that if left unmanaged diversity can in fact increase discrimination, turnover, damage morale and job satisfaction and create an unpleasant work environment (Tsui, Egan and O'Reilly, 1992; Thomas & Ely, 1996).

In light of this, organizations have made many attempts to reduce prejudice and discrimination through hiring practices, training non-prejudiced managers, and redesigning selection and promotion procedures. The logic follows that if we can eradicate the influence of stereotypes from our organizational policies and practices then we can create an environment where everyone has an equal chance to prosper.

Unfortunately, this task is monumental, since individuals are aware of stereotypes within and outside of the workplace, and as a result every woman and ethnic minority knows that there are stereotypes that might be applied to him/her in the work setting leaving them to wonder if coworkers or supervisors will rely on these stereotypical images to make decisions regarding performance. This creates an environment that is potentially threatening to women and people of color, as they are never quite sure if someone is

viewing their performance from a biased lens. This paper discusses potential buffers to this stereotype threat and examines their effectiveness on negative outcomes such as turnover and reduced perceptions of self-efficacy.

Stereotype threat posits that simply being a member of a stereotyped group has a positive or negative effect on performance regarding stereotype-related tasks (Steele & Aronson, 1995). Research has often focused on standardized tests and lower performance for minorities and women (see Shih, Pittinsky, & Ambady, 1999; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Beyond standardized testing, stereotype threat represents a common phenomenon in the workplace leading to increased disengagement, loss of performance, and decreased efficacy (Crocker & Major, 1989; Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, & Major, 1991; Roberson & Kulik, 2007). Therefore, the effects of stereotype threat on performance must continue to be examined to better understand workplace dynamics and the ramifications on minority employees.

Negative Ramifications of Stereotype Threat

When Steele and Aronson (1995) examined stereotype threat they found that White students' scores were practically unaltered by test instructions, however test instructions made a large difference in terms of Black students' performance. Blacks performed more poorly in the cognitive ability conditions even though the tests were equally difficult when their race was made salient to them in order to elicit stereotype threat. Beyond Blacks, many other groups are affected: lower socio-economic classes, women, the elderly, gays

and individuals with disabilities (Aronson et al., 1999). For the purpose of this study, how stereotype threat affects gender and ethnic minorities will be the focus of examination.

Within the workplace stereotype threat has been linked with negative physiological reactions such as heightened anxiety and blood pressure, which may lead to long term health problems such as hypertension and stroke (Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Bosson, Haymovitz, & Pinel, 2004; Inzlicht & Ben-Zeev, 2003). Furthermore, stereotype threat has been linked with lowered job satisfaction, lowered performance, lowered self-esteem and diminished self-concept (Crocker, et al., 1991; Roberson & Kulik, 2007). When members of a stigmatized group are aware of the potential to be negatively regarded by others they are more likely to internalize these responses into their own self-concept ultimately lowering their performance and self-esteem.

These lowered perceptions of one's self have many negative consequences for the individual. While the internalization of these negative responses can lead to lowered performance, the root cause may not be visible to the organization that would have just cause to terminate an individual who is not performing adequately. Lowered self-esteem and job satisfaction can create social and networking barriers for marginalized individuals who do not see themselves as good enough as well as increasing their likelihood to disengage from their work or ultimately leave their organization.

Disengagement and Turnover Intentions

Beyond stereotype threat's health effects, researchers have suggested that repeated long-term exposure to stereotype threat may cause an individual to disengage from the

measured performance domain (Crocker & Major, 1989; Major & Schmader, 1998; Osborne, 1995; Osborne, 1997; Steele, 1997). Disengagement can lead to more serious problems including job withdrawal, poorer performance, absenteeism and turnover (Von Hippel, Issa, Ma & Stokes, 2010). All of these have negative effects on an organizations bottom line since they must undergo recruitment of new employees, training and a new selection process for each individual lost. Furthermore, they may be losing out on talented and qualified minority workers who feel overstressed in their workplace. This is especially problematic given the increase of diversity of the labor force. Similar problems have been examined in academic settings amongst qualified minorities who succumb to the pressure of stereotypes and allow it to affect their performance.

Major, Spencer, Schmader, Wolfe, and Crocker (1998) found that Black college students who were more disengaged and received negative feedback were less affected in terms of self-esteem than those who more identified with school. Therefore, this disengagement serves as a protective function for the target of stereotype threat, but implies withdrawal from the task and suggests that the target will continue to perform poorly. While much of the extant literature focuses on Black students' dropout rates and disengagement due to stereotype in an academic setting, it is very likely that female and ethnic minority employees who disengage may be fired or quit an organization due to poor performance and engage in job withdrawal behavior like absenteeism, tardiness and looking for alternative employment. This may be especially bad for those who identify with school and academics since these individuals would be the type of employees that

organizations would most want to retain due to their identification with success. Once again, organizations may be missing out on qualified minority employees.

Moreover, stereotype threat increased individuals likelihood to disidentify with group norms that are associated with stereotype threat, while maintaining aspects of their group that were unaffected by stereotype threat (Schmader, 2002; Steele, 1997). For instance, women may begin to differentiate between their worker (e.g., persuasive, analytical and independent and female roles (warm, accommodating and gentle) (Pronin, Steele, & Ross, 2003; Von Hippel, et al., 2010). These actions allow the individual to disengage from their work self as a means of protection from stereotype threat.

Pronin and colleagues (2003) examined female undergraduate's bifurcation of feminine identity when enrolled in a mathematics course. Their results demonstrated that individuals could selectively disidentify with select components of their group identity in order to protect themselves and buffer stereotype threat while at the same time maintaining positive identification with their group through the process of bifurcation.

Similar to disengagement, individuals who experience stereotype threat in the workplace are more likely to have heightened turnover intentions. Von Hippel and colleagues (2010) found that women who experience stereotype threat experienced lower job satisfaction and higher turnover intentions in their organizations. Any factor, such as stereotype threat, that increases an employee's stress has the potential to negatively affect job satisfaction, commitment and increase disengagement and turnover (Podsakoff, LePine, & LePine, 2007). High turnover can result in significant costs to organizations due to

reduced productivity, loss of talent and any investment the organization had put into the individual who chose to leave. Moreover, higher female or ethnic minority turnover can negatively affect recruitment and retention efforts throughout the organization. Clearly, stereotype threat poses a great concern for organizations financial outcomes and perceived climate and retention of minority employees who seek advancement in their respective companies. These effects may be may be more pronounced for new, solo, or pioneer employees.

Tokenism and Pioneerism

New or token minority employees may be more susceptible to the negative effects of stereotype threat due to their token/pioneer status, especially concerning minorities in managerial positions. A token as defined by Kanter (1977), is any individual working in a social group where their race or gender represents less than 15% of the total group membership. As a result, members of the dominant group are likely to exaggerate differences that may exist due to commonly held stereotypes about women and people of color (Ilgen & Youtz, 1986). A pioneer as defined by Harrison (2007) is a woman or person of color in a position or role within their organization that no other female or racial minority had held previously (e.g., being the first Black female to be vice president of marketing).

Because these individuals are the first of their race/gender to hold a particular position, they have the added stress and pressure of perceiving that their performance will determine the likelihood that another woman or person of color will hold their same

position in the future (Harrison, 2007). This may lead to minority managers overexerting themselves in an effort to dissuade any perceptions of incompetence at the cost of physical and mental exhaustion. This effect, known as “John Henryism,” is a style of coping mechanisms and strategies employed to deal with environmental stress and psychosocial factors (James, Hartnett, & Kalsbeek, 1983).

Some research has examined upper level manager perceptions of affirmative action stigma and pioneerism and their ramifications. Harrison (2007) examined professional men and woman in a variety of business sectors and found that racial pioneerism led to increased affirmative action stigma and lower organizational attachment. Specifically, utilizing the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), Harrison (2007) found that amongst Blacks, lower levels of ethnic identity (the extent to which one bases their own identity upon perceptions of their ethnicity) were linked to greater perceptions of affirmative action stigma compared to those with higher ethnic identity levels. While Harrison (2007) did not examine stereotype threat directly, perceptions of affirmative action stigma are conceptually similar to experiencing stereotype threat. In both conditions the individual perceives that their ethnicity or other salient group characteristic is being attributed to them in a negative stereotypic manner, which is enough for these perceptions to have an effect on the target (Crosby, Iyer, Clayton, Downing, 2003). These results indicate that individual characteristics such as ethnic identity may serve as a buffer to negative stereotypes in general.

Settlers

Other individual characteristics aside from ethnic identity may serve to buffer stereotype threat as well. For instance, tokens and pioneers seem a more likely target of stereotype threat compared to their settler counterparts due to their perceived lone minority status. A settler shall be defined as those individuals who have been in their organizations for a substantial amount of time (tenure-based) (i.e. longer than most members of their minority group have been at their respective organizations) as well as those individuals who know of a minority like themselves that has occupied their current position in the organization (position-based).

It reasons that tenure-based settlers have experienced stereotype threat at some point in their career but it did not lead them to leave their organization or to be fired due to disengagement or lack of performance. Therefore, these tenure-based settlers should be more “immune” to the effects of stereotype threat than their pioneer equivalent. Position-based settlers may be less affected by stereotype threat than pioneers since they should not be as concerned that their performance will determine if a future minority will hold that position.

