

IF “I DO” THEN “I CAN’T”: CAREER MOBILITY AND EMPLOYMENT
DISCRIMINATION OF INTERRACIALLY MARRIED APPLICANTS

by

NY MIA TRAN

(Under the Direction of Kecia M. Thomas)

ABSTRACT

Since the legalization of interracial marriages in 1967, significant amount of research have qualitatively explored the nature of interracial couples. However, there has been a paucity of empirical research addressing the possible career barriers of interracially married individuals in the workforce. Interracially married employees may fear stigmatization and discrimination in organizational settings. The current research empirically explored interracially married applicants’ likelihood of receiving mentoring and promotion recommendations for a high or low visibility position upon discovery of marriage type. Participants with high in-group self-esteem expressed less motivation to mentor the White candidate married to a Black woman during evaluations for a high visibility position. Furthermore, participants perceived greater consequences in mentoring the White candidate married to a Black or Hispanic woman than one married to an Asian woman.

INDEX WORDS: Interracial Marriage, Mentoring, Stigma, Organizational Diversity, Career Success, Career Mobility

IF “I DO” THEN “I CAN’T”: CAREER MOBILITY AND EMPLOYMENT
DISCRIMINATION OF INTERRACIALLY MARRIED APPLICANTS

by

NY MIA TRAN

B. S., Georgia Southern University, 2007

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2010

© 2010
Ny Mia Tran

All Rights Reserved

IF “I DO” THEN “I CAN’T”: CAREER MOBILITY AND EMPLOYMENT
DISCRIMINATION OF INTERRACIALLY MARRIED APPLICANTS

by

NY MIA TRAN

Major Professor: Kecia M. Thomas
Committee: Brian Hoffman
 Gary Lautenschlager

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2010

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to all those who gave me the strength to complete this thesis. I want to acknowledge my committee members, Kecia M. Thomas, Brian Hoffman, and Gary Lautenschlager, for their continuous support and guidance through this entire process. I especially want to extend my gratitude to my major professor, Kecia M. Thomas. Her enthusiasm, patience, and inspiration allowed me to gain personal and professional growth from this experience. I want to also recognize my gratefulness to Douglas C. Johnson, “Dr. Doug”, for suggesting the research topic and his constant blessings during this process.

Lastly, I would like to give my special thanks to my father, Huoi Tran, and best friend, Berlin Berry, whose encouragement and unconditional love enabled me to accomplish this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER	
1 Introduction.....	1
2 Literature Review and Hypotheses	2
Intermarriage in Organizations.....	2
Legal Environment	4
Employment Discrimination	6
Socialization Barriers and Interpersonal Discrimination	10
Deviation from Social Group Expectations.....	14
The Current Study	16
3 Method	18
Sample	18
Stimuli	18
Design and Procedure.....	22
Pilot Study	23
Data Analysis	24
4 Results.....	26

Manipulation Checks.....	26
Marriage Type	27
Marriage Type and Position Visibility	27
Moderators: Social Distancing and In-group Self-esteem	28
Additional Analyses	30
5 Discussion.....	44
General Discussion.....	44
Limitations.....	48
Organizational and Research Implications.....	49
REFERENCES	51

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 4.1: Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations of Study Variables.....	32
Table 4.2: Analysis of Covariance <i>F</i> Ratios by Outcome	33
Table 4.3: Three-way Interaction among Marriage Type, Position Visibility (PV), and Social Distancing (SD) by Outcome.....	34
Table 4.4: Three-way Interaction among Marriage Type, Position Visibility (PV), and In-group Self-esteem (IS) by Outcome.....	35
Table 4.5: Slope Difference Tests for White-Black Married Candidate	36
Table 4.6: Marriage Type X In-group Self-esteem (IS) Interactions Predicting Mentoring Intentions.....	40
Table 4.7: Marriage Type X Social Distancing (SD) Interactions Predicting Perception of the Candidate	42

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 4.1: Three-way Interaction between White-Black Married Candidate X Position Visibility X In-group Self-esteem Predicting Intentions to Mentor	37
Figure 4.2: Three-way Interaction between White-Asian Married Candidate X Position Visibility X In-group Self-esteem Predicting Intentions to Mentor	38
Figure 4.3: Three-way Interaction between White-Hispanic Married Candidate X Position Visibility X In-group Self-esteem Predicting Intentions to Mentor	39
Figure 4.4: Two-way Interaction between Marriage Type X In-group Self-esteem Predicting Intentions to Mentor	41
Figure 4.5: Two-way Interaction between Marriage Type X Social Distancing Predicting Perception of the Candidate	43

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Although the complexity of interracial marriages has generated much conceptual and qualitative work (e.g. Aldridge, 1978; Goodwin, 2007) on interracial marital quality (e.g. Forry, Leslie, & Letiecq, 2007), patterns, trends (e.g. Golden, 1954; Qian & Lichter, 2007), communication (e.g. Foeman & Nance, 2002), and leisure (e.g. Hibbler & Shiness, 2002); relatively no known empirical works have addressed the career pattern of these individuals. Subsequently, this raises two questions: Do interracially married employees encounter a diverging career trajectory more so than same race married employees? Has the work environment or employment practices evolved with today's reality of a growing population of interracial marriages?

Lewandowski and Jackson's (2001) research broadly tapped into some career dimensions such as perception of professional success, but did not empirically explore the nature of how an interracial marriage identity influences one's career opportunities. In this circumstance, understanding the components that shape or shift the career track of interracially married individuals is central to creating an inclusive work environment. Therefore, the purpose of the paper is to empirically examine potential career consequences for employees in interracial marriages (White-Black, White-Asian, and White-Hispanic). The study explored likelihood of promotion recommendations and mentoring for interracially married applicants.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES

Intermarriage in Organizations

Since the 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* ruling, interracial marriages have dramatically increased from 65,000 in 1970 to 422,000 in 2005 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2005). Furthermore, the number of interracial marriages is predicted to steadily increase over time due to immigration and the adoption of a multicultural society. However, cumulated research suggests that stigma against interracial marriages seem to remain (Childs, 2005, a, b; Kalmijn, 1993; Porterfield, 1982; Spickard, 1989). Stigma has been conceptualized as when the stigmatized individual is discredited, devalued, and derogated in the eyes of others by being socially marked as “deviant, flawed, limited, spoiled, or generally undesirable” (Jones, 2002, p. 6). Paetzold, Dipboye, and Elsbach (2008) further explained stigma as a discrepancy between the expected social identity and actual social identity “that trigger the inference of a wide variety of negative attitudes, beliefs, or emotions” (p. 187) on the target. Stigmatization literature suggests that targets of stigma encounter negative experiences such as loss of legitimacy, perpetuated stereotypes, distorted reputations, and subjugation to discrimination (Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005; Link & Phelan, 2001) that could result in diminished mobility and limited access to career opportunities (Beatty & Kirby, 2006; Paetzold, Dipboye, & Elsbach, 2008). Accordingly, the multi-racial composition of one’s marriage can lead to perception of the individual as flawed and deviant by outsiders.

Society continuously reinforces same race marriages as the model of normalcy and labels interracial marriages deviant from the norm (Childs, 2005, b; Ramoutar, 2006). Such deviance may lead to constant social rejection. These societal norms inadvertently define same race marriage as the expected or prototype marriage and attach negative evaluations to individuals who stray far from those societal expectations. Individuals stigmatized by their marriage type may receive unfavorable employment outcomes and experience dysfunctional consequences during one's career trajectory. These dysfunctional consequences may include restricted access to career building opportunities, thus the inability to gain power within organizations (Jones, 2002). Those who bear a stigma are more likely to encounter discriminatory behaviors that ultimately inhibit one's professional and developmental growth (Paetzold et al., 2008). Due to constant defamation and isolation from co-workers, stigmatized individuals may perceive lack of connection to one's organization. The insecure relationship between the employee and the organization may lead the employee to exhibit counterproductive behaviors. These counterproductive behaviors may include less organizational commitment, retention, motivation, satisfaction, and intention to engage in organizational citizenship behaviors (Pinel & Paulin, 2005).

Some scholars have contested that stigmatizing attributes are transferrable to individuals who do not personally possess them. These negative evaluations of the individual are developed based on his/her mere association with a member of a negatively judged social group (Kulik, Bainbridge, & Cregan, 2008). Kulik and colleagues identified this as an "associative pathway" where the co-worker's response to the employee is influenced by the negative stereotype attached to his/her associate's stigmatized group membership. Moreover, they contested that the effects of stigma by association may be more accelerated and facilitated in the workplace.

Parallel to associative pathway, Goldstein and Johnston (1997) supported their findings based on the contagion effect. Based on the groundwork of this ideology, an individual dating a disabled person was described as having similar qualities and characteristics as their disabled partner (Goldstein & Johnson, 1997).

The phenomenon was originally coined as “stigma by association” in an earlier study done by Neuberg, Smith, Hoffman, and Russell (1994) on individual’s perceptions of heterosexual men engaging in non-sexual conversations with homosexual men. Their results indicated that heterosexual men were denigrated for interacting with the stigmatized individual, the homosexual man. Jones (2002, p. 155) described this contagion of stigma as when individuals are “merely associated with those unfavorably ‘marked’ are also likely to be denigrated.” In the framework of this study, the applicant’s marriage (association) to an individual from a different racial background that has been historically and socially stigmatized may also receive the same negative attachments, therefore he/she may possibly be denigrated by their co-workers or/and institution.

Legal Environment

It is important to note the current legal setting in the workplace in relation to interracial married employee’s career mobility. The establishment of legal policies in organizations is to assure employee equality and opportunity; however, not every minority group is protected from employment discrimination under current legal statutes. According to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, it is unlawful for organizations to discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin during any aspect of employment, including: selection, compensation, promotion, training, and termination. In addition, the United States (U.S.) federal law prohibits discrimination based on non-job-related factors such as marital status. However, the law doesn’t

explicitly address legal protection against any form of workplace discrimination based on the race of one's spouse. Additionally, based on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), foundation of employment discrimination "must be linked to one of the personal characteristics" (e.g. race, color, religion, sex, national origin, physical and mental handicaps, military service) (Gatewood & Feild, 1994, p. 59). Once more, abstracted from this exhaustive list of protected characteristics is one's marriage type (interracial) or spouse's race.

Several pertinent court cases have surfaced starting in the early 1970's to the most recent being in 2008 on interracially married employees contesting violations of Title VII by their employer; many of which entailing the lack of concrete legality adjustments. Claims of employment discrimination were on the basis that employment practices were operated on the employee's association (marriage) with a person of a different race (Rozycki & Mungerson, 2008). In the case of *Rosenblatt v. Bivona & Cohen, P.C.* (1996), the plaintiff accused the employer of adverse discrimination after being terminated because he was married to a Black woman. The court sided with the plaintiff and explained: the "Plaintiff has alleged discrimination as a result of his marriage to a Black woman. Had he been Black, his marriage would not have been interracial. Therefore, inherent in his complaint is the assertion that he has suffered racial discrimination based on his own race" (*Rosenblatt v. Bivona & Cohen, P.C.*, 1996).

