

TWO ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESES EXPLAINING THE OVER-REPRESENTATION OF  
BLACK MEN AND WOMEN IN DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT POSITIONS

by

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(Under the Direction of Gary Lautenschlager)

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to evaluate two possible explanations for the over-representation of Black men and Women in Diversity Management and related positions. One hundred seventy-four undergraduates were used in a 2 x 2 x 2 x 2 policy capturing study to test the validity of a Race-Typing hypothesis and a Modern Racism hypothesis. Participants were asked to rate two resumes for four position openings. Participants also completed an ethnic identity questionnaire to determine possible interaction effects. Support was found for the Race-Typing hypothesis such that the Black applicant received higher ratings than the White applicant on the Diversity Manager position. Although neither of the other hypotheses were supported, evidence was found that White participants rated the Black applicant lower on all jobs after controlling for job type, qualifications, and the interaction between job type and candidate race.

INDEX WORDS: Diversity Management, Selection, Policy Capturing, Aversive Racism, Race-Typing

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B.A., Saint Louis University, 1997

M.A., American University, 2000

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

2006

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## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my parents for being patient during this seemingly endless process and giving me support when I need it.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members for their input on this research. I would also like Lauren Harris for logistical and emotional support.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of Title VII of The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was to eliminate discrimination based on race, sex, national origin, and religion in the workplace. Though the law made workplace discrimination illegal, women and minorities still struggle to achieve equal status to White men in the workplace (Hacker, 1995). One way the government has attempted to remedy this problem was through affirmative action. Affirmative action was introduced as a way to establish goals and schedules for improving minority representation in the workforce with Executive Order 11246 in 1965. For the purpose of increasing minority representation in organizations, affirmative action has been successful (Konrad & Linnehan, 1995), but increased representation should not be the only goal. Organizations have developed many additional systems to address diversity issues in the workplace, but these programs may have initiated a system of discrimination in direct opposition to the organization's goals.

*A Shift From Affirmative Action to Diversity Management:* Many White men and women have negative feelings about affirmative action due to their fear of “reverse discrimination”, or situations where unqualified minorities are hired over qualified Whites (Kravitz & Platania, 1993). Though this most often is not the case, affirmative action policies still negatively affect how White men perceive the competence of women and minority coworkers. Affirmative action policies have also been related to women's perceptions of their own competence. Women hired by preferential treatment were higher in negative affect,

were more timid, and inferred others held negative opinions about their competence (Heilmann, 2000). Slaughter, Sinar, and Bachioch (2002), found that Black candidates found organizations with preferential treatment for minorities less attractive. Lastly, despite forty years of implementation, women and minorities (especially Blacks) are still economically disadvantaged (Hacker, 1995). All of this suggests that, though often initiated by good intentions, affirmative action is not only not solving the problem it was meant to remedy, it is loaded with negative reactions from all demographic groups.

Because the goal of affirmative action is to increase the number of women and minorities in the organization as a whole, many organizations, though not breaking any laws, will still have negligible or no minority representation in middle and upper management (Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). Also, affirmative action is primarily concerned with selection and largely ignores recruitment, training (including diversity training), and employee development. What results from weak affirmative action policies is an organization with overall representative diversity, but poor distributive representation and internal conflict (Kossek & Zonia, 1993). When minority representation in higher level positions is low, tokenism can result. A token is a single minority in an otherwise homogenous work environment that struggles with social isolation, excessively high or low expectations from peers and superiors, and exclusion from informal networks and developmental opportunities (Kanter, 1977). All of these factors can affect job performance, and thus validates the assumption of incompetence held by the majority. Everything mentioned so far leads to a common conclusion by Whites that organizational diversity is bad and affirmative action plans are generally met with distaste and hostility (Thomas, Mack, & Montagliani, 2004).