Position based settlers may have a built in buffer to stereotype threat as well. Drawing upon previous literature suggesting that role models are most effective when they share the same gender or racial group membership as stereotyped individuals (e.g., Lockwood, 2006; Marx & Roman, 2002; Marx & Goff, 2005) because they inspire confidence that the target individuals can overcome negative stereotypes associated with their group without disengaging Marx, Ko, and Friedman (2009) examined this effect in a real world setting. Specifically, Marx and colleagues (2009) postulated that Barak Obama’s role model

status would have positive effects on academic performance amongst Black Americans under stereotype threat conditions. It should be noted that in order for this to be effective, the target must be aware of their predecessors achievement , but direct contact is not necessary (Marx & Roman, 2002). Using a sample of 472 participants (84= African American, 388=White American) and controlling for education level and English proficiency measured over 4 distinct times in Obama's presidential campaign, the researchers manipulated stereotype threat by having participants indicate their race (e.g., Steele & Aronson, 1995) before taking a sample of 20 GRE verbal problems.

Marx and colleagues (2009) found strong supporting evidence for an "Obama effect", that is one's ability to point to a salient role model (i.e. Obama's stereotype-defying accomplishments), which aides them in reducing and buffering stereotype threat. Participants who watched Obama's acceptance speech of the Democratic Party candidacy (i.e. success salient) did not differ in score from their White American counterparts. However, those who did not see his speech scored significantly lower than White Americans. This effect persisted even when concerns about racial stereotypes were still present. These results confirm that role models can improve performance even when stereotype threat is present. If periodic exposure to someone as physically distant as Obama can buffer stereotype threat, it is possible that knowing a successful minority previously occupied one's current position within their own organization should be enough to buffer stereotype threat.

Hypothesis 1: There will be a positive interaction between stereotype threat and turnover intentions based on participant membership, such that pioneers, double

pioneers, and settlers' higher perceptions of stereotype threat will increase turnover intentions. There will be no effect for White males.

Perceptions of Efficacy

Self-efficacy Theory postulated that one's self-efficacy is comprised of their belief to perform well on a given task, which is impacted to some extent by their emotions, immediate environment and their own cognition (Bandura, 1986). Stereotype threat can negatively affect an individual's immediate environment as well as hamper their cognition and negatively affect their emotional state. In Steele and Aronson's (1995) original work on stereotype threat, anxiety was proposed as a possible mediator between stereotype threat and performance. This work suggested that performance was impaired not because of a decrease in motivation but rather an increase in anxiety, and emotional state, brought about by threat. Indeed stereotype threat occurs when an individual has some apprehension or fear of confirming a negative stereotype about his or her culture within their immediate environment. Steele and Aronson (1995) also proposed that academic confidence (i.e. self-efficacy) would mediate the relationship between stereotype threat and performance as well.

Since stereotype threat decreases an individual's belief in their own ability to perform, this in turn can lead to decreases in their actual performance. Thus over time those individuals who perceive themselves to be the target of stereotype threat more often have more frequent experiences of doubt in terms of their own performance, reducing their overall perception of future effectiveness or self-efficacy. It is likely that individuals

who are pioneers or tokens without some salient role model to look to as an example of success are less able to buffer stereotype threat and would therefore be more susceptible to lowered perceptions of effectiveness.

Hypothesis 2: There will be a negative interaction between stereotype threat and perceived efficacy based on participant membership, such that settler's perceptions of lowered stereotype threat will have a significant positive effect on perceived efficacy similar to the "Obama effect" described. This effect will not be significant for pioneers, double pioneers or White males.

Reducing Threat

Concerning reducing this perceived threat, much of the research relies on the affected employee to make changes within his or herself even though no changes may occur in their work setting. For instance, Alter, Aronson, Darley, Rodriguez and Ruble (2010) explored the effectiveness of reframing a stereotype threat as a challenge to the individual in an effort to buffer the effects of salient race characteristics. While successful in reducing stereotype threat, the burden lays upon the target. However, other researchers have suggested that managers talk to their potentially affected employees regarding stereotype threat in an effort to build trust thereby reducing the impact (Roberson & Kulik, 2007). Therefore, some evidence has been found that supports changing the context in which stereotype threat is likely to occur.

While managers may not be able to change their work-teams in terms of demographic variables, they may be able to provide or introduce a role model who

contradicts the common stereotypes, similar to the Obama effect (Marx et al., 2009). Marx and Roman (2002) found that when female students who identified with math were given a standardized math test by a male experimenter they underperformed compared to their male counterparts. However when the test was administered by a female experimenter their scores were on par with the males in the study. A follow-up study revealed that it was not the mere presence of the female experimenter but her perceived competence in math that buffered the stereotype threat in the female participants. The researchers concluded that if more female role models/mentors were present in math fields, this might reduce the gap in gender performance on standardized tests. Suggesting that seeing someone who defies a salient stereotype can boost one's own performance (Marx & Roman, 2002).

Similarly, other studies have shown that when female students read biographical essays on successful women in the medical and legal fields they scored on par with their male counterparts within those domains (McIntyre, Paulson, & Lord, 2003). However, given that women and minorities may not have a role model within their organizations to emulate they may have to explore alternatives to reducing threat. These alternatives may be internal as opposed to having an external method of reducing threat (e.g., the organizations climate or another individual serving as a role model). An area that has not often been explored is one's own level of identity. While role models may or may not be available, an individual's identity is always present and may serve as a buffer to stereotype threat. Therefore, racial/ethnic identity may impact the importance of being a pioneer/settler within an organization.

Racial Identity

Racial identity represents the extent that one's self identity is conceptualized based upon their perceptions and identifications with their race (Cross, 1971, 1978). While the majority of stereotype threat research has focused on outcomes such as physiological ramifications (e.g., Blascovich, Spencer, Quinn, & Steele, 2001; Osborne, 2007), self-esteem and psychological well being, and potential mediators such as academic identification, motivational orientation, and locus of control (e.g. Armenta, 2010; Cadinu, Maass, Lombardo, & Frigerio 2006) few have studies have examined racial identity as a potential moderator of threat.

Recent work by Oyserman and colleagues (2001) examined the relationship between eighth grade African American male and female students' academic efficacy (e.g., grades) and their racial identity. Using hierarchical moderated regression, it was found that racial identity significantly explained unique variance in academic efficacy in the Fall semester, such that viewing achievement as being central to being African American strengthened academic efficacy in both girls and boys. Based on previous literature, suggesting that academic efficacy would decline regardless over the course of a year, it was found that higher levels of racial identity helped stave off the decline of efficacy in both Black boys and girls in the Spring semester. This longitudinal data suggests that higher levels of racial identification can serve as a buffer for Blacks in terms of self-efficacy. As Blacks achieve higher levels of racial identity they are better able to buffer stereotype threat and maintain higher performance.

Cross' (1971, 1978) Black racial identity model is broken into five stages. At the lowest stage, PreEncounter, the Black individual has absorbed many of the beliefs and

values of White culture as being “right” and those beliefs of Black culture as “wrong.” The individual seeks to assimilate into White culture and may distance his/herself from Blacks. In the second stage, Encounter, the Black individual has typically had some event occur that forces him/her to acknowledge racism in his or her own life. The individual now understanding that they can never fully assimilate must focus on their own identity as a Black individual. In the third stage, Immersion-Emersion, the individual seeks to surround themselves with symbols related to being Black while avoiding White culture, seeking out their own history and support from other members of their own racial background. In the fourth stage, Internalization, the individual is now willing to establish relationships with Whites who acknowledge his/her newly formed identity while still maintaining relationships with other Black peers. In the final stage, Internalization-Commitment, the individual has found ways to translate their “personal sense of Blackness into a plan of action or a general sense of commitment” for Blacks as a whole (Cross, 1991, *p.* 220).

According to Cross (1971) both amplifying and buffering effects are possible at various racial identity stages, such that those in earlier stages of racial identity should experience more amplification of threats than those in later internalization stages, keeping in mind that individuals may progress and regress through the stages due to external circumstances in their lives.

Furthermore, Davis and colleagues (2006) found support for racial identity as a buffer during a low threat condition. Black students who identified with the internalization stage of racial identity scored higher on the verbal section of the GRE than those in the Pre-encounter, Encounter, and Immersion-Emersion stages when race was not made blatantly

clear. Thus, being further along in terms of one's own racial identity development helped to buffer stereotype threat. The researchers suggest that because these individuals are less likely to believe the negative stereotypes concerning their race, they are less affected and not as concerned that their own performance will support or discount any particular stereotype thereby reducing their susceptibility to stereotype threat (Davis, Aronson, & Salinas, 2006). It seems that those in the PreEncounter stage while actively seeking to distance themselves from other Blacks may still be affected by stereotypes associated with their race. Their willingness to assimilate into White culture is predicated on their knowledge of being Black and the stereotypes associated with being Black. It may be that those individuals in the first three stages are still consumed with either totally rejecting or accepting others' definitions of what it means to be Black.