More recently, the case of *Holcomb v. Iona College* (2008) shared a similar allegation context but directly addressed association discrimination. The district court concluded that "an employer may violate Title VII if it takes action against the employee because of the employee's association with a person of another race." Conversely, earlier employment discrimination cases such as *Ripp v. Dobbs Houses, Inc.* (1973) and *Adams v. Governor's Comm. on Post-secondary Edu.* (1981) reached opposing verdicts where the court held that the challenged action did not

constitute discrimination. Further noting that “neither the language of the statute [Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964] nor its legislative history supports a cause of action for discrimination against a person because of his relationship to persons of another race” (*Adams v. Governor’s Comm. on Post-secondary Edu.*, 1981).

The implication of these court cases accentuates the gap in existing anti-discrimination laws. The inconsistent rulings within these cases presented an indistinguishable distinction on what constitutes as a protected or unprotected group or class under Title VII. Despite these rulings, there is still no law that rigorously prohibits employers from practicing discrimination or ostracization based on the racial make-up of one’s relationship or marriage (Burriss, 2006; Rozycki & Mungerson, 2008). The ambiguity around the language of the current discrimination policies permits multiple perspective and legal interpretations. The failure to establish protection laws for interracial married employees against employment discrimination perpetuates the monoracial couple as the normative ideal and the invisibility of multiracial couples in our society. The amplification surrounding this issue needs to be addressed. In essence, exploring interracial married individuals’ career patterns is necessary and imperative.

Employment Discrimination

The largest body of research explored relevant to diversity in the workplace focuses on racial, gender, and sexual orientation discrimination (e.g. Brackmann, 2003; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Noticeably absent from diversity research is the potential discrimination that interracial married employees face in corporate America. Childs (2005, b) contended ongoing existence of opposition toward interracial marriages but just in more subtle or less overt forms of reactions or actions. Furthermore, Thomas (2008) noted that forms of employment discrimination are no longer blatant and salient to the victim but rather practiced covertly in organizations.

Discrimination involves acts or behaviors of unequal treatment toward certain individuals based on their group membership (Jones, 2002, see also Gatewood & Feild, 1994).

Discrimination in the workplace can be costly from an organization (e.g. finance, litigation settlements or severances) and employee (e.g. mental and physical) standpoint (King, Shapiro, Hebl, Singletary, & Turner, 2006). Research has linked the effects of discrimination in the workplace to negatively impacting target's work attitudes (e.g. turnover intentions, organizational commitment and self-esteem) and career outcomes (e.g. promotion opportunities, mentoring) (e.g. Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Targeted individuals may experience individual and/or institutional discrimination. Individual discrimination occurs when an individual intentionally or unintentionally puts a group member at a disadvantage. Institutional discrimination is a systematic discrimination against certain groups of individuals (Jones, 2002) or "the normative practice of exclusion within social institutions" (Lott & Maluso, 1995, p. 3). Pertaining to this current research, interracial married applicants may experience both forms of discrimination, one from their co-workers (e.g. during employment evaluations) and the other from their organization (e.g. lack of supportive organizational policies and practices for career advancement).

Golden (1954) interviewed fifty Black-White married couples on their occupational adjustment and many of the White spouses indicated treatment of employment discrimination such as job termination upon disclosure of interracial marriage. Other interracial couples reported concealing their marriage type from co-workers in fear of negative reactions or career consequences. A more recent qualitative study found analogous reports such that interracial couples indicated experiencing ostracism and fear of retaliation from co-workers if their marriage identity was discovered (Hibbler & Shaw, 2002). For that reason, these interracial

couples reported difficulties in building close and long-term relationships with fellow co-workers. Ragins (2008) described the concealment of a stigmatized identity in work and non-work settings as a state of “disclosure disconnect.” These previous research suggests the pervasiveness of the perceived hostility in the organizational climate and culture for interracial married employees.

These potential forms of employment discrimination may originate from evaluators’ held biases and dependence on individual stereotypes; both covert and overt manifestations of prejudice may be the source of discriminatory evaluations (i.e. failure to promote and mentor). Research on employment bias found that decision makers tend to rely on schemas of applicants’ characteristics associated with their perceived “ideal” organizational candidate (Rowe, 1984) rather than on the applicant’s job-related factors. These shortcuts and heavy reliance on non-relative schemas facilitates bias activation and prejudice application in employment decision making by forming impressions based on group categories (interracial marriages) and generalizations rather than on the evaluated target’s attributes (skills or experiences) and idiosyncrasies (Feldman, 1981).

The current research proposes that employment discrimination exists during evaluations of intermarried applicants. The goal is to examine whether multi-racially married candidates suffer career disadvantages relative to equivalent qualified mono-racially married candidates, such as during promotional consideration. Promotion is a principal means for growth in occupational status, rank, salary, and scope of responsibility within an organization. Several factors are considered during promotional decision-making. Ideally, an employee’s chances for advancement should depend *solely* on his/her current or potential productive abilities and past performance. Although in practice, research indicated that employment considerations not only

include past performance but also non-job-related characteristics of the employee such as skin complexion (Harrison & Thomas, 2009), name, accent (Bertrand & Mullianathan, 2004; Segrest-Purkiss, Perrewé, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006), racial background (e.g. Bertrand & Mullianathan, 2004), and sexual orientation (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Interracially married candidates represent an identity threat for employees, operating both socially and psychologically; therefore, individuals in interracial marriages may face treatment discrimination that prevents them from career advancement (Beatty and Kirby, 2006). Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley (1990) described treatment discrimination as when members of a minority social group are treated based more on their social membership than on their merits which can affect promotions, terminations, and layoffs. Such exposure to discrimination, specifically promotion bias, may have damaging consequences toward interracially married employee's career success.

Hypothesis 1: Marriage type will have a main effect on likelihood of promotion recommendation, such that the non-interracially married candidate will be more likely to be recommended for promotion than the interracially married candidates.

It is also expected that a White man married to a Black woman will be less likely to receive promotional recommendation. Such predictions are based on long historical patterns of oppression and stigmatization of African Americans. When White individuals and their Black partner cross the racial, sexual boundaries by committing themselves into a sacred marriage they become more highly susceptible to public defamation (Perry & Sutton, 2006). Additionally, White men with Black women are perceived as less compatible and cultivate greater discomfort than same race couples (Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001). These negative perceptions depict and enforce the relationship between a White man and Black woman as taboo, unnatural, and politically incorrect.

The portrayal of Black-White marriages polarization from the prototypical marriage may originate on the perceived notion that Black women are inferior to White women; hence incompatible for White men. For instance, Black women have been racialized and labeled as the exotic ‘others’ who stray from the Western ideal of womanhood. Black women have been portrayed as sinful, loud, obnoxious, and unattractive. On the contrary, White women are labeled as pure, innocent, gentle, and goddess-like. The contrast between Black and White women over the past century have left Black women at more of a disadvantage in societal terms.

Lewankowski and Jackson (2001) found that when a White man is married to a Black woman they are perceived as less competent and less likely to be professionally successful than those married to a White woman. Therefore, it is expected that White-Black marriages will experience more promotional discrimination than other marriage types.

Hypothesis 1a: The White-Black marriage condition will result in the lowest likelihood of promotional recommendation than other mix-race marriage conditions.

Socialization Barriers and Interpersonal Discrimination

It is important to focus our attention at the possible work dynamics that hinder healthy social relationship developments for interracially married employees. Individuals who are stigmatized for their marriage type may experience many forms of social threat such as exclusion and rejection. Social support is one influential element in determining one’s level of organizational commitment and satisfaction, which in turn affects one’s job performance and retention (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001). Research indicates that interracially married individuals reported experiencing forms of isolation, denigration, and discrimination from their friends, family, and co-workers (Aldridge, 1978; Golden, 1954; Hibbler & Shinew, 2002; Lewandowski & Jackson, 2001). Aldridge (1978) noted that many interracial couples (e.g. Black-White

marriages) confront personal and social problems and at times are “shut out of social life in Black circles and being forced to seek” (p. 362) support from other interracial environments.

Productive mentoring relationships are vital in organizational settings, especially for members of stigmatized groups. Mentoring literature also suggested that the benefit of mentoring relationships extends to the mentor as well as the organization (Wanberg, Welsh, & Hezlett, 2003). Access to a mentor has been reported as having positive objective and subjective career outcomes for protégés (Allen, Eby, Potect, Lentz, & Lima, 2004). Objective outcomes usually involve the process of job advancement and increase in compensation and subjective outcomes are loosely categorized as intangible results or personal development that are related to one’s career success (e.g. social acceptance, career satisfaction, career motivation, turnover intentions) (Gattiker & Larwood, 1986). Mentoring relationships can be critical to one’s career development as well as one’s ability to adapt and adjust to the culture of the organization. For example, research contended that mentors also provide protégés with enhanced learning opportunities and establishment of self-esteem and work identity (Allen, et al., 2004). A mentor is broadly conceptualized as an employee who utilizes their knowledge, skills, abilities, and power to provide guidance to enhance the protégé’s career goals (Kram, 1983). A mentor role may include providing job-related and developmental feedback to the protégé.

Mentoring literature investigated several potential factors associated with protégé selection such as protégé characteristics (e.g. perceived protégé ability and need for assistance) (Allen, Poteet, & Russell, 2000), race and gender composition (Dreher & Cox, 1996), and protégé performance and marital status (Olian, Carroll, Giannantonio, 1993). Mentors may embark on unique risks and challenges when taking on a protégé with differences between them. Tsui and O’Reilly (1989) asserted that increasing dissimilarity of relational demography is

associated with less personal attraction on part of the mentors selecting subordinates in mentoring relationships. In addition, mentors may feel less inclined to choose a protégé that may misrepresent their own self identification. White men in interracial marriages, in particular, may encounter different obstacles than non-interracially married White men. For instance, the world of corporate America may refuse to accept him into their corporate inner circles due to his association with a stigmatized racial group or his act of “unfavorable” behaviors. It is important that these individuals receive support, guidance, and motivation by their mentor in order to gain a sense of acceptance and inclusion with their organization.

Hypothesis 2: Marriage type will have a main effect on likelihood of mentoring, such that the interracial married candidate will be less likely to be mentored than the non-interracially married candidate.

Hypothesis 2a: The White-Black marriage condition will result in the lowest likelihood of receiving mentoring than the other marriage conditions.