Because of the large opposition to affirmative action plans and the growing body of literature on the potential value diversity can have for organizational performance, there has been a recent move away from a focus on affirmative action and towards diversity management (see Gilbert, Stead, and Ivancevich, 1999 for a review). Diversity management is defined by Ivancevich and Gilbert (2000) as “the commitment of the part of organizations to recruit, retain, reward, and promote a heterogeneous mix of productive, motivated, and committed workers including people of color, Whites, females, and the physically challenged.” Diversity management is less concerned with demographic representation, referred to by Harrison, Price, and Bell (1998) as “surface-level diversity” and more concerned with “deep-level diversity”, which refers to individual differences in values, personality, and attitudes. Deep-level diversity can also refer to individual differences in job qualifications like educational level, job tenure, or experience. Diversity management is also concerned with integration of a diverse workforce rather than assimilation and maximizing the benefits of workplace diversity. These benefits include: greater ability to make shifts to meet market demands, better problem solving, increases in range of ideas generated, and greater competitive edge due to increased ability to relate to different markets (McDaniel & Walls, 1997). Diversity management is seen by most as distinctly different and fairer than affirmative action. In a study by Gilbert and Stead (1999), women and minorities hired under diversity management were viewed more favorably than women and minorities hired under an affirmative action policy.

Achieving a multicultural organization that is integrated rather than assimilated and token free (Cox, 1991) through diversity management is an admirable goal. The practice, however, can be quite difficult. Theoretically, a diversity manager should have expertise in

human resource management, diversity training, employee development programs (Hooijberg & DiTomaso, 1996), and possess “cultural intelligence” (Offerman & Phan, 2002). In an effort to achieve the goal of having a truly multicultural organization, companies in the public and private sector have created departments that hope to incorporate diversity in all its forms into all levels of the organization, train employees on the value of diversity, and address conflict. No comprehensive job analysis of this position has been done that is documented in either the literature or by the Department of Labor, so it is impossible to say if these are the characteristics actually possessed by individuals in diversity manager positions. One characteristic that is well documented in the literature is demography. Though the concept of diversity management is concerned with organizational heterogeneity, the demographic make-up of the position of diversity manager itself and related positions is largely homogenous. Hence, despite all of the efforts to address diversity, a new system of discrimination may have been created. Not much is known about the demographic make-up of the applicant pool for diversity management positions as no comprehensive study has been conducted that can answer this question, therefore it is not currently possible to determine if the over-representation of Black men and women in diversity management positions is due to White men and women self selecting out of consideration for these positions. This study is not designed to address this question.

Varying approaches to diversity management are discussed by Ely and Thomas (2001). They suggest that according to their “access and legitimacy paradigm”, many organizations align their diversity goals with market demand. They attempt to gain access to and legitimacy from minority clientele by staffing positions that deal with minority clientele with minorities. These organizations do not value diversity in any way beyond financial

reasons, and minorities in these types of organizations often feel used and isolated. Diversity managers' clientele is the minority staff of their organizations. An organization operating under the access and legitimacy paradigm might feel minorities should be in these positions despite their qualifications.

The position of diversity manager is largely employed by Blacks (Durr & Logan, 1997). The purpose of this paper was to address two possible explanations for this. The Race-Typing Hypothesis proposed that Black men and women are placed in diversity management positions by individuals making selection decisions because they feel that Blacks are more capable simply because the candidate is a minority and not because of any qualifications the individual might possess. The Aversive Racism Hypothesis proposed that Black men and women are often placed in lower status positions if the decision to do so can be attributed to something other than blatant racism. Because diversity management positions are often lower in growth opportunities, organizational influence, and other status factors (Friedman & DiTomaso, 1996), decision makers exhibiting aversive racist behavior can place Black men and women in diversity management positions and attribute their decisions to Black men and women being more appropriate for the position. These hypotheses are not mutually exclusive. The influence of racial identity was also examined.