However, in a high threat situation where race is made salient to the student before taking the GRE, internalization did not serve to buffer as well as it had in the low threat condition. The results suggest that having a higher racial identity may serve as a buffer in a low threat condition (e.g., "understanding how students respond when confronted with a challenging problem solving exercise") but may not be enough to buffer a high threat stereotype situation (e.g., "verbal ability or verbal intelligence" while being primed to think about their racial identity) (Davis, et al., 2006). Although internalization did not buffer as effectively in the high threat situation the researchers fail to mention how many of their 98 total participants were in the internalization stage. Furthermore, the reported internalization reliabilities alpha coefficient was .50, the lowest of the four subscales, suggesting that these results may be somewhat unreliable in their representation of how

internalization serves as a buffer during a high threat situation. Because of this further testing is necessary. The racial identity scale may not be the most appropriate measure due to its low reliability and limitation to one race, therefore alternative measures will be used.

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity as mentioned earlier represents the extent that one's self identity is conceptualized based upon their perceptions and identifications with their ethnicity. While race is a created construct, ethnicity involves having a shared heritage, language and often ancestry that organically defines a culture (Phinney, 1992; Tajfel, 1981).

Since Cross' (1971; 1978) Black racial identity model, other models such as Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) have been developed, which allows for simultaneous assessment of various groups in terms of their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity in this model develops along a continuum rather than stages and overcomes some of the shortcomings of previous models including one-race specificity, and inconsistent psychometric properties. Research has consistently found high internal consistency with the MEIM for college students ranging from .71-.92 (see Henson, 2001; Ponterotto, Gretchen, Utsey, Stracuzzi, & Saya, 2003; Worrell, 2000). The model suggests that ethnic identity can be examined by focusing on common mechanisms across various racial and ethnic groups including self-identification as a group member, a sense of belonging and attitudes towards one's own ethnic group (Phinney, 1992). In this sense, ethnic identity may be a better choice psychometrically compared to racial identity.

Phelps and colleagues (2001) found that the subscales Affirmation and Belonging, Ethnic Identity Achievement, and Ethnic Behaviors of the MEIM were significantly positively correlated to Encounter, Immersion–Emersion, and Internalization scores ($.22 \leq r \leq .53$), and negatively correlated with Pre-Encounter scores ($-.32 \leq r \leq -.18$) based on the RAIS-B racial identity scale (Parham & Helms, 1981). Furthermore, Goodstein and Ponterotto (1997) found that Ethnic Identity scores were negatively correlated to the pro-Assimilation PreEncounter scores ($r = -.48$) and positively correlated to pro-Black Internalization scores ($r = .41$). These results coupled with the results from Davis and colleagues (2006) suggest that the higher one is in terms of ethnic identity the further along they are in terms of racial identity stages. This suggests that ethnic identity measures may be comparable to racial identity measures and therefore may elicit similar but more psychometrically consistent results.

Recently Avery, Tonidandel, Thomas, Johnson, & Mack (2007) examined the MEIM's measurement equivalence across racial and ethnic groups including Whites, Hispanic, African American, and Asian Americans. Utilizing a sample of 1,349 men and women, the researchers administered Roberts et al.'s (1999) revised version of the MEIM, exploring both facets of ethnic identity (affirmation/belonging and other group orientation). Their results indicate that the four races/ethnicities examined were using similar conceptual frameworks when responding to the MEIM. Therefore, studies utilizing the MEIM across race/ethnicity can interpret their results with confidence (Avery et al., 2007).

Assuming that the normal work environment does not highlight one's racial or ethnic identity on a daily basis, and since ethnic identity is significantly correlated with

Cross' racial identity measures, it stands to reason that the average work environment is most similar to a low threat situation, therefore the following hypothesis is proposed.

Hypothesis 3: Ethnic identity will serve as a significant predictor for stereotype threat for pioneers and settlers. Such that higher levels of ethnic identity will result in lower perceptions of stereotype threat. Further pioneer/settlers who have higher ethnic identity scores will perceive less stereotype threat, have lower turnover intentions, and have higher levels of perceived efficacy than pioneer/settlers who have lower ethnic identity scores. This effect will not hold for White males.

Organizational Climate

Beyond individual influences on stereotype threat lie external factors that may serve to buffer or increase the perceived stereotype threat or marginalized employees. Diversity climate pertains to the extent to which an organization advocates fair human resource policies and integrates marginalized employees (Cox, 1994). This climate is comprised of individual, group and organizations factors. The extent to which individuals are prejudiced and stereotype with the organizations, the degree of conflict between various racial/ethnic groups, and the degree to which the organization attempts to integrate underrepresented groups into upper-level positions while building social networks all play important parts in establishing an organizations diversity climate.

Many recent studies have found that a negative diversity climate can lead to decreased organization functioning and performance (Kalev, Kelley, & Dobbin 2006; Linnehan, Chrobot-Mason, & Konrad, 2006; McKay, Avery, Tonidandel, Morris, Hernandez,

& Hebl, 2007). While the studies mentioned earlier focus heavily on individualistic factors such as being a pioneer or a settler, and one's own ethnic identity, the organizational climate of a company can also affect minority individuals efficacy subsequently influencing turnover intentions.

McKay, Avery and Morris (2008) utilized a four-item diversity climate measure ($\alpha=.80$) to examine the moderating role of diversity climate in employee sales performance in 743 retail stores across the U.S. Racial/Ethnic disparities within the stores showed clear Black-White and Hispanic-White sales differences in stores with lower pro-diversity climates. Furthermore, in stores with high pro-diversity climates Blacks' and Hispanics' sales per hour were significantly higher than their White counterparts, suggesting that diversity climate does moderate sales performance.

Organizational climate also has lasting effects on turnover. Studies have shown that minority employees who perceive their organization to have a negative climate are more likely to turnover and have lowered job satisfaction (Hayes, Bartle, & Major, 2002; Holcomb-McCoy & Addison-Bradley, 2005; Parker, Baltes, Young, Huff, Altmann, Lacost & Roberts, 2003). In addition to reducing turnover and job satisfaction, an organizations diversity climate has long lasting effects on intergroup conflict, and can help to enhance cohesiveness amongst employees (Avery & Thomas, 2004). Demographic fault lines can occur when two or more demographic attributes covary. Such that an organizations whose senior members are primarily both White and male and lower level managers are primarily female and an ethnic minority a fault line is created that bisects race and gender. These fault lines can result in greater instances of discrimination and prejudice (Avery & Thomas,

2004; Brewer, 1995). Organizations who promote a pro-diversity climate in their hiring and promotion procedures should experience fewer or weaker fault lines, thereby resulting in lower instances of discrimination. This in turn should affect instances of perceived discrimination for minority employees thereby reducing perceived stereotype threat when the organization is supportive of diversity.

Recently, McKay, Avery, Tonidandel, Morris, Hernandez & Hebl (2007) examined the effects of diversity climate perceptions on turnover in managers in retail. Individual diversity climate perceptions were negatively associated with turnover intentions, accounting for 15% of the variance in turnover intentions for Black employees. Black managers' perceptions of diversity climate were strongly related to their commitment to the organization leading them to quit or stay with the company. These results suggest that the extent to which individuals perceive an organizations diversity climate to be higher or lower can significantly affect their performance, and turnover intentions. As such, employee's process cues from their organizations that inform their own perceptions of the organizational diversity climate in order to make sense of their surrounding environment. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed.

Hypothesis 4: Perceived diversity climate will have a direct effect on perceived stereotype threat, turnover intentions, and perceived efficacy for pioneers, double pioneers, and settlers. Individuals who perceive their organization to have a more pro-diversity climate will perceive less stereotype threat, have higher levels of efficacy and have lower turnover intentions. This effect will not hold for White individuals.

Current Study

The current study seeks to examine tenure-based settlers (those who have been in their position longer the mean time of all participants across organizations), position-based settlers (those who are at least the second ethnic minority or female to hold a particular position), as well as pioneers to better understand if tenure, or knowing that someone who looked like you previously held the job helps buffer the pervasiveness of stereotype threat. Along with this, organizational climate and ethnic identity will be examined in order to better understand whether individual factors (settler/pioneer and ethnic identity) or organizational factors (higher or lower pro-diversity climate) have stronger effects on reducing stereotype threat, turnover intentions, and perceived efficacy of female and minority employees. Previous research has shown that individuals are more attracted to an organization that appears to value diversity and that organizations who promote a pro-diversity climate can increase sales performance (McKay et al., 2007).

Previous studies involving stereotype threat and measured effectiveness have often involved some manipulation of stereotype threat in a lab setting rather than measuring perceived threat in a field setting (e.g., Mayer & Hanges, 2003; Ployhart et al., 2003). If we wish to gain a better understanding of how stereotype threat affects gender and ethnic minorities then we must take measures to observe perceived threat in a natural setting.

The proposed study will make actual comparisons between pioneers and settlers perceptions of threat and personal efficacy, while examining if a strong pro-diversity

climates can alleviate turnover intentions through the buffering of stereotype threat, thereby adding valuable information to the literature tying diversity climate and ethnic identity to turnover intentions. Furthermore, to this researcher's knowledge the effects of ethnic identity on turnover intentions and perceived efficacy as they relate to stereotype threat has not been examined.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants of this study included 467 professionally working men and women who work full-time in a variety of sectors across the United States. Only, 382 of those who completed the survey were used as 85 participants did not meet the requirements (managing a budget or supervising other workers).