The present study also examined the effects of high and low position visibility on interracial married candidate’s career mobility. Negative evaluations of interracial married employees may be more prevalent when the situation for position recommendation involves a high visibility position. The high visibility position described the position occupant as having prestigious status and a role as a public relations liaison and representative for the organization. An employee in a high position embodies the image of organization both in and outside the work setting, while low visibility positions have less prestige.

Hypothesis 3: There will be a significant interaction between marriage type and position visibility on likelihood of *promotion recommendation* such that, in the high visibility

position condition, the non-interracially married candidate will receive higher likelihood of promotion recommendation than interracially married candidates.

Hypothesis 4: There will be a significant interaction between marriage type and position visibility on likelihood of *mentoring* such that, in the high visibility job condition, the non-interracially married candidate will receive higher likelihood of mentoring than interracially married candidates.

In addition to developing mentor-protégé relationships, literature suggests that access to social networking can play pertinent roles in positively influencing one's organizational advancement (e.g. de Janasz & Forret, 2008; Forret & Dougherty, 2004). Lack of informal social networks with co-workers may result in difficulties of "fitting" within the organization for these individuals. If the individual feels incongruence between personal and organizational compatibility then he/she might develop emotions of discomfort and dissatisfaction; therefore, may withdraw from the organization. Organizational withdrawal is when an organizational member feel inclined to socially and mentally separate his/herself at the organizational (e.g. absences, tardiness) or individual level (e.g. avoidance of coworker social activities, isolated lunch break).

More specifically, these individuals may experience interpersonal discrimination based on the racial composition of one's marriage. Interpersonal discrimination is associated with social distancing, avoidance, and exclusion due to one's stigmatization (Lott & Maluso, 1995, see also King et al., 2006). Social integration at the organization level has been found to affect individual's turnover so that when members of the organization reflect less satisfaction, attraction, or similarity amongst each other (i.e. age, race, education, identity group) then turnover will be higher (O'Reilly, Caldwell, & Barnett, 1989). Similarly to other manifestations

of prejudice, the presence of interpersonal discrimination have been associated with personal and organizational (i.e. bottom line) consequences (King et al., 2006).

Interracially married individuals may encounter fewer opportunities for informal socialization due to high social distancing and negative preconceptions by their co-workers. A recent study done by Qian and Lichter (2007) indicated a strong sense of social distancing and intergroup boundaries regarding the intermarriage of African Americans with other racial groups. In further support, Lewandowski and Jackson (2001) found that individuals have a tendency to desire greater social distance from interracial couples that included an African American man or woman than from same race couples.

Hypothesis 5: Social distancing will moderate the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on likelihood of promotion recommendation. In the high position visibility condition, participants that indicated higher social distancing will be less likely to recommend promotion for the interracially married candidate than the same race married candidate.

Hypothesis 6: Social distancing will moderate the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on willingness to mentor. In the high position visibility condition, participants that indicated higher social distancing will be less likely to mentor the interracially married candidate than the same race married candidate.

Deviation from Social Group Expectations

According to social identity theory (SIT), an individual's self-concept is derived from one's knowledge of their membership in social groups along with the value and emotional components attached to that membership (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). As humans, we constantly interact with others in social, religious, educational, and organizational settings. During these

interactions we reduce information by grouping people based on similarities to each other and to ourselves by forming prototypes of our own group and other groups. These human tendencies to group individuals as either in-group member or out-group members are the origin of discrimination (Pavur, 2005) which can play a major role in organizational settings. The theory further explains that each group is governed by norms and expectations of appropriate in-group attitudes and behaviors that members of the group are assumed to abide by these “codes of conduct” (Brewer, 2007, p. 732). Departure from the socially constructed group rules and regulations (e.g. marriage outside one’s racial group) challenges the status quo. The White man may be labeled as the undesirable in-group member due to his marriage to a non-White spouse instead of the expected White woman. Evaluators may question his in-group loyalty upon awareness of his “violation” toward the group norm. These uncertainties of whether he is an in-group member or an outcast establish limitations and boundaries for the targeted individual across various situations (e.g. invitations to social gatherings or social networking opportunities).

The *black sheep effect* elaborates on how social identity theory applies to interracial marriages and work outcomes. Marques, Yzerbyt, and Leyens (1988) described the black sheep effect as when in-group members derogate other in-group members who behave outside the group’s defined characteristics as a mechanism to protect the image of the group. These unfavorable in-group members (‘black sheep’) perceived possessing negative qualities that are not considered characteristics of their general in-group. Based on this model, White individuals in an interracial marriage may be viewed as violating their racial group’s beliefs and values and ultimately titled as the deviant (i.e. negative, unfavorable) in-group member. Consequently, in-group members who threaten or devalue the in-group identity are berated (Branscombe, Wann, Noel, & Coleman, 1993; Hutchison & Abrams, 2003; Marques, Abrams, & Serôdio, 2001;

Marques, et al., 1988) in order to preserve the in-group's positive identity (Castano, Paladino, Coull, & Yzerbyt, 2002; Coull, Yzerbyt, Castano, Paladino, & Leemans, 2001).

Along the same line of social identity research, Oishi and Yoshida (2002) found that in-group identity showed a positive relationship with the black sheep effect. In regards to this study, White individuals who marry outside their race may be viewed as behaving negatively and jeopardizing the in-group reputation; as a form of discrimination coworkers may formulate negative employment decisions on the targeted employee. In accordance with social identity theory and black sheep effect, identification with high in-group self-esteem induced negative judgment of the deviant in-group member ('black sheep') (Biernat, Vescio, & Billings, 1999; Branscombe et al., 1992). Research indicated that forms of in-group rejection occur most often during the presence of threat or danger to the in-group esteem (Bizman & Yinon, 2001).

Hypothesis 7: In group self-esteem will moderate the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on the likelihood of promotion recommendation. In the high position visibility condition, respondents with high in-group self-esteem will indicate less likelihood of promotion recommendation for the interracial married candidate than the same race married candidate.

Hypothesis 8: In group self-esteem will moderate the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on willingness to mentor. In the high position visibility condition, respondents with high in-group self-esteem will indicate less willingness to mentor for the interracial married candidate than the same race married candidate.

The Current Study

To date, no known body of empirical research addressed the kind of barriers that interracial married employees may encounter at the level of the organization. Evidently, due to

limited research on this specific topic, less is known about the career patterns of these individuals. Therefore, the study experimentally explored participant's likelihood of promotion and mentorship for an interracial married applicant in either a high or low visibility position. The research additionally investigated social distancing and in-group self-esteem as potential moderators.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

Sample

Data was collected via a web-based survey from 558 undergraduate students at a large southeastern university. Respondents that correctly identified their assigned marriage type *and* position visibility were included in data analyses. Therefore, the resulting sample consisted of 309 participants¹ which included 79.6% women; average age was 18.9 years ($SD = 1.25$); 80.9% were White; 56.3% were first year undergraduate students.

Stimuli

Candidate application. A standard application form was used in order to manipulate the candidate's name, marital status, education, background, previous performance evaluation, ethnicity, and gender. The candidate's previous work performance was described as someone with a high performance evaluation (see Chung & Leung, 1987). Following the description of the candidate was the spouse's name, relationship to candidate, race (Black, White, Hispanic, or Asian), and job position (African American Studies, American History, or Asian American Studies) which varied by condition. The spouse's relationship to candidate, name, and occupation was identified in the "Emergency Contact" response box. The candidate's race and sex, a White male, remained constant across all conditions in order to assure that participants are

¹ An a priori power analysis using the program G*Power (Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) indicated that a total sample size of 280 is required to detect medium effects ($f = 0.25$) and a 95% power with alpha (α) at .05.

responding to marriage type manipulation rather than the potential promotion bias associated with the Black male and the female gender stigmas.

Position visibility. Participants received a description of the vacant position in either high or low visibility. The high visibility position described activities and social events that required the invitation and presence of the employee's spouse more frequently than the low visibility position. The high and low visibility positions were equivalent in terms of job title and salary.

Participants read one of the following position visibility descriptions:

High Visibility: Expected high visibility within and outside of the organization.

Required to attend job related social events such as dinners, marketing award ceremonies, and media sponsored balls. Conduct in-person meetings with high end clients. Manage all press and media relations through televised conferences. Expected to uphold the prestigious image of the company.

Low Visibility: Minimum requirement of visibility outside of the organization.

Required to attend job related events such as company networking events at corporate office. Conduct business meetings with clients via telephone. Manage duties and responsibilities at the organization. All press and media relations are conduct via phone, mail, or e-mail.

Manipulation checks. Manipulation checks included marriage type and position visibility. Manipulation check items included, "What type of marriage was the candidate in?" (e.g. same race marriage, interracial marriage, same sex marriage) and "What ethnicity was the candidate's spouse?", was used to guarantee that participants were cognizant of whether or not the employee was in an interracial marriage and the racial composition of their marriage. The second manipulation check assessed position visibility with the following items: "How would you

describe the (a) visibility, (b) importance, and (c) prestige of the vacant job position?”

Manipulation checks were assessed before the distribution of the dependent variables.

Promotion. Three items were used to measure respondent’s likelihood to recommend promotion (Segrest-Purkiss, Perrew, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006): “I will not recommend promoting the applicant for the Senior Marketing and Public Relations Analyst position” (reverse-coded); “I will recommend promoting the applicant for the Senior Marketing and Public Relations Analyst position”; and “I plan to recommend promoting the applicant for the Senior Marketing and Public Relations Analyst position.” Respondents rated items on a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Our study yielded a coefficient alpha of .83. Higher scores indicated stronger intentions to recommend promotion.

Mentoring intentions. Participants’ willingness to mentor the candidate was assessed using two items: “I would like to be a mentor”; and “I have no desire to be a mentor” (reverse-coded) using a 5-point scale with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Ragins and Cotton (1993) reported the Willingness to Mentor measure with a respected coefficient alpha of .83; in this study, the estimate was .95. Higher scores indicated greater intentions to mentoring the candidate.

Race-CSES. Participants’ in group self-esteem were assessed using the Race-Specific Collective Self-Esteem Scale (R-CSES) (Crocker, Luthanen, Blaine, & Broadnax, 1994), a 16-item 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) measuring 4 sub-scales (Membership Esteem, Private Collective Self Esteem, Public Collective Self Esteem, and Importance to Identity). The present study focused on the composite score of the scale to assess respondent’s in-group self-esteem. Higher scores indicated higher in-group self-esteem. The

authors reported the coefficient alpha for the entire scale at .83; our study coefficient alpha was .85.

Demographics. Participants identified their age, sex, and ethnicity.

Social distancing. The twelve item scale was an adapted and modified version of Esses and Dovidio's (2002) social distance scale using a 5-point Likert scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Participants responded to situational items *if they were given the opportunity* to interact with *someone outside their race* (e.g. "I would marry someone outside my race"; "I would accept someone outside my race as a family member through marriage"; "I would accept someone outside my race as a work colleague"). Lower scores indicated higher social distancing intentions. For instance, participants with a high composite score expressed greater acceptance to interact or associate with individuals outside their racial group. Participants with strongly disagrees responses indicated lower intentions for interracial interactions. Our study yielded a coefficient alpha of .92.