*The Race-Typing Hypothesis:* One area of employment literature well researched and empirically supported is the existence of gender-typing in certain occupations. Many occupations are seen as more fitting for men or women due to the masculine or feminine nature of the position. Degree of gender fit is associated with perceptions of competence. A large body of research discusses the need for gender identity management in non-traditional occupations (see Davies-Netzley, 2002 for a review) (e.g. women in management and men in

nursing/social work (Cross & Bagihole, 2002)). Gender overrepresentation in certain occupations has been associated with perceptions of competence due to gender stereotypes, occupational stereotypes, and gender identity of both candidate and those doing the hiring. Situations also exist in which racial stereotypes have been associated with perceptions of competence based on occupational stereotypes.

One researcher did a massive study collecting data from 216 metropolitan areas in the United States and found evidence of the existence of “ethnic niching” (Wilson, 2003). Ethnic niching is defined as “the extent to which co-ethnic members concentrate in the same labor market”. Across all employment sectors and metropolitan areas studied, Wilson identified 100 ethnic groups. His analysis found that 14% of the population studied was employed in ethnic niches. This analysis demonstrates that many positions are dominated by specific ethnicities. The predominance of White Americans of western European descent in senior management positions is an example of one such ethnic niche. Though there is certainly a degree of self-selection involved in this phenomenon, it is possible that a significant portion of these positions suffer from race-typing.

Due to the significant overrepresentation of Asian Americans in mathematics, engineering, and biological sciences, Leong & Hayes (1990) designed a study to identify occupational stereotypes held by White college students. They found that the participants felt Asian Americans were less likely to succeed as insurance salespeople and more likely to succeed as mathematicians, computer scientists, and engineers. Because all of the decisions were solely based on ethnicity, this data implies that Whites perceive Asian Americans to have higher competence in the areas listed above.

A study by Want, Parham, Baker, and Sherman (2004) on Black college students' preference for counselors of their own race has implications for generalization to minorities' preferences for diversity managers. The authors found that when qualifications and multicultural awareness are held constant, Black college students show significant preference for Black counselors over White counselors.

Generally, the literature focuses on stereotypes held by employers that prevent minorities from gaining access to certain positions. Wilson (2003) found that the only ethnic niche occupied by European Americans was management. Tomkiewicz, Brenner, and Adeyemi-Bello (1998) looked at the relationship between manager characteristics and stereotypes of Blacks and Whites. Their results suggest that management is more significantly related to stereotypical attributes of Whites than to stereotypical attributes of Blacks. Gilbert, Carr-Ruffino, Ivancevich, and Lownes-Jackson (2003) evaluated this relationship between Blacks and Asian Americans. The researchers found that more negative stereotypes were held for Black men than any other group, and, in general, Asians are perceived as having more managerial competence than Blacks. One of the great strengths of this study is the high degree of racial/ethnic diversity of the participants. These studies both suggest that Blacks suffer from negative race-typing as it affects their potential to gain employment in management.

Generally, Asian Americans are the only ethnic group associated with "positive" stereotypes (Gilbert, 2003). They are also the only ethnic group with empirical evidence of occupational race-typing. If the intuitive link between counseling minorities and diversity management is valid, then race-typing might also explain the overrepresentation of Blacks in diversity management. Once again, race-typing will be defined as perceptions of competence

in certain occupations based solely upon racial/ethnic stereotypes. If diversity management is race-typed, the following would be true:

*Hypothesis 1: The interaction between candidate race and position type will be significant after controlling for job status and candidate qualifications such that Black men will have higher fit, competence, and likelihood of success ratings for the Diversity Manager position than the White man.*

*The Aversive Racism Hypothesis:* There are several theories about the modern forms of racism (Sears, 1988, McConahay, 1986, and Devine, 1989). Over the past few decades, there has been a dramatic decrease in the social acceptance of overt forms of racism: violence, racial slurs, public acknowledgement of commonly held stereotypes (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). With obvious exceptions, when most White Americans today are asked if they are racist, most will say they are not. If this were true, though, the economic, social, and educational disparity between Whites and Blacks would not be as great as it is (Friedman & DiTomaso, 1996). Modern theories of racism focus on stereotypes and negative attitudes about Blacks and other minorities that are held and are sometimes acted upon unconsciously. This study was designed in such a way that Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) theory of Aversive Racism was the most appropriate theory to test.