Participants in this study were targeted to participate via snowball recruitment and received an e-mail invitation asking for their participation in a comprehensive survey. This e-mail was disseminated specifically to professionals who hold managerial or supervisory roles in a corporate work environment. The subject pool included 109 Black participants (male= 48, female = 61) (28.5 %), 16 Asian American participants (male=7, female = 9) (4.2 %), 199, Caucasian participants (male= 92, Female= 105) (52.1 %), 30 Hispanic participants (male=15, female=15) (7.9%) and 28 other individuals who identified as other minorities (6.8%).

The managers in this study were evenly distributed in terms of age with each age range from 18-25 to 46-55, comprising of between 20.2% and 24.1% of the sample. The majority of the sample (61.3%) held an advanced degree (e.g., Masters or higher). A myriad of work industries and sectors were represented in the sample with the greatest percentages being in Education (36.9%), Banking (6.5%), Medical/Healthcare (5.8%), and

Government and policy (4.5%). Of those individuals working in Education a large percentage (32.2 %) were in College level administration (e.g., Dean, Assistant Dean, Vice president), and of those working in industry the majority (32.3%) were at the managerial level with the next highest group being Director (17.7%). Of pioneers who worked in industry (n=52), 44% were at the director level or higher. Within settlers who worked in industry (n=125) 21% were at the director level or higher. Within White males (n= 92), 58% held a masters degree or higher, and of those who worked in industry (n= 58), 34% were at the director level or higher.

Procedure

Participants chosen via the snowball recruitment technique received an e-mail invitation asking for their participation in a comprehensive survey. The emails were sent to professionals who hold managerial or supervisory roles in their organizations. The survey was accompanied by a cover letter explaining the study, and upon completion of the survey participants were encouraged to forward the survey on to other appropriate managers and supervisors. Participants completed the survey through the UGA Qualtrics website.

Measures

Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity was assessed using the modified 12-item, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992). The MEIM captures two aspects of ethnic identity: affirmation/belonging and ethnic identity search. An example of an affirmation/belonging item is: "I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me." An

example of an ethnic identity search item is: “In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.” For both factors, item were rated on a five-point Likert scale ranging from one (1) “Strongly Disagree” to five (5) “Strongly Agree.” The items from both subscales were average to yield an overall MEIM score ($\alpha = .917$) with higher scores indicating stronger ethnic identity.

Perceived Stereotype Threat

Perceptions of stereotype threat were measured using a four-item self-report measure ($\alpha = .900$). Participants indicated their agreement on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from one (1) “Strongly Disagree” to five (5) “Strongly Agree.” The four items are the following: (a) In work situations, I worry that people will draw conclusions about my gender and/or ethnic group based on my performance; (b) I often think about issues concerning my gender and/or ethnicity; (c) I often feel that people’s evaluations of my behavior are based on my gender and/or the ethnic group to which I belong, and (d) In work situations, I worry that people will draw conclusions about me based on what they think about my gender and/or ethnic group. This scale has shown to have a reliability of .80 and show unidimensionality (Chung-Herrera, Ehrhart, Ehrhart, Hatrup, & Solamon, 2009). Chung and colleagues (2009) also tested measurement equivalence across racial groups to establish that this four-item measure has similar measurement properties across groups and utilizing confirmatory factor analysis found that the scores across groups could be compared in all subsequent analyses.

Pioneers and Settlers

Pioneers and Settlers were determined based on race and gender. The purpose of this measure was to determine if an individual is the first of his/her race/gender to hold the current position or if another of his/her race/gender has held the position previously. For racial pioneerism, participants were asked (discounting themselves): “to their knowledge, how many people of color have held the position you currently hold within your organization?” Only those participants who selected “0” were classified as being a racial pioneer. For gender pioneerism, participants were asked (discounting themselves): “to their knowledge, how many other people of your gender have held the position you currently hold within your organization?” Those individuals who selected “1” or higher were classified as position-based settlers. Participants were also asked, “How long have you held your current position at your organization?” Those individuals who have held their current position longer than the mean of all participants in the sample were considered tenure-based settlers, whereas those who have held their position for the mean time or less were considered pioneers. Preliminary analyses however showed that these groups were not significantly different from one another, thereby eliminating the tenure-based settler category.

Turnover Intentions

Turnover intentions were evaluated based on three items from a turnover intention scale ($\alpha = .854$) (Walsh, Ashford, & Hill, 1985). This scale measured the likelihood of that an

individual will soon choose to exit their current place of employment. An example item from this scale is: "I am seriously thinking about quitting my job." Items will be evaluated on a 5-point Likert Scale ranging from one (1) "Strongly Disagree" to five (5) "Strongly Agree."

Perceived Efficacy

Perceived effectiveness was evaluated on a self-report measure designed to ascertain how effective in terms of job performance each individuals perceives themselves to be ($\alpha = .911$). Items were written to reflect Bandura's (1991) definition of self-efficacy and were similar in content to items on previous scales (e.g., Bruster, 2009; Schaufeli & Salanova, 2007). Items reflective of this scale are: "I feel confident in my ability to perform well at my job" and "I feel confident about performing my job efficiently." Responses were made on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from one (1) "Strongly Disagree" to five (5) "Strongly Agree."

Perceived Diversity Climate

Diversity climate perceptions were assessed using nine items that assess the extent to which managers perceive that diversity is valued in their organization ($\alpha = .927$). Items were based on Mor Barak, Cherin, and Berkman's (1998) diversity perceptions scale, and the McKay, Avery, and Morris (2008) diversity climate scale. Scale responses were scored on a five-point Likert scale ranging from one (1) "well below expectations" to five (5) "well above expectations." Higher scores represent perceptions that the organizations climate is more supportive of diversity.

Demographic Information

Participants were asked to provide demographic information pertaining to their age, gender, citizenship, region, time spent in the U.S., race/ethnicity, gender, and educational level. In addition, participants were asked to respond to a series of questions related to their type of employment, work environment, job experience, and position tenure.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

People of color and women both have minority status and may experience significant differences in their perceptions of ethnic identity, perceived stereotype threat or diversity climate perceptions compared to White men. Preliminary Analyses were performed to better understand whether these two groups viewed these constructs significantly differently from one another. Ethnic pioneers ($n=60$) and gender pioneers ($n=26$) were not significantly different in terms of ethnic identity, $t(84) = .691, p > .05$, perceived stereotype threat, $t(84) = 1.349, p > .05$; or diversity climate perceptions, $t(84) = .695, p > .05$. Since ethnic and gender pioneers were not significantly different in terms of any predictor variables they were collapsed into a general pioneer group.

Similarly, ethnic settlers ($n= 45$), gender settlers ($n= 97$) and those were settlers on both race and gender ($n= 49$) were not significantly difference in terms of ethnic identity, $F(2, 188) = .072, p > .05$, perceived stereotype threat, $F(2, 188) = .070, p > .05$, or diversity climate perceptions, $F(2, 188) = .063, p > .05$. As a result these groups were collapsed into a general settler group.

Preliminary analyses were conducted to assess if there were any differences between tenure-based settlers and pioneers in terms of ethnic identity, perceived stereotype threat, and diversity climate perceptions. Results of a t-test suggest that there are no significant differences between the two groups in terms of ethnic identity, $t(97) =$

.718, $p > .05$ perceived stereotype threat, $t(97) = .581$, $p > .05$; or diversity climate perceptions, $t(97) = .673$, $p > .05$. Since these two groups were not significantly different, for the remainder of the analyses tenure-based settlers were treated as pioneers or double pioneers.

Group Differences

A MANOVA was conducted to assess group level mean differences between pioneers, double pioneers, settlers and White males in terms of ethnic identity, perceptions of diversity climate, stereotype threat, turnover intentions and perceived self efficacy. For the purposes of this study White males were treated as a single group without pioneer or settler status. Overall there were significant differences between groups on ethnic identity ($F(3, 374) = 14.941$, $p < .001$), stereotype threat ($F(3, 374) = 23.420$, $p < .001$), and diversity climate perceptions ($F(3, 374) = 4.555$, $p < .01$).

Pioneers ($M = 3.911$, $SD = .715$), double pioneers ($M = 3.811$, $SD = .431$), and settlers ($M = 3.667$, $SD = .761$) were significantly higher in terms of ethnic identity than White males ($M = 3.191$, $SD = .767$, $p < .01$). No other significant differences were found regarding ethnic identity. Therefore ethnic and gender minorities were significantly higher in their ethnic identities than White males overall.

Furthermore, pioneers ($M = 3.106$, $SD = 1.062$), double pioneers ($M = 3.346$, $SD = 1.153$), and settlers ($M = 3.104$, $SD = 1.058$) experienced significantly greater amounts of stereotype threat than White males ($M = 2.046$, $SD = .857$, $p < .001$). No other significant differences were found regarding stereotype threat. In keeping with previous literature,

gender and ethnic minorities experience more stereotype threat than their majority group White male counterparts in their workplaces.