Drawbacks to mentoring. Six items were used to assess participants' perception of potential drawbacks in mentoring the candidate (Ragins & Cotton, 1993: e.g., "I would not want the risk of being put in a bad light by my protégé's failures."). Higher scores indicated greater perception of mentor drawbacks. Our study yielded a coefficient alpha of .74.

Perceptions of candidate. Perception of the candidate was a seven item measure assessing perceived competency, career success, and qualifications of the candidate (1= strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Example items included, "The applicant is highly competent."; "The applicant fits the organization's mission and culture."; "The applicant is qualified for the position." Higher scores indicated positive perception of the candidate and lower scores indicated negative perception of the candidate. These seven items were factor analyzed using

principal component analysis with Varimax (orthogonal) rotation in order to identify a single underlying construct for the perception of the candidate measure. Coefficient alpha of the scale with our sample was .88.

Control variables. A range of control variables were included in the analyses in order to reduce potential alternative explanations from results. Prior organizational research has identified perception of the candidate (e.g. organizational fit and career success) as an important predictor in likelihood of recommending promotion (e.g. Carless, 2005), thus perception of the candidate variable was included as a control variable. As seen from Table 1, the intentions to mentor and mentor drawbacks variables were strongly correlated with one another ($r > .60$). Therefore, the mentor drawbacks variable was controlled for in order to ensure that the variable has no impact on mentoring intentions. Given the sample was predominately White female undergraduates, gender and ethnicity were also considered appropriate control variables.

Design and Procedure

Participants were randomly assigned into one of eight conditions in a 4 (Marriage type) x 2 (Position visibility: low vs. high) between-subjects factorial design. In each marriage condition, the promotion candidate was a White male. The dependent variables were recommendation for promotion and willingness to mentor.

First, participants were provided the candidate's application and the vacant job description. Instructions informed participants that recall of this information is expected sometime during the survey. Participants were led to believe that the purpose of the study is that an organization, Duplex Inc., is actually looking for an employee to fill a vacant (high x low visibility) position. Participants were instructed to assume the role of a member of a promotion committee that assesses applications. The manipulation of the spouse's race was portrayed via

name assignment. For example, under the White-Black marriage condition the spouse's name was Monique; White-Asian, Ming; White-Hispanic, Maria; same race (White), Emily. In addition, participants were led to assume that they were receiving only one of ten potential candidate's application to evaluate for the position. Manipulation checks on the candidate's marriage type, spouse's ethnicity, and position visibility were performed before proceeding to promotion and mentoring questions.

Participants were instructed to respond to items on promotion recommendation and willingness to mentor. Distracter items were presented next. Then, participants reported their age, gender, and ethnicity. In-group self-esteem was assessed next, followed by the social distancing. In all eight conditions, participants responded to an identical series of items. Upon completion of the study, all participants were debriefed and thanked.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted in order to ensure that participants noticed the manipulations and correctly perceived the spouse's race to the assigned racial name. One hundred and seventy-nine undergraduate students (95 women and 81 men; 151 White; average age = 19.70 years, $SD = 1.27$) participated in the study and were randomly assigned across cells. Participants were exposed to one of four trial employment applications where the candidate had a White spouse, Black spouse, Asian spouse, or Hispanic spouse. Then, participants were instructed to respond to several questions to ensure they have noticed the manipulated content.

Separate logistic regression analyses were conducted in order to examine whether each spouse name predicted their expected racial group by regressing perceived spouse's ethnicity onto each spouse name. Correct ethnicity and name identification were coded 1 and incorrect ethnicity and name identification were coded 0. Logistic regression was performed due to the

dichotomous nature of the dependent variable. Due to the small cells for the White spouse group, logistic regression analyses were unable to produce stable and interpretable results; however, 90.2% of participants correctly identified Emily as White. Participants in the Black spouse group successfully perceived Monique as an African American more frequently than all other racial groups (i.e. Asian, White, and Hispanic), $\chi^2(1, N = 45) = 4.43, p < .05$. Additionally, participants significantly perceived the spouse name, Ming, as an Asian American, $\chi^2(1, N = 37) = 14.09, p < .01$ and the spouse name, Marià as Hispanic origin, $\chi^2(1, N = 53) = 11.73, p < .01$.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics and correlations among the study variables were computed. The social distancing and in-group self-esteem variables were mean-centered to prevent the issue of multicollinearity (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003), and dummy coding was used for position visibility (0 = low, 1 = high) and gender (0 = male, 1 = female).

Separate analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) for Hypotheses 1 through 4 were conducted for each predictors of interest on promotion recommendation and mentoring intentions with appropriate covariates. To test for Hypotheses 1 and 1a, an analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted between marriage type and promotion recommendation with social distancing and participant's race as covariates. A similar analysis for Hypothesis 2 and 2a were performed between marriage type and willingness to mentor with social distancing and participant's sex as covariates. Separate two-way interactions were examined for each outcome variable (e.g. mentoring intentions, promotion recommendation) for Hypotheses 3 and 4 by conducting a 4 (Marriage Type) x 2 (Position Visibility) between subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA).

To test Hypotheses 5 through 8, a series of four-step hierarchical regression analyses were estimated to predict each dependent variable separately: likelihood of promotion recommendation and willingness to mentor. Unweighted effects coding (0, -1, 1) were used for the categorical predictor variable (e.g. marriage type) with same race marriage condition as the base group.

Relevant control variables (e.g. participant's race and/or ethnicity) were entered in the first step, main effects (e.g. marriage type, position visibility) were entered next, and two-way interaction terms between marriage type x position visibility were entered in the third step. The fourth step entered relevant three-way interaction terms in the model. The contrast between Hypotheses 5 and 6 to Hypotheses 7 and 8 differed in the final step of the regression analysis. For Hypotheses 5 and 6, relevant three-way interaction terms between marriage type, position visibility, and *social distancing* (centered) were entered in the fourth step. Whereas the fourth step of Hypotheses 7 and 8 regression analyses included relevant three-way interaction terms between marriage type, position visibility, and *in-group self-esteem* (centered). For each model, the total variance accounted for by the factors (R^2) and the change in explained variance associated with each step of the model (R^2 change) were evaluated. Tests of simple slopes were conducted for all statistically significant interactions.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Participants that responded with the correct identification of the candidate's marriage type and spouse's race were included and participants with incorrect manipulation responses were dropped from further data analyses. In the White-Black marriage condition, 50.7% ($n = 76$) of the participants correctly identified the candidate in an interracial marriage; 60.4% ($n = 81$) for the White-Asian marriage condition; 54.5% ($n = 79$) for the White-Hispanic marriage condition; 56.6% ($n = 73$) for the same race (White) marriage condition. Level of position visibility where 52.7% ($n = 139$) correctly identified as being in the low position visibility and 57.8% ($n = 170$) for the high position visibility conditions. Therefore, a total of 309 participants were included for the tests of hypotheses.

To examine whether participants perceived the low and high position visibility differently, perceived importance was regressed onto position visibility (low vs. high). As anticipated, participants in the high visibility condition ($M = 2.86$) perceived the vacant position significantly more important than those in the low visibility condition ($M = 2.66$), $\beta = .23$, $t(307) = 4.12$, $p < .001$. In addition, regression analyses revealed the high visibility position as perceived more prestigious than the low visibility position, $\beta = .32$, $t(307) = 5.90$, $p < .001$.

Marriage Type

Table 4.1 summarizes the correlations, means, and standard deviations for the study variables of interest.

Analysis of covariance results for Hypotheses 1 through 4 are presented in Table 4.2. After controlling for participant's race, perception of candidate, and social distancing, results indicated no significant differences in promotion recommendation between the interracial and non-interracially married groups, $F(1, 302) = 0.21, p = .65$ (Hypothesis 1). Next, results revealed a non-significant effect between marriage type and participant's willingness to mentor the candidate after controlling for the effect of participants' perception of candidate, social distancing, and race, $F(3, 300) = 0.61, p = .61$, thus failing to support Hypothesis 1a.

Hypothesis 2 expected differences in participants' mentoring intentions between an interracial married candidate and same race married candidates. There was no significant effect of participants' mentoring intentions on whether the candidate was interracial married or same race married after controlling for gender, social distancing, and mentor drawbacks, $F(1, 302) = 1.19, p = .28$, thus failing to support Hypothesis 2. Next, the relationship between marriage type and mentoring intentions was examined. When participant's gender, social distancing, and drawbacks to mentor was controlled for in the model, the main effect of marriage type on mentoring intentions was not significant, $F(3, 301) = 1.46, p = .22$ (Hypothesis 2a). Hypothesis 2a was not supported.

Marriage Type and Position Visibility

Willingness to recommend promotion for the candidate was submitted to a 4 (marriage type) x 2 (position visibility) ANCOVA, see Table 4.2. Main effects of marriage type and position visibility on promotion recommendation yielded non-significant F ratios of $F(3, 296) =$

0.68, $p = .57$ and $F(1, 296) = 0.11, p = 0.74$, respectively. The interaction effect was also non-significant, $F(3, 296) = 1.77, p = 0.15$, thus failed to support Hypothesis 3. Similarly, no significant effects were found for marriage type, $F(3, 296) = 1.38, p = .25$, position visibility, $F(1, 296) = 1.00, p = .32$, and marriage type x position visibility interaction, $F(3, 296) = 0.35, p = .79$ on mentoring intentions; therefore, Hypothesis 4 was not supported.

Moderators: Social Distancing and In-group Self-esteem

Each moderator was examined separately for promotion recommendation and mentoring intention outcomes. Centered in-group self-esteem and social distancing variables were included in the regression analyses, and interaction terms were based on these centered variables. To test Hypothesis 5 through 8, a series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. Results indicated variance inflation factors less than 10 and tolerances greater than .10 for all included independent variables in each model. Therefore, according to Cohen and colleagues' (2003) multicollinearity test indices, all examined predictors indicated multicollinearity was not an issue.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that social distancing moderated the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on promotion recommendation. After controlling participants' gender, ethnicity, and perception of the candidate, the interaction term between the White-Hispanic marriage type, position visibility, and social distancing in Step 4 was not significant ($\beta = -.03, p = .55$) nor was the interaction involving the White/Black marriage type ($\beta = -.01, p = .88$) and the interaction involving the White-Asian marriage type ($\beta = -.02, p = .67$), see Table 4.3. Therefore, Hypothesis 5 was not supported. Next, intention to mentor was regressed on the interaction term between marriage type, position visibility, and social distancing. It is expected that social distancing influenced the relationship between marriage type

and position visibility on intentions to mentoring the candidate (Hypothesis 6). All three-way interactions predicting mentoring intentions was not significant (see Table 4.3).