Aversive racism theory states that "many people who explicitly support egalitarian principles and believe themselves to be nonprejudiced also unconsciously harbor negative feelings and beliefs about blacks and other historically disadvantaged groups" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). In a series of studies summarized in Dovidio, Gaertner, Kawakami, and Hodson (2002), individuals manifest aversive racism when situations are ambiguous and racist tendencies can be justified. For example, when participants were presented with Black

and White candidates who were very qualified, very underqualified, or ambiguously qualified for a position, participants gave similar recommendation ratings to both candidates in the strong and weak qualification conditions, but rated the white candidate significantly higher in the ambiguous qualification situation (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). This study demonstrates that, because the ratings differed significantly in the ambiguous situation, participants can manifest their negative feelings toward black participants without appearing obviously biased or can justify their decision on a candidate attribute other than race.

Based on the findings of Durr and Logan (1997), aversive racism was explored as a possible explanation for the overrepresentation of Blacks in diversity management. In New York State government, many managerial positions were created for Black employees, but most of the positions were focused on minority issues, were lower paid, and had less room for advancement as compared to positions dominated by similarly qualified white employees. It is common for individuals in diversity management positions to have less influence, less opportunity for growth and development, and fewer promotions (Friedman & DiTomaso, 1996). The “ambiguous” part of this study came from candidates having equivalent qualifications (as determined through pilot testing) for both positions. Therefore, if aversive racism were affecting behavior, White participants could use the “appropriateness” of a Black candidate in the diversity management position as justification for placing them in the lower status position. This same effect should not be seen when the diversity management position is high status because these participants have the option of using the ambiguity of candidate qualifications to give the Black and White candidates similar ratings. The opposite effect will occur for the Human Resources position. In this situation, participants can choose

to invoke the White candidate's qualifications for the HR position at high status and utilize the ambiguity in the low status positions. Therefore:

*Hypothesis 2: A three way interaction between position type, position status, and candidate race will significantly predict fit, competence, and likelihood of success ratings such that the Black candidate in the lower status Diversity Manager position will receive higher ratings than the Black candidate in the higher status Diversity Manager position and the White candidate in the higher status Human Resources position will receive higher ratings than the White candidate in the lower status Human Resources position.*

*Racial Identity:* In 1971, Cross developed a model of Black racial identity development or "Nigrescence". Black identity development refers to the move from negative and dysfunctional attitudes about one's Blackness to positive and functional attitudes. Parham and Helms introduced the concept into counseling literature in 1981 and developed a testable model and measure of Black racial identity. The model identifies four stages of development: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Integration. Black racial identity has been used in many areas within the psychological discipline, and in 1990 Helms and Carter introduced the concept of White racial identity and developed a measure of it. In 1995, Helms expanded the theory and developed a measure for people of color other than Blacks.

One problem with research involving scales of racial identity as they are described above is that a different one is required for each racial/ethnic group. This can make interpreting results difficult. For this reason, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) was used (Phinney, 1992). This scale has been found to have measurement

equivalence across all racial and ethnic groups and yields scores that can be used to compare a common conception of ethnic identity (Johnson, Mack, & Thomas, 2000).

Because reducing race to a nominal variable can ignore a significant amount of within group variance (Cox & Nkomo, 1990), the introduction of racial identity theory has elucidated many complex phenomenon observed in research on racial issues. For this reason, I chose to include a measure of racial identity to examine the relationship between racial identity and selection decisions made by participants of all ethnicities. Ethnic identity is only beginning to make its way into industrial psychology literature, so I will be deriving my hypotheses from relevant literature in counseling psychology.