Lastly, pioneers ($M = 3.137, SD = .976$) and double pioneers ($M = 2.872, SD = .814$) perceived significantly lower organizational commitment to diversity compared to White males ($M = 3.571, SD = .793, p < .05$). No other significant differences were found regarding perceived diversity climate. It would seem that those individuals who were aware that they were the first of their race, gender or both to hold a managerial position viewed their organizations as having a lowered commitment to diversity than White males regardless of industry.

Path Analysis

Path analysis (Billings & Worten, 1978; Wright, 1921) was used to determine whether or not the observed pattern of relationships among the variables was consistent with the causal model hypothesized. Steps were taken to examine any possible violations of the key assumptions for the proper use of path analysis (Billings & Worten, 1978). Correlations among the variables were tested to ensure multicollinearity is not present (e.g., $r \geq .80$). Investigation of the correlations among the variables did not reveal any evidence of multicollinearity; therefore, each variable (and path) were shown to not be redundant with another. Since there were no observable differences between tenure-based settlers and pioneers, path models were constructed for each subgroup (Pioneer, Double-Pioneer, Settlers, and White Males). A Summary of the variable correlations can be found in Table 1.

First, LISREL was used to conduct an overall omnibus test comparing each of the four groups' models to examine if they were significantly different from one another. One model was run wherein all variables were fixed ($\chi^2 = 43.85$, $df = 30$), and a second model was run in which all variables were free to vary ($\chi^2 = 28.43$, $df = 12$). A Chi Square difference test was performed. The results of the Chi square difference test suggest that the model in which all four groups were fixed is not significantly different from a model in which their paths were allowed to vary ($\chi^2_{diff} = 15.42$, $df = 18$). This indicates that the four models were not significantly different from each other.

In order to better understand which paths were significant for each group, a series of regression analyses were used to examine the direct effects of ethnic identity and perceived diversity climate on stereotype threat (Hypotheses 3 and 4). Regression analysis were also performed to examine the direct effects of stereotype threat and perceived diversity climate on turnover intentions and perceived efficacy (Hypotheses 1, 2, and 4). Each model was regressed separately using each subset of the sample: pioneers, double pioneers, settlers, and White males.

Pioneers

Three regression analyses were performed to assess the existence of direct relationships between the variables in the proposed model for pioneers. First, stereotype threat was regressed on ethnic identity and perceived diversity climate. Ethnic identity, $\beta = .221$, $t(83) = 2.188$, $p < .05$ and perceived diversity climate $\beta = -.321$, $t(83) = -3.182$, $p < .01$ significantly predicted stereotype threat, $R^2 = .171$, $F(2, 83) = 8.559$, $p < .001$. These results partially support hypothesis 4, however do not support Hypothesis 3. Pioneers who

perceived greater diversity climate in their organizations perceived significantly less stereotype threat.

Second, turnover intentions were regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = -.240$, $t(83) = -2.249$, $p < .05$ and stereotype threat $\beta = .259$, $t(83) = 2.420$, $p < .01$ significantly predicted turnover intentions $R^2 = .168$, $F(2, 83) = 8.401$, $p < .05$. These results partially support hypotheses 1 and 4. Pioneers who perceived more stereotype threat had greater turnover intentions. Similarly, pioneers who perceived a more pro-diversity climate expressed significantly lower turnover intentions.

Third, perceived efficacy was regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = -.186$, $t(83) = -1.605$, $p > .05$ and stereotype threat $\beta = -.042$, $t(83) = -.366$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predicted perceived efficacy, $R^2 = .031$, $F(2, 83) = 1.310$, $p > .05$. These results did not support hypotheses 2 or 4. Perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat do not significantly influence perceived efficacy.

Double Pioneers

Three regression analyses were performed to assess the existence of direct relationships between the variables in the proposed model for double pioneers. First, stereotype threat was regressed on ethnic identity and perceived diversity climate. Ethnic identity, $\beta = -.075$, $t(10) = -.236$, $p > .05$ and perceived diversity climate $\beta = -.537$, $t(10) = -1.691$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predicted stereotype threat, $R^2 = .253$, $F(2, 10) = 1.696$, $p > .05$. These results do not support hypotheses 3 or 4. Ethnic identity and perceived diversity climate do not significantly influence stereotype threat.

Second, turnover intentions were regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = -.581$, $t(10) = -1.875$, $p > .05$ and stereotype threat $\beta = -.125$, $t(10) = -.404$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predicted turnover intentions, $R^2 = .280$, $F(2, 10) = 1.947$, $p > .05$. These results do not support hypotheses 1 or 4. Perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat do not significantly influence turnover intentions.

Third, perceived efficacy was regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = -.402$, $t(10) = -1.183$, $p > .05$ and stereotype threat $\beta = -.097$, $t(10) = -.287$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predicted perceived efficacy, $R^2 = .132$, $F(2, 10) = .761$, $p > .05$. These results did not support hypotheses 2 or 4. Perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat do not significantly influence perceived efficacy.

Settlers

Three regression analyses were performed to assess the existence of direct relationships between the variables in the proposed model for settlers. First, stereotype threat was regressed on ethnic identity and perceived diversity climate. Ethnic identity, $\beta = .203$, $t(188) = 2.941$, $p < .01$ and perceived diversity climate $\beta = -.256$, $t(188) = -3.704$, $p < .001$ significantly predicted stereotype threat, $R^2 = .124$, $F(2, 188) = 13.278$, $p < .001$. These results partially support hypothesis 4, however do not support Hypothesis 3. Settlers who perceived greater diversity climate in their organizations perceived significantly less stereotype threat.

Second, turnover intentions were regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = -.119$, $t(188) = -1.606$, $p > .05$ did not

significantly predict turnover intentions. However, stereotype threat $\beta = .259$, $t(188) = 2.420$, $p < .01$ did significantly predict turnover intentions, $R^2 = .062$, $F(2, 188) = 6.204$, $p < .01$. These results partially support hypotheses 1. Settlers who perceived more stereotype threat had greater turnover intentions. However, settlers who perceived a more pro-diversity climate did not express significantly lower turnover intentions.

Third, perceived efficacy was regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = .000$, $t(185) = -.011$, $p > .05$ and stereotype threat $\beta = -.038$, $t(185) = -.500$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predicted perceived efficacy, $R^2 = .001$, $F(2, 185) = .134$, $p > .05$. These results did not support hypotheses 2 or 4. Perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat do not significantly influence perceived efficacy.

White males

Three regression analyses were performed to assess the existence of direct relationships between the variables in the proposed model for White males. First, stereotype threat was regressed on ethnic identity and perceived diversity climate. Ethnic identity, $\beta = .130$, $t(89) = 1.274$, $p > .05$, and perceived diversity climate $\beta = -.134$, $t(89) = -1.312$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predicted stereotype threat $R^2 = .032$, $F(2, 89) = 1.307$, $p > .05$. These results do not support hypotheses 3 or 4. White males who had higher levels of ethnic identity perceived greater stereotype threat.

Second, turnover intentions were regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = -.224$, $t(89) = -2.174$, $p < .05$ significantly predicted turnover intentions $R^2 = .079$, $F(2, 89) = 3.819$, $p < .05$. However, stereotype threat $\beta = .139$, $t(89) = 1.345$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predict turnover intentions.

These results did not support hypotheses 1 or 4. White males who perceived a more pro-diversity climate expressed significantly lower turnover intentions.

Third, perceived efficacy was regressed on perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat. Perceived diversity climate, $\beta = .172$, $t(89) = 1.628$, $p > .05$ and stereotype threat $\beta = -.046$, $t(89) = -.432$, $p > .05$ did not significantly predict perceived efficacy, $R^2 = .034$, $F(2, 89) = 1.568$, $p > .05$. These results did not support hypotheses 2 or 4. Perceived diversity climate and stereotype threat do not significantly influence perceived efficacy.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to expand upon the current stereotype threat literature. Specifically this study examined the roles of ethnic identity, perceived diversity climate and perceptions of stereotype threat among managers across the country. Further, this study sought not only to ascertain the extent to which perceived stereotype threat is affected by the variables, but how it and perceived diversity climate affected turnover intentions and perceptions of self efficacy among pioneers, double pioneers, settlers and White males. Prior research has not examined the potentially significant roles that individual roles (e.g., pioneer/settler) and organizational factors (e.g., diversity climate) within the same study. The results provided lend partial support to the hypothesized direct effects outlined in the path models are summarized in Table 2.

Summary of Findings

Overall, this research study presents several important new findings related to perceptions of stereotype threat. While the overall model fit was not significantly different for each group, some significant paths reveal interesting differences. First, the results illustrated some of the organizational implications of stereotype threat, and membership status. Both pioneers and settlers who perceived greater stereotype threat in their workplaces had far greater intentions to quit their current job even in a period of economic instability. Secondly, this is one of few studies to examine the role ethnic identity plays as it relates to membership status (e.g., pioneer, settler) by expanding upon previous literature to include the settler component.