Next, three-way interactions involving in-group self-esteem were examined for each expected outcome. Hypothesis 7 proposed that in-group self-esteem moderated the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on promotion recommendation. The three-way interaction model in Step 4 revealed non-significant regression coefficients for the interaction term between White-Black marriage type, position visibility, and in-group self-esteem ($\beta = -.05$, $p = .24$), nor for the interaction term with the White-Asian marriage type ($\beta = .05$, $p = .30$) and the White-Hispanic marriage type ($\beta = -.01$, $p = .96$). Therefore, results failed to support Hypothesis 7 (see Table 4. 4). It should be noted that the overall model in Hypotheses 5 through 7 indicated significant R squared values ($R^2 = .59$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .55$, $p < .01$, $R^2 = .59$, $p < .01$, respectively); however, interactions in Step 4 of all three separate analyses revealed no statistically significant regression coefficients; therefore, neither hypotheses was supported.

Hypothesis 8 expected in-group self-esteem to moderate the relationship between marriage type and position visibility on intentions to mentoring the candidate. As shown on Table 4.4, the fourth step of the hierarchical regression containing the three-way interactions predicted 53% of variance in participants' intentions to mentor, $F(17, 290) = 21.70$, $p < .01$, thus yielding support for the predicted interaction. The three-way interaction between the White-Black marriage type, position visibility, and in-group self-esteem was statistically significant ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .05$).

For further interpretation of the specific nature of the three-way interaction, a test of slope differences was conducted based on Dawson and Richter's (2006) proposed four steps. First, four simple slopes were generated from the relation between intentions to mentoring the

White-Black married candidate at high and low levels of the position visibility and in-group self-esteem. Then, the differences between all six pairs of slopes were calculated. Next, the standard of error of slope differences was computed. The final step tested the significance of each slope difference.

A Bonferroni correction was performed due to the exploratory nature of the post hoc testing. Results indicated significant differences between two of the six pairs of slopes, see Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1. The slope of the White-Black married candidate, high visibility position, and low in-group self-esteem were significantly different from the other two slopes. Participants with high in-group self-esteem displayed fewer intentions to mentoring the White candidate with the Black spouse than those with low in-group self-esteem during evaluations for the high visibility position, $t = -3.16, p < .01$. Low in-group self-esteem participants reported higher intentions to mentor the White-Black married candidate during the high visibility position evaluation than during the low visibility position evaluation, $t = 2.62, p < .01$. No other three-way interaction terms in this model were significant, see Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3.

Additional Analyses

The original focus of the study evaluated potential variables predicting mentoring intentions and promotion recommendation, exploratory analysis of covariance revealed a significant relationship between marriage type and perceived mentoring drawbacks after controlling for participant's gender, $F(3, 304) = 4.783, p < .01$. Post hoc results indicated that participants perceived more negative consequences in mentoring the White candidate married to a Black woman ($M = 2.68$) than an Asian woman ($M = 2.32$), $d = .59$, medium effect size. Additionally, participants perceived more negative consequences in mentoring the White candidate with a Hispanic spouse ($M = 2.60$) than an Asian spouse, $d = .44$, small effect size.

Two-way hierarchical regression results indicated a significant interaction between marriage type and in-group self-esteem on intentions to mentor, $F(11, 295) = 39.29, p < .01$, see Table 4.6. As shown in Figure 4.4, participants with low in-group self-esteem reported higher motivation to mentor the White-Black married candidate than individuals with high in-group self-esteem ($\beta = -.30, p < .05$).

Additional analyses examined variables that potentially influenced the perception of the candidate. Hierarchical regression results revealed a significant two-way interaction between marriage type and social distancing on perception of the candidate, $F(11, 295) = 39.29, p < .01$, see Table 4.7. The interaction is depicted in Figure 4.5. As the figure illustrates, participants with high social distancing reported higher negative perception of the White-Hispanic married candidate than participants with low social distancing. Even though these results were not originally predicted, these findings support the study's theoretical framework.

Table 4.1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Intercorrelations of Study Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Gender	—								
2. Ethnicity	.00	—							
3. Position Visibility (PV)	-.05	-.08	—						
4. Promotion Recommendation (PR)	.01	.18**	-.06	—					
5. Mentoring Intentions (MI)	.18**	-.02	-.02	.17**	—				
6. In-group Self-Esteem (ISE)	.01	.03	-.02	-.08	.07	—			
7. Social Distancing (SD)	.16**	-.21**	-.01	.11**	.16**	-.23**	—		
8. Mentor Drawbacks (MD)	-.12*	-.01	.08	-.22**	-.73*	-.07	-.20**	—	
9. Perception of Candidate (PC)	-.03	.16**	-.05	.76**	.12*	.01	.11	-.23**	—
<i>M</i>	.80	.81	.55	4.17	3.43	3.82	4.35	2.52	4.01
<i>SD</i>	.40	.39	.50	.57	.46	.46	.56	.64	.52

Note. $N = 307-309$. Higher scores indicate higher willingness to recommend promotion, mentoring intentions, in-group self-esteem, and social distancing. Gender is coded 0 = male and 1 = female. Position visibility is coded 0 = low visibility and 1 = high visibility. * $p < 0.5$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.2
Analysis of Covariance *F* Ratios by Outcome

Effect	Promotion			Mentor		
	IM	MT	MT x PV	IM	MT	MT x PV
Covariates						
Ethnicity	2.79	2.58	2.63			
Gender				5.86*	6.05*	5.79*
PC	369.29**	368.54**	370.27**			
SD	1.48	1.73	1.65	.01	.04	.02
MD				312.21**	305.15**	303.94**
Main effects						
IM	.21			1.19		
MT		.61	.68		1.46	1.38
PV			.11			1.00
Two-way interactions						
MT x PV			1.77			.35

Note. $N= 307$ Interracial marriage is coded 0 = non-interracial marriage and 1 = all interracial marriages. Marriage type consists of White-Black, White-Asian, White-Hispanic, and same race (White). PC = perception of candidate; SD = social distancing; MD = mentoring drawbacks; IM = interracial marriage; MT = marriage type; PV = position visibility.

* $p < 0.05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.3
Three-Way Interaction among Marriage Type, Position Visibility (PV), and Social Distancing (SD) by Outcome

Predictors	Recommend Promotion				Intentions to Mentor			
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
Race	.06	.06	.06	.06				
Gender	.03	.02	.01	.01	.09*	.10*	.10*	.10*
PC	.75**	.74**	.75**	.75**				
MD					-.72**	-.72*	-.72**	-.72**
UB		.05	.06	.06		.06	.07	.07
UA		-.04	-.04	-.04		-.04	-.04	-.04
UH		.01	.01	.01		-.07	-.08	-.08
PV		-.01	-.02	-.01		.04	.04	-.04
SD		.05	.04	.05		.01	.01	.01
PV x SD			.04	.03			-.01	-.01
UB x PV			-.07	-.07			.04	.05
UA x PV			-.03	-.02			-.01	-.01
UH x PV			-.01	.01			-.03	-.03
UB x SD			.02	.02			.08	.08
UA x SD			-.01	-.01			-.03	-.03
UH x SD			-.06	-.06			-.01	-.01
UB x PV x SD				-.01				.01
UA x PV x SD				-.02				.01
UH x PV x SD				-.03				.02
ΔR^2	.573**	.004**	.011**	.003* *	.532**	.008**	.005**	.001**

Note. $N = 307$. Values are standardized regression coefficients. MD= mentor drawbacks; PC = perception of candidate; SD = social distancing; PV = Position Visibility; UB = unweighted White/Black marriage type; UA = unweighted White/Asian marriage type; UH = unweighted White/Hispanic marriage type. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.4
Three-Way Interaction among Marriage Type, Position Visibility (PV), and In-group Self-esteem (IS) by Outcome

Predictors	Recommend Promotion				Intentions to Mentor			
	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4	Step 1	Step 2	Step 3	Step 4
Gender					.09*	.10*	.09*	.10*
Race	.06	.05	.05	.05				
PC	.75**	.75**	.75**	.75**				
MD					-.71**	-.72*	-.73**	-.71**
UB		.04	.05	.05		.06	.05	.06
UA		-.03	-.03	-.02		-.04	-.04	-.04
UH		.02	.02	.01		-.07	-.07	-.07
PV		-.01	-.01	-.01		.04	.05	.04
IS		-.09*	-.10*	.10*		.02	.02	.03
PV x IS			-.01	-.01			.01	.02
UB x PV			-.06	-.06			.06	.05
UA x PV			-.04	-.05			-.01	.01
UH x PV			.01	.01			-.03	-.04
UB x IS			-.02	-.01			-.09*	-.09*
UA x IS			.02	.01			.02	.01
UH x IS			.02	.02			.03	.03
UB x PV x IS				-.05				-.11*
UA x PV x IS				.05				-.01
UH x PV x IS				-.01				.07
ΔR^2	.573**	.004**	.011**	.003* *	.532**	.008**	.005**	.001**

Note. $N = 307$. Values are standardized regression coefficients. MD = mentor drawbacks; PC = perception of candidate; IS = in-group self-esteem; PV = Position Visibility; UB = unweighted White/Black marriage type; UA = unweighted White/Asian marriage type; UH = unweighted White/Hispanic marriage type. * $p < 0.05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 4.5
Slope Difference Tests for White-Black Married Candidate
Slope Difference Tests for White-Black Married Candidate

Label	Pair of slopes compared	<i>t</i>
a	High PV/High IS vs. High PV/Low IS	- 3.162*
b	High PV/High IS vs. Low PV/High IS	- 1.673
c	High PV/High IS vs. Low PV/Low IS	- 1.255
d	High PV/Low IS vs. Low PV/High IS	2.199
e	High PV/Low IS vs. Low PV/Low IS	2.618*
f	Low PV/High IS vs. Low PV/Low IS	0.313

Note. $N=307$. $df = 290$. IS = in-group self-esteem; PV = position visibility.

* $p < .01$.