Helms and Carter (1991) assessed the relationship between White and Black racial identity and preference for Black or White counselors. White racial identity does not predict preference for Black counselors. In Black participants, however, stronger preference for White male counselors was significantly predicted by higher internalization attitudes (the highest level of Black identity). Interestingly, higher internalization attitudes were the only attitudes that significantly predicted preference for Black counselors. The authors reasoned that internalization attitudes were race transcendent and more concerned with personal characteristics. Unlike the relationship between Black client racial identity and Black counselors, White racial identity not predicting preference for Black counselors is not expected to generalize to the relationship in question (white racial identity and preference for Black diversity managers) due to the fact that, drawing upon literature on white privilege (Jacques, 1997), Whites are not generally as invested in the issue of diversity as they would be in something tied to them more personally (counseling). Also, because White identity is

generally under researched, no hypothesis about the relationship between White racial identity and preference for White/Black diversity managers can be made.

The relationship between Black racial identity and preference for counselors was further explored by Want, Parham, Baker, and Sherman (2003) and included a racial consciousness variable. As was anticipated, the authors found evidence of a very complex relationship between the three variables (racial identity, race of the counselor, and racial consciousness of the counselor). High scores on the lowest identity level (Pre-encounter) predicted aversion to Black counselors high in racial consciousness, but high scores on the highest identity level (Internalization) predicted aversion to white counselors with low racial consciousness. There is no racial consciousness variable in this study, but participants perceived differences in qualifications for the Diversity Manager Position.

*Hypothesis 3: The interaction term of MEIM score, Participant Ethnicity (Black), and position type will predict competence, fit, and likelihood of success ratings.*

*Research Question 1: How will racial identity relate to ratings of competence, fit and likelihood of success for both positions?*

## CHAPTER 2

### PILOT STUDY METHOD

*Participants:* One hundred and fifteen University of Georgia undergraduates were recruited from the research pool. The sample was 56.5% male and 41.7% female. Two participants did not indicate gender. In this sample 92.2% of the participants indicated they were White, 3.5% Black, 1.7% Asian, and 0.9% Hispanic. Two participants did not indicate race. Participants received class credit for participation.

*Materials:* Participants were presented with two resumes with no photos attached. The resumes were based on sample resumes on Monster.com and included knowledge, skills, and abilities obtained from O\*net position descriptions for “Human Resources Manager” and “EEOC Officer”. The resumes included educational background, two job experiences, and three relevant knowledge, skills, and/or abilities. The resumes were designed to have no information about the candidate beyond job qualifications other than a first name and dates on the resume to indicate that both candidates were approximately the same age and had the exact same amount of work experience. Each resume had the same number of skills tailored for the Human Resources Manager position and the Diversity Manager position, but the qualifications differed slightly to allow for generalization of any findings to real world situations.

The participants also received position descriptions for a Human Resources Manager a Diversity Manager. The Human Resources Manager position description was a shortened

version of the O\*net position description. Because no Diversity Manager position existed on O\*net, one was created from a combination between tasks, knowledge, skills, and abilities required for a Human Resources Position and an EEOC Officer as well as key abilities and experiences from the literature. Some of the responsibilities that will be included in the creation of the job description include; overseeing the creation and evaluation of diversity training programs, evaluating and modifying compensation plans to align with diversity values, and facilitating the creation and maintenance of outreach programs to diverse communities and networking groups for women and minorities (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000). The position descriptions had the same number of descriptions in each category. Following each position description, the participants were asked to indicate how much they thought an individual in the position should be paid, whether they felt the individual would have extensive contact with senior management, and whether they would have room for advancement. They were also asked to indicate which candidate they felt was best for the position. Following their choices, they were asked in an open question format to indicate why they chose the candidate they did.

The next portion of the study materials to be evaluated was the position status postscripts. To manipulate the status of the positions, two vignettes were written that would follow the position descriptions. One postscript described the position preceding it as based in the same office (Atlanta, GA) as the company headquarters with admission into an accelerated high-potential employee development program. The other postscript described the position preceding it as being based in another city (Chicago, IL) with two years probationary status and conditional acceptance into the high-potential program after two years of positive evaluations. The postscripts were not attached to the position descriptions in

the pilot study, and participants were asked to estimate pay, contact with senior management, and likelihood of advancement.