However, since the results show no difference between pioneers and settlers regarding organizational perceptions of diversity climate and turnover intentions as predicted by experiences of stereotype threat, these individual factors may not play as important a part as their organizational counterparts. These results suggest that for both pioneers and settlers, perceptions of stereotype threat were heightened especially as they become more engaged in their ethnic identity. Similarly, these individuals' perceptions of their organizations diversity climate have strong effects on their perceptions of stereotype threat. Gender and ethnic minorities experienced more stereotype threat than their majority group White male counterparts in their workplaces. Even though these individuals perceived greater levels of stereotype threat they did not perceive lower levels of efficacy. Across the sample, participants were all high in terms of reported efficacy. This may be a reflection of the demographics of the sample, considering that over 60% of the sample possessed a masters degree or higher, and over 17% of the business participants holding a Director position. There may be some restriction of range concerning perceived efficacy as many of the individuals in the sample were high achieving regardless of race or gender.

Although efficacy was not a significant consequence of stereotype threat or perceived organizational diversity climate, turnover intentions were. These results suggest that for both pioneers and settlers greater perceptions of stereotype threat will influence the likelihood that these individuals to leave their current organizations as soon as they get an opportunity to do so. Interestingly for both pioneers and White males perceptions of diversity climate were important predictors of turnover intentions. For these two groups

perceptions of a more pro-diversity climate significantly reduced their intention to quit their current organization. While the results for settlers were non-significant ($p = .067$) their behavior follows the same pattern, and should be taken into real world consideration.

Discussion of Findings

Ethnic Identity

While the results of this study were counter to previous literature's findings regarding ethnic identity and stereotype threat (e.g., Davis, et al., 2006) they represent an important aspect of perceptions of stereotype threat. While previous studies suggest that the higher an individual is in terms of their ethnic identity the less stereotype threat they should perceive, the results of this study provide a much different conclusion. For both pioneers and settlers ethnic identity had a positive effect on stereotype threat. That is as individuals progressed in their ethnic identity the more stereotype threat they perceived.

One possible explanation of these findings is that these individuals were simply more aware of issues regarding their race/ethnicity in the workplace. In keeping with Cross' original racial identity model, individuals who are low in their identity are less aware of issues regarding race/ethnicity while those who are higher are more aware but also more secure. This theory coupled with the non-significant perceived efficacy results in this study suggest that while pioneers and settlers who are higher in their ethnic identity perceived greater stereotype threat, they do not experience lowered perceptions of efficacy as a result.

Stereotype Threat

While it was hypothesized that increases in perceived stereotype threat would increase turnover intentions and decrease perceived efficacy, the findings did not fully support these assumptions. Stereotype threat can arise from interactions with peers, subordinates or supervisors. As mentioned before this threat represents instances in which the target perceives that others are drawing negative conclusions concerning performance based on the target's minority status (e.g., gender/ethnicity). While traditionally examined in a testing environment, stereotype threat in the workplace may be expressed in performance appraisals, or fears that coworkers are drawing negatively evaluating day-to-day behavior of the target (Chung et al., 2009). A direct relationship was found regarding stereotype threats influence on turnover intentions within pioneers and settlers; however, it did not significantly influence perceived efficacy at all. In the current sample, it seemed that most individuals were high in terms of perceived efficacy with all means greater than 4.33.

However, it appears that for both pioneers and settlers, two groups that represent traditionally marginalized groups in the workplace would rather leave their current organization if experiencing stereotype threat than continue on with the same company. Coupled with their high perceptions of self-efficacy, these individuals do not seem to let negative experiences such as stereotype threat affect their self-concept. As mentioned earlier, while those individuals whose ethnic identity was more central to them perceived greater stereotype threat it seems they would rather leave an organization than let it affect their current performance.

Perceived Diversity Climate

It was hypothesized that perceived diversity climate would have a direct relationship on perceived stereotype threat, turnover intentions and perceived self-efficacy. While the perceived diversity climate did not predict perceptions of self-efficacy, pioneers and settlers who perceived a more pro-diversity climate had significantly lowered perceptions of stereotype threat in their organizations. Furthermore, pioneers and White males who perceived more pro-diversity climates in their organizations had lowered turnover intentions. While the relationship was not statistically significant for settlers ($p=.067$), it was important enough and the relationships were in the same directions as pioneers and White males to merit some observation and discussion.

It is not surprising that pioneers and settlers' feelings of threat were lessened when their organizations acted in more pro-diversity manners. These organizations typically have policies and procedures linked to diversity initiatives, such as recruitment and retention of diverse populations, as well as demonstrating leaderships' commitment to diversity. Previous research has shown that individuals are more attracted to an organization that appears to value diversity (McKay et al., 2007).

Although it was hypothesized that diversity climate would predict turnover intentions within all populations except White males, this was not the case. Interestingly perceived diversity climate mattered most in terms of turnover intentions for pioneers and White males. Considering that most leadership and professional positions in organizations have historically been held by White males, it is encouraging to see that in this sample pro-

diversity outcomes were as important for those individuals typically at the highest end of the corporate ladder as it was for those individuals who are the first of their race or gender to occupy a managerial position at their organizations. These individuals are likely to understand the benefits of diversity for everyone in an organization. Looking again at the sample demographics, these White males are largely coming from high positions in the organization wherein they may better understand how important diversity initiatives are for organizations to grow in the current marketplace not only in terms of bottom line performance but in terms of innovation and differing ideas. Furthermore, minorities who work in diverse organizations are far more satisfied with their jobs than those who do not, and individuals who are not satisfied with their jobs can be unpleasant to work with, therefore it would make sense that White males would want to work in more diverse organizations wherein their minority coworkers were more pleasant to work with.

Theoretical Implications

While previous research suggests that racial and ethnic identity can serve as a direct buffer for gender and ethnic minorities, the results of this study suggest an indirect buffering of perceived efficacy. While pioneers and settlers higher in ethnic identity did perceive more stereotype threat, they were no different in terms of efficacy. Perhaps ethnic identity is still functioning as a buffer, while allowing those high in ethnic identity to understand more potentially stereotype threat inducing situations. Thus these individuals experience more stereotype threat, indicated by their higher perceptions of it, but are still not affected in terms of performance outcomes. It would appear that ethnic identity might still serve as a protective mechanism to buffer stereotype threat.

Furthermore, demographic barriers may have served as a buffer for the managers in this study. As mentioned before many members of the study were high achieving regardless of race and gender. Their status in their respective organizations and titles may be buffering them from negative self-perceptions of performance, allowing them to experience stereotype threat and remain largely unaffected in terms of perceived efficacy. Future studies should examine employees at multiple levels of education and position title to better understand if individuals serving as lecturers or teaching assistants are affected differently than those with full tenure or are upper level management position.

It is interesting that those individuals most prone to the effects of stereotype threat (double pioneers) were the least represented in the sample, and had no significant predictors (e.g., ethnic identity, perceived diversity climate) or outcomes (e.g., efficacy, turnover). However examining their mean differences, it appears that multiplicative theory of double jeopardy was not supported (Collins, 1990).

The double jeopardy hypothesis posits an additive and a multiplicative theory to explain negative perceptions of sexual and ethnic minorities. The additive theory reasons that women experience sex discrimination and that racial minorities experience racial discrimination. The multiplicative theory suggests that sex and race are not independent categories but rather they multiply each other, thereby greatly increasing the effect for Black women (Berhdahl & Moore, 2006). The MANOVA results also suggest that the current studies sample of double pioneers did not experience a greater level of stereotype threat than either pioneers or settlers. It is possible that these individuals were identifying with one salient aspect of their person (ethnicity or gender) or perceive threat due to one salient aspects or the other in their organizations, which would make them more similar to

single pioneers in terms of perceptions than double pioneers (Pugh, Dietz, Brief, & Wiley, 2008; Sesko, 2010). The current study is limited in its interpretations of the perceptions of double pioneers but future studies should examine the perceptions of double pioneers who experience threat based on both gender and race, and those who only experience threat based on one or the other to better understand how the additive and multiplicative hypotheses play out in the workplace.

Limitation and Future Research

While this study provides insight on new, unexplored issues around the topic of stereotype threat, there were some limitations to the research. One major limitation of the present study was the lack of ethnic diversity amongst the participant pool. While stereotype threat is often studied within Black and female populations, it has been shown to be prevalent amongst all underrepresented groups, (e.g., Asian Americans, Latino Americans. Future studies should seek to increase the representation of other underrepresented groups in order to fully understand their perceptions of stereotype threat, and how it may impact turnover intentions, and efficacy.

Furthermore, future research should be expanded in regards to which outcomes variables are included. While this particular study focused on turnover intentions, and perceived efficacy, future research could be expanded to include issues such as job satisfaction, commitment to the organization, attachment to the job, and include actual measures of performance. This research could also be enhanced by focusing on specific industries. While this sample was comprised of over 60% managers not involved in Education, the representativeness of each other field was relatively small, with the second largest industry in the study being banking, capturing 6.5% of the sample. Focusing on

particular industries and work groups may lend greater support for pioneers and settlers perceptions of stereotype threat and efficacy, where those industries and departments that are more heterogeneous in regards to race and gender will likely show very different survey results than a sector or work unit that is more homogenous. Future research should also seek to understand how gender centrality might play a role in understanding stereotype threat as it pertains to gender.