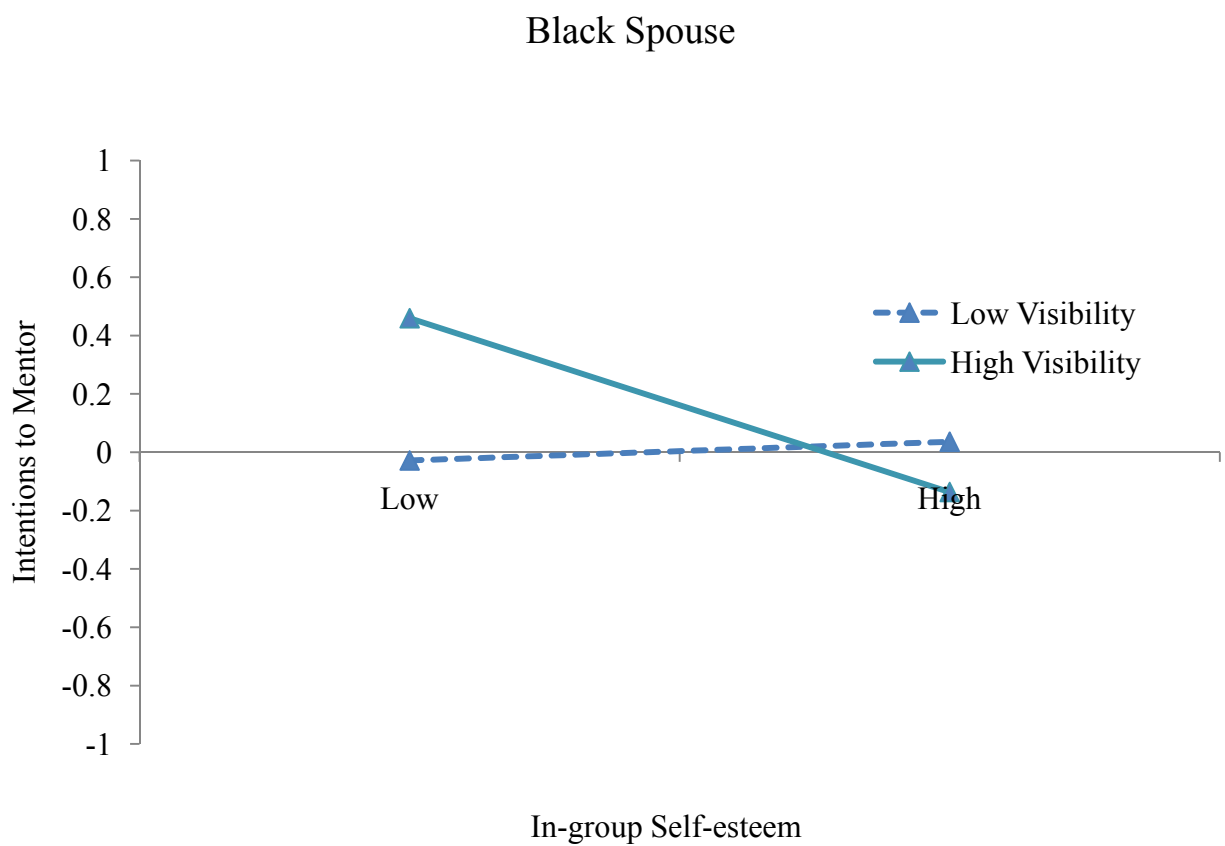


Figure 4.1
Three-way Interaction between White-Black Married Candidate X Position Visibility X In-group Self-esteem Predicting Intentions to Mentor.

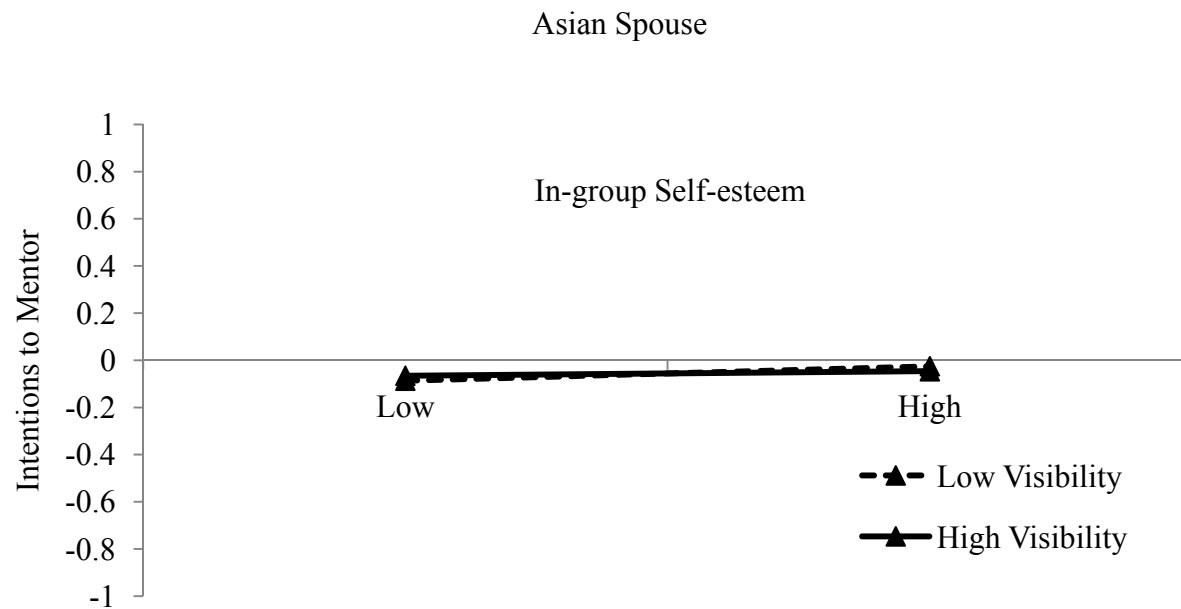


Figure 4.2. Three-way interaction between White-Asian Married Candidate x Position Visibility x In-group Self-esteem predicting intentions to mentor.



Figure 4.3. Three-way interaction between White-Hispanic Married Candidate x Position Visibility x In-group Self-esteem predicting intentions to mentor.

Table 4.6
Marriage Type X In-group Self-esteem (IS) Interactions Predicting Mentoring Intentions

Step	1	2	3
Gender	.09	.10	.09
MD	-.71**	-.72**	-.72**
UB		.05	.05
UA		-.04	-.04
UH		-.07	-.07
IS		.02	.02
UB x IS			-.09*
UA x IS			.01
UH x IS			.03
ΔR^2	.53**	.006**	.006**

Note. $N=307$. Values are standardized regression coefficients. All lower order terms used in interactions were centered prior to analyses. MD = mentoring drawbacks; IS = in-group self-esteem; SD = social distancing; UB = unweighted White/Black marriage type; UA = unweighted White/Asian marriage type; UH = unweighted White/Hispanic marriage type.

* $p < 0.5$. ** $p < .01$.

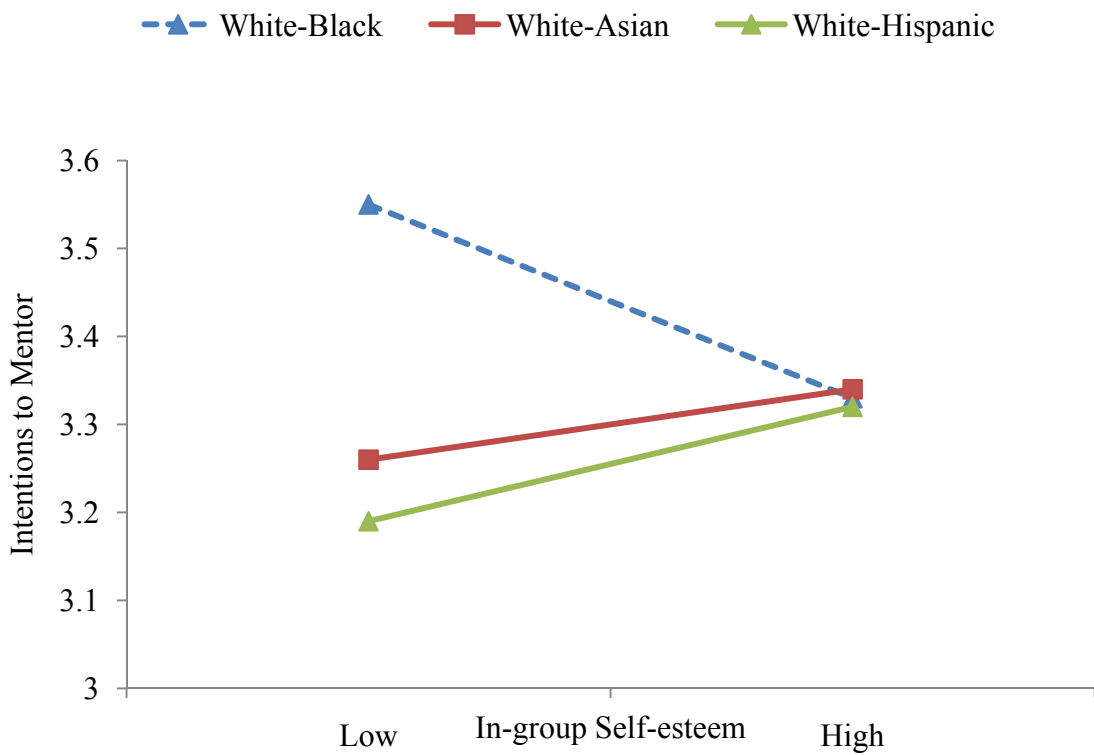


Figure 4.4
Two-way Interaction between Marriage Type X In-group Self-esteem Predicting Intentions to Mentor.

Table 4.7
Marriage Type X Social Distancing (SD) Interactions Predicting Perception of the Candidate

Step	1	2	3
Ethnicity	.03	.04	.05
MD	-.06	-.05	-.06
Promotion	.74**	.74**	.73**
IS	.07	.08	.07
UB		-.03	-.03
UA		.01	.02
UH		-.01	-.01
SD		.04	.05
UB x SD			-.07
UA x SD			-.04
UH x SD			-.05**
ΔR^2	.58**	.002**	.013**

Note. $N=307$. Values are standardized regression coefficients. All lower order terms used in interactions were centered prior to analyses. MD = mentoring drawbacks; IS = in-group self-esteem; SD = social distancing; UB = unweighted White/Black marriage type; UA = unweighted White/Asian marriage type; UH = unweighted White/Hispanic marriage type.

* $p < 0.5$. ** $p < .01$.