Lastly, there are methodological shortcomings common with quantitative survey research. Since all participants self-reported on all measures one cannot be certain if all measures are truly representative of actual situations, (e.g., perceiving that you are the first of your race/gender to hold a managerial position when in fact you are not). Beyond this, the results of this study may be affected by the population itself. The snowball methodology targeted groups and sites that were inclusive to diversity as well as other listservs and websites geared towards general management. However, it is not possible to tell where the majority of the sample was obtained.

Self selection may have played a role in the current study's findings. While the survey link was administered to over 1,000 potential participants, it was only started by 568 people, and 101 individuals chose not to proceed beyond the first set of questions assessing ethnic identity. The White males in the current study may represent a group that is more inclusive in their desires for diversity in organizations. Similarly, the female and ethnic minorities that chose to respond may have done so because of their high perceptions of efficacy. Future studies should seek to gain a larger representative sample of managers in order to better generalize findings to managers in all fields.

Furthermore, there was a significantly lack of double pioneers in the study (N=13), and while many of their slopes were in same directions as pioneers and settlers, their results lacked the necessary power to reach statistical significance. It seems these managers perceived their environments similarly to pioneers and settlers but sample size limitations make significance testing far more difficult. Future studies should seek to gain a more representative sample of individuals who are double pioneers in order to ascertain their perceptions of threat, turnover and efficacy.

Implications for Organizations

Despite the limitations of the current study, the findings reveal several important implications for organizations as well as gender and ethnic minority managers and supervisors. Given that this study has shown significant differences with regards to perceptions of stereotype threat between pioneers, double pioneers, settlers, and White men, organizations must recognize that they have a major responsibility to women and people of color in managerial positions.

Specifically these organizations must understand that work life can be different for these individuals. Globally the findings suggest that organizations should focus on creating and maintain an inclusive pro-diversity climate for both pioneers and White males in their organizations if they wish to retain their current workforce. This can include gaining support from upper management and senior leaders as well as implementing recruitment methods aimed at diversifying the population of the organization and respecting new ideas. If organizations can make diversity an important part of their business strategy this may help alleviate perceptions of stereotype threat, and lessen turnover intentions among workers.

Although more ethnically identified minority managers in this sample exhibited higher levels of stereotype threat, it is important to understand that higher levels of stereotype threat did not lead to lower levels of efficacy. Therefore, while these individuals may be more aware of stereotype threat in their organizations they may not be as affected by these perceptions as previous literature indicates. This higher awareness may enable these individuals to better navigate relationships within their organizations thereby reducing the overall negative effect of stereotype threat. However, heightened experiences of stereotype threat did predict higher turnover intentions. While an individual is preparing or thinking about leaving their current job, their productivity can suffer, they may spend more of their at work time looking for new jobs or exploring job sites like Monster.com, all of which can hurt productivity. Beyond this, the costs of seeking and training new workers can become a financial burden on the organization. Organizations should still seek to reduce perceptions of stereotype threat by providing an environment that appreciates diversity.

Implications for Individuals

While the implications for organizations are important in helping to ensure employee retention, it is just as important for individual employees are proactive in terms of reducing threat and organizational commitment. It is important for individuals to understand that ethnic identity while leading to stronger perceptions of stereotype threat does not necessarily lead to more negative outcomes. Individuals should seek to develop their individual identities as a potential buffer to stereotype threat, and other negative consequences such as increased stress, or emotional exhaustion. It is important that individuals find strategies to cope with the potential barriers they may face in the

workplace such as seeking support from family or other coworkers. Sharing negative work experiences can help these marginalized workers understand that they are not alone in their experiences but rather commonly-shared experiences of other individuals like them, which would in turn help them cope with negative work-related issues such as stereotype threat (Tatum, 2003).

Moreover, individuals across race and gender should seek organizations that embrace a pro-diversity climate, where they are likely to experience less stereotype threat and fewer negative consequences as a result. As organizations seek to recruit more qualified minority applicants, marginalized group members should take the organizations commitment to diversity into account when pursuing a potential job offer (Pugh, et al. 2008). The results suggest that these individuals would be less likely to voluntarily leave their organization, which suggests some level of job and organizational satisfaction.

Conclusion

The results of this study make it clear that organizational factors have much stronger effects on reducing perceptions of stereotype threat and turnover intentions than individual factors (e.g., membership status). Contrary to previous research, individuals high in ethnic identity may be more aware of stereotype threat but unaffected in terms of perceived efficacy. Hopefully the results of this study will generate the need for comparable studies that include more individual level outcomes such as stress and anxiety to better ascertain the importance of organizational and individual characteristics as it pertains to minority managers. Organizations must find it necessary to improve their diversity climates by understanding and appreciating the benefits of possessing a diverse workforce.

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Table 1

Correlation Table of all variables.

	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<u>Pioneer</u>								
1. ETH-IDT	86	3.89	.740	1.00				
2. ORG DIV	86	3.18	.971	-.136	1.00			
3. STERTHREAT	86	3.10	1.060	.264*	-.351**	1.00		
4. TURNOVER	86	2.58	1.192	.161	-.331**	.343**	1.00	
5. EFFICACY	85	4.36	.569	.159	-.171	.023	.041	1.00
<u>Double Pioneer</u>								
1. ETH-IDT	13	3.80	.473	1.00				
2. ORG DIV	13	2.87	.814	-.510	1.00			
3. STERTHREAT	13	3.34	1.152	.199	-.499	1.00		
4. TURNOVER	13	2.23	1.117	-.045	-.518	.165	1.00	
5. EFFICACY	13	4.34	.485	.807**	-.354	.103	-.121	1.00
<u>Settler</u>								
1. ETH-IDT	191	3.66	.757	1.00				
2. ORG DIV	191	3.41	.882	-.161*	1.00			

3. STERTHREAT	191	3.01	1.050	.245**	-.289**	1.00		
4. TURNOVER	191	2.51	1.126	.064	-.173*	.221**	1.00	
5. EFFICACY	188	4.33	.571	.136	.010	-.038	-.074	1.00

White Male

1. ETH-IDT	92	3.19	.767	1.00				
2. ORG DIV	92	3.57	.793	-.095	1.00			
3. STERTHREAT	92	2.04	.857	.153	-.157	1.00		
4. TURNOVER	92	2.78	1.201	.206*	-.246*	.174	1.00	
5. EFFICACY	92	4.34	.644	.168	.179	-.073	.054	1.00

** Correlation significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 2

Summary of Results

		Hypothesis	Result
Stereotype Threat	1	There will be a positive interaction between stereotype threat and turnover intentions based on participant membership, such that pioneers, double pioneers, and settlers' higher perceptions of stereotype threat will increase turnover intentions. There will be no effect for White males.	Partially Supported
	2	There will be a negative interaction between stereotype threat and perceived efficacy based on participant membership, such that settler's perceptions of lowered stereotype threat will have a significant positive effect on perceived efficacy similar to the "Obama effect" described. This effect will not be significant for pioneers, double pioneers or White males.	Not Supported
Ethnic Identity	3	Ethnic identity will serve as a significant predictor for stereotype threat for pioneers and settlers. Such that higher levels of ethnic identity will result in lower perceptions of stereotype threat. Further pioneer/settlers who have higher ethnic identity scores will perceive less stereotype threat, have lower turnover intentions, and have higher levels of perceived efficacy than pioneer/settlers who have lower ethnic identity scores. This effect will not hold for White males.	Not Supported
Diversity Climate	4	Perceived diversity climate will have a direct effect on perceived stereotype threat, turnover intentions, and perceived efficacy for pioneers, double pioneers, and settlers. Individuals who perceive their organization to have a more pro-diversity climate will perceive less stereotype threat, have higher levels of efficacy and have lower turnover intentions. This effect will not hold for White individuals.	Partially Supported

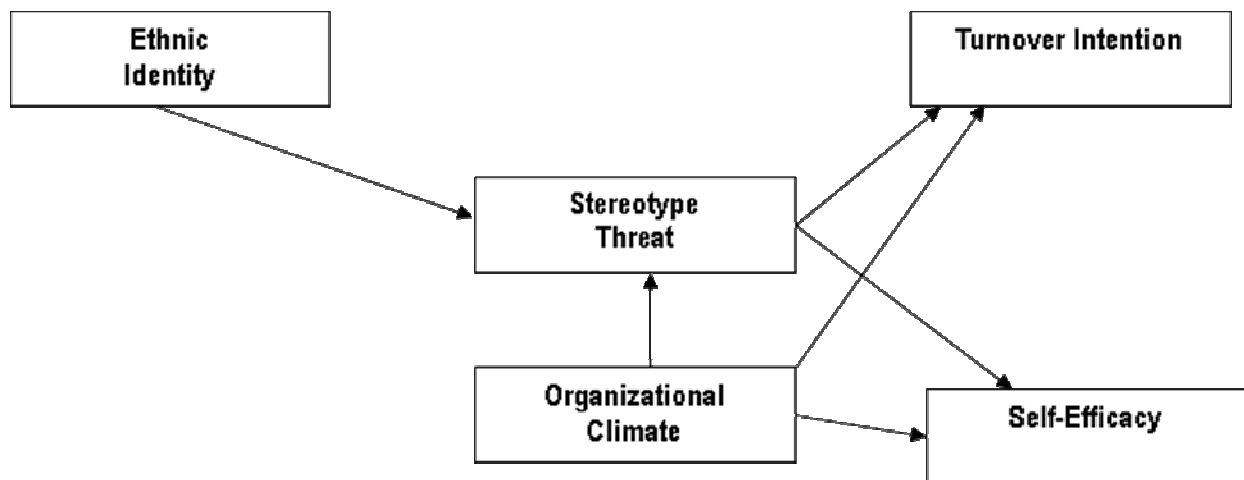


Figure 1. Proposed Model.