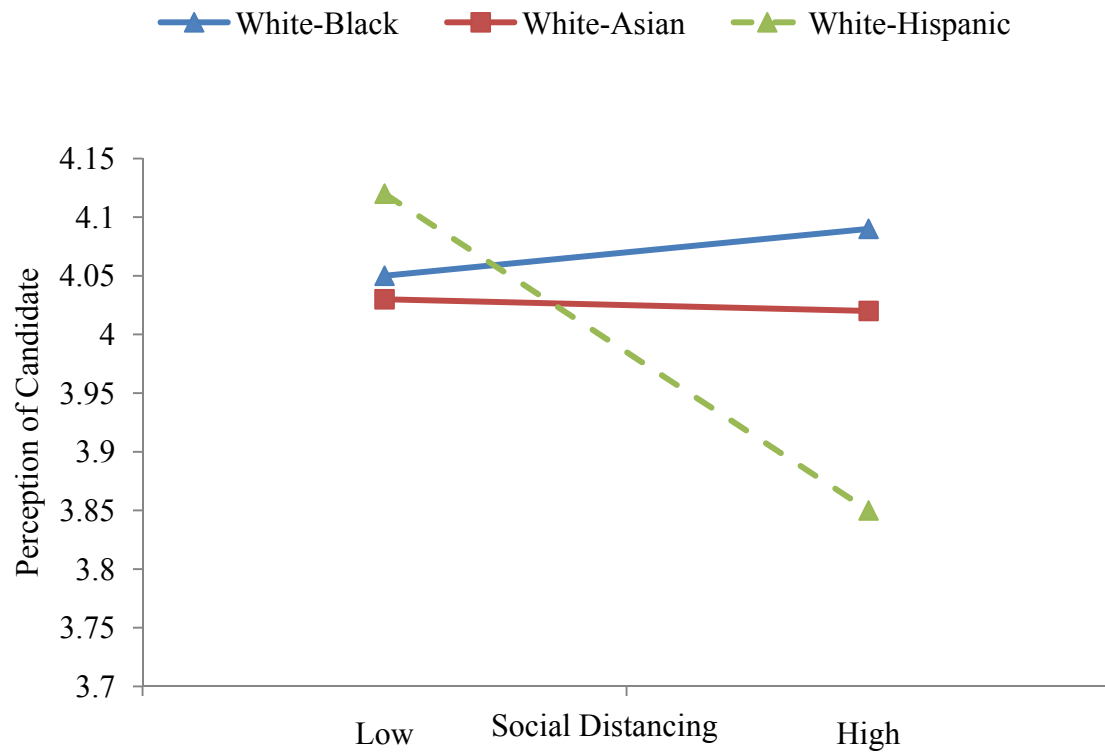


Figure 4.5
Two-way Interaction between Marriage Type X Social Distancing Predicting Perception of the Candidate.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

General Discussion

The present study evaluated the potential career consequences that interracially married individuals may face in an organizational context. Results failed to support proposed hypotheses regarding participants' resistance to recommend promotion for interracially married candidates. There appears to be no significant differences in promotion recommendation ratings across all evaluated marriage types (White-Asian, White-Hispanic, White-Black, and same race-White) nor whether the vacant position was a high or low visibility status. It is important to discuss the implications for the lack of promotion discrimination found for interracially married candidates in the present study. From a diversity research perspective, these results provide some positive news for interracially married candidates in the workforce. Additionally, the findings may also suggest that raters are evaluating the candidate based on appropriate employment qualifications (i.e. education, skills, experience) rather than irrelevant information (i.e. marriage type). This is the ideal objective during any form of employment evaluations.

Since, the present study did not specifically obtain data on what information raters attend to during evaluations of the candidate; it is not entirely conclusive to state or draw from the result of this study that promotion discrimination don't exist during evaluations. It is possible that interracially married employees may encounter or experience promotion discrimination in the work environment and that the present study was not able to detect significant effects due to the study's design (i.e. employment application) or selected sample (i.e. undergraduates). For

instance, previous qualitative research indicated personal accounts of employees' perceived discrimination or mistreatment from their co-workers and/or organization after disclosure or incidental discovery of their interracial marriage (e.g. Golden, 1954; Hibbler & Shaw, 2002). Therefore, this study warrant further evaluation of this outcome in different design studies and research sample. It is possible that promotion discrimination may emerge in other different forms of employment evaluations (i.e. person interviews) rather than review of employment application.

As previously noted, research scholars contend that stigma in interracial marriages still persist in the social fabric of America (Childs, 2005a; Golebiowska, 2007; Kalmijn, 1993; Spickard, 1989). The results of the present study partially support this notion but more in the career social development and networking context for some interracially married candidates. Despite that hypotheses were not confirmed for promotion recommendation, analyses of mentoring intentions presented some interesting results. The present study found that one's level of in-group self-esteem played some role on intentions to mentoring an interracially married candidate, specifically White-Black marriages.

As predicted, the stronger an individual identified with one's racial group the less intentions to mentoring the White candidate with a Black spouse, especially during evaluations for a high visibility position. Alternatively, participants with low in-group self-esteem reported higher intentions to mentoring the White-Black married candidate for the high visibility than the low visibility position. Individuals possessing high in-group self-esteem in the high visibility position evaluations reported lower intentions to mentoring the White-Black married candidate than individuals evaluating for the low visibility position. The results demonstrated that high in-group self-esteem individuals expressed fewer intentions to mentoring the White-Black married

candidate regardless of the position's visibility level. Furthermore, additional analyses indicated that low in-group self-esteem participants expressed higher intentions to mentoring the White-Black candidate than participants with high in-group self-esteem.

These results are consistent with the social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and black sheep effect theory (Marques, et al., 1988). High in-group self-esteem individuals may elicit stronger in-group bias and motivation to preserve group norms, consequently penalizing deviant in-group members (i.e. the black sheep) that violate these social group norms by indicating less desire to mentor the candidate. Furthermore, the White candidate's ingroup members may perceive his marriage type as a threat to their existing social identity group. Fewer intentions to select intermarried employees as protégés poses limited mentoring opportunities. Moreover, research has shown that developing mentoring relationships are associated to organizational advancement, professional development, and personal career growth (see Ragins & Cotton, 1993).

The consequences of restricted career mentoring parameters may posit difficulties for one to climb the corporate ladder. The establishment of career boundaries for interracial married employees may indicate potential presence of the ceiling effect, but more distinctively, an associative ceiling effect. The associative ceiling effect presented here operates in similar manner as other identified ceiling effects such as lavender (LGBTQ) and diamond (Asian) ceilings. Hill (2006) defined the lavender ceiling as the barrier to career success for lesbian, gay, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) members. The hard diamond ceiling effect has been associated with Asian Americans neglected promotion considerations and organizational rewards despite organizational praise for their job performance and organizational loyalty (Agarwal, 2000). The key distinction between associative ceiling effect to the aforementioned ceiling effects lies not on

the individual's personal characteristics inhibiting one's career movement but one's association such as marriage to an individual that bear the socially stigmatized identity. In other words, associative ceiling effect is the existence of an invisible organizational barrier preventing upward career movement for the individual due to their association to a stigmatized individual or group.

Supplemental analyses presented another interesting finding. Results suggested that participants perceived drawbacks to mentoring the White-Black married candidate than the candidate married to an Asian woman. Likewise, the White-Hispanic married candidate was associated with negative mentoring consequences than the candidate married to an Asian woman. These results suggested that the White-Asian married candidate is regarded with fewer mentoring drawbacks than those married to a Black or Hispanic woman. The present findings are in conjunction with the model minority theory. Kitano and Sue (1973) characterized the model minority as a minority group (i.e. Asian American) that achieved "the dominant group's (Whites) receptiveness and acceptance" (p. 4). Asian Americans are frequently perceived with favorable attitudes and positive characteristics; however, the dependence on racial stereotypes leads to misconceptions and overgeneralizations of an entire racial group. On the contrary, Black and Hispanic group members are devalued and labeled with negative characteristics and are considered "flawed" members of society and ultimately stigmatized based on one's racial identity.

Lastly, supplementary results also revealed differing career perception for the White candidate married to a Hispanic woman compared to a candidate married to a Black or Asian woman when social distancing was included in the relationship. Greater social distancing was associated with negative career perceptions of the White-Hispanic married candidate as incompetent, unqualified, less organizational fit, and lower career success. These results align

with current stigmatization and social distancing literature. Lott (2002) noted that distancing is a form of devaluing and discounting the stigmatized. Additionally, Westphal and Khanna (2003) described desires for higher social distancing as “a kind of informal ostracism that occurs in response to social deviance by individual members or minority subgroups of a larger group or society. Individuals who experience distancing are not actually expelled from the group, as in formal ostracism, but are instead informally excluded to some degree from the work of the group and from social interaction and association with other group members” (p. 365). Thus, the present study found more support for the presence of subtle or covert forms of interpersonal discrimination toward certain interracial married candidates. The consequences of interpersonal avoidance and close interactions may place interracial married candidates at a disadvantage for professional and career development. More importantly, subtle forms of discrimination becomes problematic for the victim due to its difficulty to identify and prove. The ambiguous nature of interpersonal discrimination creates difficulty for organizations to prevent or control for in an organizational context.

Limitations

Two limitations of the study should be noted. First, the present study was generated from an undergraduate sample. Failure to find supported results for the promotion recommendation outcome may be from undergraduate students’ inability to attach strong personal accountability and association to the assigned task for an unfamiliar and unknown organization. Students may have perceived the effect of the outcome of their promotion decision with minimal personal consequence or immediate effects. On the contrary, organizational members who perceived that they are evaluating candidates for their employed organization may incorporate more personal investment in their decision and may produce different responses. Accordingly, undergraduate

students may have adopted a more distal perspective rather than a proximal perspective when evaluating employee candidates for an outside organization.

The second limitation is associated with the reliance on the spouse's salient race name on the application. The indirect identification of the spouse's race through her name may have led participants to be less confident in reporting more extreme responses. Participants may have correctly associated the spouse's name to the expected race; however, no clear direct information of the spouse's racial background was provided to participants.

Organizational and Research Implications

Despite the noted limitations, the current research has several potential contributions. From an organizational perspective, the current research may increase organizational awareness of employment inequalities toward interracially married employees or applicants. More specifically, the hidden ways in which discrimination is experienced by stigmatized employees. For instance, the present study provided evidence of interpersonal discrimination towards certain interracially married candidates. As noted previously, the ambiguity surrounding the legal employment protection for interracially married employees and the exclusion of White men as a protected group creates difficulty for these individuals to build a case on racial discrimination. Furthermore, this current research indicated the importance of including zero tolerance for any form of discrimination in the organization's diversity mission; specifically, interpersonal discrimination based on the race of one's spouse or social affiliations.

Based on the present findings, interracially married employees may be limited to career resources due to restricted mentoring intentions by others and negative career perceptions. Access to mentors in organizations has been endlessly advocated throughout mentoring literature (e.g. Ragins & Cotton, 1993; Allen et al., 2004); therefore, fewer mentoring intentions, higher

perception of mentor drawbacks, and negative career perceptions for some interracially married candidates can affect one's career development. Additionally, organization may suffer from these forms of employment discrimination such as turnover, organizational performance, organizational finance, law suits, organizational legitimacy, and a competitive advantage.

From a theoretical standpoint, the research may contribute to the current literature on race relations. In further elaboration, the research may highlight any gray areas that need further clarification such as the black sheep theory relating to the interracial marriage in an organizational environment. In due course, such research enables us to have a glimpse into new research directions in race studies. The present research established a gateway for future research on employment discrimination toward individuals from diverse backgrounds such as interracial marriages. Other research may use this current study as a basis to explore other potential career outcomes for interracially married employees.

Additionally, for future research, it is encouraged for investigators to explore variations of interracial marriage experiences in the organization setting such as when a Black man is married to a White, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, and Native American woman. In contrast, subsequent research should also explore if the stigma is present for interracially married female employees.

REFERENCES

- Adams v. Governor's Comm. on Postsecondary Educ., No. C80-624A, 1981 WL 27101 (N.D. Ga. Sept. 3, 1981).
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Newbury Park, London, Sage.
- Aldridge, D. P. (1978). Interracial marriages: Empirical and theoretical considerations. *Journal of Black Studies*, 8(3), 355-368.
- Allen, T. D., Eby, L. T., Poteet, M. L., Lentz, E., & Lima, L. (2004). Career benefits associated with mentoring for proteges: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 89(1), 127-136.
- Allen, T. D., Poteet, M. L., & Russell, J. E. A. (2000). Protégé selection by mentors: What makes the difference? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 21(3), 271-282.
- Beatty, J. E., & Kirby, S. L. (2006). Beyond the legal environment: How stigma influences invisible identity groups in the workplace. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 18(1), 29-44.
- Bertrand, M. & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *The American Economic Review*, 94, 991-1013.
- Biernat, M., Vescio, T. K., & Billings, L. S. (1999). Black sheep and expectancy violation: Integrating two models of social judgment. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 29(4), 523-542.

- Bizman, A., & Yinon, Y. (2001). Intergroup and interpersonal threats as determinants of prejudice: The moderating role of in-group identification. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 23*(3), 191-196.
- Brackmann, D. A. (2003). *The impact of organizational culture, gay male identity, and HIV/AIDS stigma on the perception of discrimination in the workplace*. US: ProQuest Information & Learning.
- Branscombe, N. R., Wann, D. L., Noel, J. G., & Coleman, J. (1993). In-group or out-group extremity: Importance of the threatened social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 19*(4), 381-388.
- Burris, S. (2006). Stigma and the law. *Lancet, 367*, 529-531.
- Carless, S.A. (2005). Person–job fit versus person–organization fit as predictors of organizational attraction and job acceptance intentions: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology, 78*, 411–429
- Castano, E., Paladino, M., Coull, A., & Yzerbyt, V. Y. (2002). Protecting the ingroup stereotype: Ingroup identification and the management of deviant ingroup members. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 41*(3), 365-385.
- Childs, E. C. (2005a). Looking behind the stereotypes of the 'angry black woman': An exploration of black women's responses to interracial relationships. *Gender & Society, 19*(4), 544-561.
- Childs, E.C. (2005b). *Navigating interracial borders: Black-white couples and their social worlds*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

- Chung, P., & Leung, K. (1988). Effects of performance information and physical attractiveness on managerial decisions about promotion. *Journal of Social Psychology, 128*(6), 791-801.
- Clair, J. A., Beatty, J. E., & MacLean, T. L. (2005). Out of sight but not out of mind: Managing invisible social identities in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review, 30*(1), 78-95.
- Coull, A., Yzerbyt, V. Y., Castano, E., Paladino, M., & Leemans, V. (2001). Protecting the ingroup: Motivated allocation of cognitive resources in the presence of threatening ingroup members. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 4*(4), 327-339.
- Crocker, J., Luthanen, R., Blaine, B., & Broadnax, S. (1994). Collective self-esteem and psychological well-being among White, Black, and Asian college students. *Personality & Social Psychology Bulletin, 20*, 503-513.
- Dawson, J. F., & Richter, A. W. (2006). Probing three-way interactions in moderated multiple regression: Development and application of a slope difference test. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 91*, 917-926.
- de Janasz, S. C., & Forret, M. L. (2008). Learning the art of networking: A critical skill for enhancing social capital and career success. *Journal of Management Education, 32*(5), 629-650.
- Esses, V.M., & Dovidio, J.F. (2002). The role of emotions in determining willingness to engage in intergroup contact. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 28*, 1202-1214.
- Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Lang, A.-G., & Buchner, A. (2007). G*Power 3: A flexible statistical power analysis program for the social, behavioral, and biomedical sciences. *Behavior Research Methods, 39*, 175-191.

- Forret, M. L. & Dougherty, T. W. (2004). Networking behaviors and career outcomes: Differences for men and women? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25, 419-437.
- Forry, N. D., Leslie, L. A., & Letiecq, B. L. (2007). Marital quality in interracial relationships. *Journal of Family Issues*, 28(12), 1538-1552.
- Gatewood, R.D. & Feild, H.S. (1991). *Human Resource Selection*, (pp.36-62). Fort Worth, TX: Dryden Press.
- Golden, J. (1954). Patterns of negro-white intermarriage. *American Sociological Review*, 19(2), 144-147.
- Goldstein, S. B., & Johnson, V. A. (1997). Stigma by association: Perceptions of the dating partners of college students with physical disabilities. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 19(4), 495-504.
- Golebiowska, E. A. (2007). The contours and etiology of whites' attitudes toward black-white interracial marriage. *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(2), 268-287.
- Goodwin, C. (2007). A marriage worth studying. *New African*, (464), 88-89.
- Greenhaus, J. H., Parasuraman, S., & Wormley, W. M. (1990). Effects of race on organizational experiences, job performance evaluations, and career outcomes. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 33(1), 64-86.
- Harrison, M.S. & Thomas, K.M. (2009). The Hidden Prejudice in Selection: A Research Investigation in Skin Color Bias. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 39, 134-168.
- Holcomb v. Iona College, 521 F.3d 130, 138-39 (2d Cir. 2008).
- Hutchison, P., & Abrams, D. (2003). Ingroup identification moderates stereotype change in reaction to ingroup deviance. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 33(4), 497-506.
- Jones, M. (2002). *Social Psychology of Prejudice*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

- Kalmijn, M. (1993). Trends in Black/White intermarriage. *Social Forces*, 72(1), 119-146.
- King, E.B., Shapiro, J.R., Hebl, M.R., Singletary, S.L., & Turner, S. (2006). The stigma of obesity in customer service: A mechanism for remediation and bottom line consequences of interpersonal discrimination. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 91, 579-593.
- Kram, K. E. (1983). Phases of the mentor relationship. *Academy of Management Journal*, 26(4), 608-625.
- Kitano, H.H.L & Sue, S., 1973. The model minorities. *Journal of Social Issues*, 29, 1-9.
- Kulik, C. T., Bainbridge, H. T. J., & Cregan, C. (2008). Known by the company we keep: Stigma by association effects in the workplace. *Academy of Management Review*, 33, 231-251.
- Lewandowski, D. A., & Jackson, L. A. (2001). Perceptions of interracial couples: Prejudice at the dyadic level. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 27(3), 288-303.
- Link, B.G. and J.C. Phelan. (2001). Conceptualizing stigma. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27: 363-85.
- Marques, J. M., & Paez, D. (1994). The "black sheep" effect: Social categorization, rejection of ingroup deviates, and perception of group variability. In W. Stroebe & M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European Review of Social Psychology* (Vol. 5, pp. 37-68). New York: Wiley.
- Marques, J. M., Abrams, D., & Serôdio, R. G. (2001). Being better by being right: Subjective group dynamics and derogation of in-group deviants when generic norms are undermined. In J. M. Levine, & R. L. Moreland (Eds.), *Small groups*. (pp. 157-176). New York, NY, US: Psychology Press.
- Marques, J. M., Yzerbyt, V. Y., & Leyens, J. (1988). The 'black sheep effect': Extremity of judgments towards ingroup members as a function of group identification. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 18(1), 1-16.

- Neuberg, S. L., Smith, D., Hoffman, J. C., & Russell, F. J. (1994). When we observe stigmatized and 'normal' individuals interacting: Stigma by association. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 20, 196-209.
- Oishi, C., & Yoshida, F. (2002). Black sheep effect and in-group favoritism in social identity perspective. *Japanese Journal of Psychology*, 73(5), 405-411.
- Olian, J. D., Carroll, S. J., & Giannantonio, C. M. (1993). Mentor reactions to proteges: An experiment with managers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 43, 266-278.
- Paetzold, R. L., Dipboye, R. L., & Elsbach, K. D. (2008). A new look at stigmatization in and of organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, 33(1), 186-193.
- Pavur, E. J. J. (2005). Book review: Discrimination at work: The psychological and organizational bases. *Personnel Psychology*, 58(3), 818-821.
- Perry, B., & Sutton, M. (2006). Seeing red over black and white: Popular and media representations of inter-racial relationships as precursors to racial violence. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 48(6), 888-904.
- Pinel, E. C., & Paulin, N. (2005). Stigma consciousness at work. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 27(4), 345-352.
- Porterfield, E. (1982). Black-American intermarriage in the United States. *Marriage and Family Review*, 5(1), 17-34.
- Qian, Z., & Lichter, D. T. (2007). Social boundaries and marital assimilation: Interpreting trends in racial and ethnic intermarriage. *American Sociological Review*, 72(1), 68-94.
- Ragins, B. R., & Cornwell, J. M. (2001). Pink triangles: Antecedents and consequences of perceived workplace discrimination against gay and lesbian employees. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 86(6), 1244-1261.

Ragins, B. R., & Cotton, J. L. (1993). Gender and willingness to mentor in organizations.

Journal of Management, 19(1), 97-111.

Ramoutar, A. (2006, October) Hollywood films portray biracial couples negatively if shown at

all. *University of Florida News*, 30. Retrieved April 14, 2008, from

<http://news.ufl.edu/2006/10/11/couples/>

Ripp v. Dobbs Houses, Inc., 366 F. Supp. 205, 208-09 (N.D. Ala. 1973).

Rosenblatt v. Bivona & Cohen, P.C., 946 F. Supp. 298, 300 (S.D.N.Y. 1996).

Rowe, P. M. (1984). Decision Processes in Personnel Selection. *Canadian Journal of*

Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement, 16, 326-337.

Segrest- Purkiss, S. L., Perrewé, P. L., Gillespie, T. L., Mayes, B. T., & Ferris, G. R. (2006).

Implicit sources of bias in employment interview judgments and decisions.

Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 101(2), 152-167.

Spickard, P. R. (1989). Mixed blood: Intermarriage and ethnic identity in twentieth-century

America. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin,

& S. Worchel(Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-48).

Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.

Thomas, K. M. (2005). *Diversity Dynamics in the Workplace*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Tsui, A.S., Egan, T.D., & O'Reilly, C.A. (1992). Being different: Relational demography and

organizational attachment. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37, 547-579.

U.S. Bureau of Census. (2003). Annual social and economic supplement: 2003 current

population survey, current population reports, series p20-553, "America's Families and

living arrangements: 2003” and earlier reports, U.S. Bureau of Census: Washington, DC., 2003.

Wanberg, C. R., Welsh, E. T., & Hezlett, S. A. (2003). Mentoring research: A review and dynamic process model. *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, 22, 39–124.