APPENDIX A

SOLICITATION EMAIL LETTER

Dear Prospective Participant:

I am a doctoral candidate working under the direction of Dr. Kecia M. Thomas in the Department of Psychology at the University of Georgia. I invite you to participate in a research study which focuses on workplace experiences of employees in management positions. The purpose of the current study is to learn more about how various workplace factors affect these individual's work attitudes and perceptions, especially those in regards to organizational diversity climate, efficacy and turnover intentions.

You have been selected to participate in this study because you have been identified as a professional who works in a managerial/supervisory position. For the purpose of this study, a professional in a management position is defined as anyone who works full-time and is paid on a yearly, **not hourly, salary**, who has a job title or position of supervisor or manager or is in a position where they current have supervisory experience or budget accountability. College professors and administrators do qualify. A college degree is not required.

If you do meet the professional and managerial/supervisory criterion, please disregard this request; however, please forward this survey on to others that you know who would meet these conditions. If you do meet the criteria, we ask that you take 15-30 minutes to complete our survey at [web address link] and ask that you forward this survey to others. Participation in our study, and learning the results of it, will be one way that we can understand the work experiences and some of the challenges that may influence the turnover intentions and perceived self efficacy of managers and supervisors. It can also help us develop and support organizational practices that improve the work lives of these individuals.

By completing the web survey, you are making this important project possible.

Please be assured that your participation in this study will remain confidential. Any answers that you provide **will not** be traced back to you, and data collected on this website will be kept in a secured site.

Although the site is secure, should you prefer an alternative means of completing the survey, you may print a copy of the survey from the website and mail the completed survey to the principle investigator:

Bryan L. Dawson, Department of Psychology, The University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602-3013.

This web survey is voluntary, however, you may refuse to participate or stop taking part at anytime without penalty. By completing the web survey you are agreeing to participate in this research. ***Please complete this web survey as soon as possible, but no later than two weeks from today*** in order to ensure that your response is included in this study. A follow-up e-mail message will be sent in one week as a reminder of this deadline. No discomfort or risks are foreseen in participating in this study. We realize that your time is very valuable and thank you in advance for your help with this important study. If you have any questions or comments about this study, now or in the future, or if you would like to receive a copy of the survey results, please feel free to contact the principle investigator,

Bryan L. Dawson, Department of Psychology, The University of Georgia, at 706-542-2174 or Bryan.dawson@gmail.com.

For questions or problems about your rights as a research participant please call or write: Chairperson, Institutional Review Board, The University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602-7411. Telephone (706) 542-6514; e-mail address: IRB@uga.edu.

Sincerely,
Bryan L. Dawson, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
The University of Georgia

Kecia M. Thomas, Ph.D.
Professor & Senior Advisor to the Dean
The University of Georgia

APPENDIX B
STEREOTYPE THREAT SURVEY

Appendix B

1. ETHNIC IDENTITY

This first section will ask you about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions in regards to your ethnic group membership. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

2. I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

3. I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

4. I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

5. I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

6. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

7. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

8. In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

9. I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

10. I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree

- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

11. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

12. I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

2. STEREOTYPE THREAT

This second section will ask you about your perceptions of work situations and how you feel about it or react to it. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions in regards to your gender/ethnic group membership. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

13. In work situations, I worry that people will draw conclusions about my gender and/or ethnic group based on my performance.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

14. I often think about issues concerning my gender and/or ethnicity.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree

- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

15. I often feel that people's evaluations of my behavior are based on my gender and/or the ethnic group to which I belong.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

16. In work situations, I worry that people will draw conclusions about me based on what they think about my gender and/or ethnic group

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

3. MANAGERIAL STATUS AND EXPERIENCE

This third section will ask you about your knowledge of previous employees who have held your position. Please make sure to respond to all of the questions in regards to your gender/ethnic group membership.

17. To your knowledge, how many females have held the position you currently hold within your organization (do **not** count yourself if you are female).

- a. 0
- b. 1
- c. 2
- d. 3 or greater

18. Do you manage a budget?

- a. yes
- b. no

19. Do you supervise other workers?

- a. yes
- b.no

20. Do you collaborate with peers?

- a.yes
- b.no

22. To your knowledge, how many people of your **own racial group** have held the position you currently hold within your organization (do **not** count yourself).

- a. 0
- b. 1
- c. 2
- d. 3 or greater

23. How many years have you been in your current position? _____

24. How many years have you been with your organization? _____

25. Please indicate your years of experience in your current field. _____

4. TURNOVER INTENTIONS

This fourth section will ask you about your intentions to leave your current organization. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

26. As soon as I can find a better job, I will leave this job.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

27. I am actively looking for a job at another organization

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

28. I am seriously thinking of quitting my job.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree

e. Strongly Agree

5. EFFICACY

This fifth section will ask you about your perceived self efficacy. For the following questions, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

29. I efficiently solve any problems that may arise in my work.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

30. In my opinion, I am good at doing my job.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

31. I feel confident in my ability to perform well at my job.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

32. I feel confident about performing my job efficiently.

- a. Strongly Disagree
- b. Disagree
- c. Neutral
- d. Agree
- e. Strongly Agree

7. DIVERSITY CLIMATE PERCEPTIONS

This sixth section will ask you about your perceptions of your organizations diversity climate. For the following questions, please indicate how far above or below your expectations your organizations diversity climate is. To what extent is each item **valued** in your organization?

33. Recruiting from diverse sources.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

34. Offer equal access to training.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

35. Open communication on diversity.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

36. Publicize diversity principles.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

37. Offer training to manage diverse population.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

38. Respect perspectives of people like me.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

39. Maintains diversity-friendly work environment.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

40. Workgroup has climate that values diverse perspective.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

41. Top leaders visibly committed to diversity.

- a. Well below expectations
- b. Somewhat below expectations
- c. Neutral
- d. Somewhat above expectations
- e. Well above expectations

8. DEMOGRAPHICS

42. What is your race/ethnicity?

- a. African American / Black
- b. Asian American
- c. Caucasian / White
- d. Indian American/South Asian American
- e. Latino American / Hispanic (Non-White)
- f. Middle Eastern American
- g. Native American
- h. Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander
- i. Other (please specify) _____

43. What is your gender?

- a. Female
- b. Male

44. What is your age?

- a. 18-25
- b. 26-35
- c. 36-45

- d. 46-55
- e. 56-64
- e. 65+

45. Are you a U.S. citizen?

- a. Yes
- b.No

46.What state do you live in? (If you live outside the United States, please select "International" from the menu below.)

a. _____

47. What industry do you work in?

- a. Advertising/Marketing/Public Relations
- b. Arts/Entertainment/Media
- c. Banking/Financial Services/Accounting/Auditing
- d. Consulting Services
- e. Education
- f. Engineering
- g. Government and Policy
- h. Medical/Healthcare
- i. Human Resources/Recruiting
- j. Information Technology/Computers
- k. Internet/e-Commerce
- l. Legal
- m. Non-profit
- n. Publishing
- o. Real Estate
- p. Retail/Wholesale
- q. Sales
- r. Science/Biotechnology/Pharmaceuticals
- s. Telecommunications
- t. Other (please specify below)_____

48. If you work in a business/corporate environment please indicate the level of your position.

- a. Administrative/Support
- b. Technical
- c. Supervisor
- d. Manager
- e. Director
- f. Senior Director
- g. Vice President

- h. Senior/Executive Vice President
- i. CEO/Executive
- j. N/A
- k. Other (please specify)

49. If you work in education, please indicate the level of your position.

- a. Administrative/Support
- b. College Level Professor (Asst, Assoc, Full)
- c. Grade School Teacher (Elem, Middle, High)
- d. Grade School Director (Principal, Vice Principal, Assist. Principal)
- e. College Level Faculty/Administration (Dean, Assist. Dean, Vice President)
- f. Other

50. What is the highest level of formal education that you have completed?

- a. Elementary/Middle School (grades 1-8)
- b. High school or GED (General Equivalency Diploma)
- c. Technical training or apprenticeship
- d. Associate's degree
- e. Bachelor's degree (e.g., B.A., B.S.)
- f. Master's degree (e.g., M.S., M.Ed., M.A.)
- g. Professional degree (e.g., J.D., M.Div., D.V.M.)
- h. Doctoral degree (e.g., Ph.D., Ed.D.)