The final portion of the pilot study consisted of twenty photos of middle aged men that were evaluated on perceived age, objective attractiveness, and competence in a managerial position. Ten photos of White men and ten photos of Black men were randomly selected from a larger pool of photos taken from the World Wide Web. The term “head shot” was entered in as search criteria on the “photos” section of Google.com and all photos with middle aged men, plain backgrounds, and business attire (shirt, tie, and jacket) were copied. The twenty photos randomly drawn were then randomly ordered on the questionnaire.

*Procedure:* Participants were given a packet containing all four manipulations. They were given verbal instructions matched with written directions on the forms. They were told to rate the attractiveness of the men in the photos on objective attractiveness criteria and not on what they personally consider attractive.

## CHAPTER 3

### PILOT STUDY RESULTS

The estimates of pay, contact with senior management, and likelihood of advancement for the two positions were tested for significant differences. T-tests of the three ratings indicated no significant differences (pay;  $t[113] = 1.433, p > .05$ , contact;  $t[113] = 0.323, p > .05$ , advancement;  $t[113] = 0.922, p > .05$ ). For this reason, the positions were not considered to have preexisting status differences and were not adjusted for use in the study.

Participants were asked to indicate which of two candidates they would select for both of the positions provided. A chi-square test of the selection decisions indicated that both men were selected for both positions almost equally indicating that participants considered them to have equal qualifications. Two comments appeared frequently enough, however, to suggest that two minor changes occur on the resumes. Twelve participants indicated that the job titles (which were different on the two resumes) influenced their choices. For this reason, the resumes were changed such that both previous job titles for both candidates were the same. Ten participants indicated that Candidate A's double major in French made him better prepared for a diversity management position than Candidate B who double majored in German. For this reason, Candidate A's double major was changed to Italian. Italian and German were chosen because they were considered to have a low likelihood of use in North America (as compared to English, French, or Spanish).

A t-test was conducted to determine if a significant difference in estimates of pay and likelihood of promotion existed for the resume postscripts. The tests of both variables were

significant (pay;  $t[110] = 18.67, p < 0.001$ , promotion;  $t[110] = 10.24, p < 0.001$ ). These results indicate that participants perceived a difference in status between the positions to which the postscripts might be attached and were included as the status manipulation in the main study.

To ensure that no photo confounds existed in the main study, the White male photo and the Black male photo needed to be rated equal on perceived age, attractiveness, and competence. All possible pair combinations of White and Black men were tested for differences on the three variables using t-tests. Of all the combinations, only one pairing did not have any significant differences on any of the variables. These photos were selected for the resumes used in the main study.

## CHAPTER 4

### MAIN STUDY METHOD

*Participants:* One hundred seventy-nine undergraduates at the University of Georgia participated in the main portion of the study for one hour of research participation credit. The sample was 47.5% male and 49.7% female; the average age was 18.7 years ( $SD = 1.00$ ). Five participants did not indicate gender. Of the participants, 76.5% identified as White, 10.1% as Black, 7.3% as Asian, 2.9% as mixed race, 0.6% as Hispanic, and 0.6% as Native American. Four participants did not indicate race. No special effort was made to recruit minorities for this study for fear of priming effects caused by making a special announcement or the possibility of other influential differences present in members of university clubs and organizations that are largely comprised of minority students.

*Materials:* Participants began by reading a letter from the CEO of a fictional manufacturing company providing directions and thanking them for their participation. The letter is included in the appendix.

Two resumes were generated from the pilot tested materials. One resume with a White male photo and another resume with a Black male photo.

Pairings of the position descriptions and the postscripts yielded four different positions descriptions. The high status position description included the statement:

This position is excellent for highly motivated professionals looking to grow with the company. This position has direct contact with senior level executives and is immediately admitted in the company's career development track. The individual in this position will be based in Atlanta.

The low status position description included the statement:

This position is housed in the Chicago office and has limited contact with senior executives based in Atlanta. Individuals in this position are eligible for admission into the company's career development track after two years of employment. Superior performance on annual appraisals is necessary for admission.

These statements appeared at the bottom of each description. To test for possible order confounds and the possibility that a new sample might not consider both resumes equivalent, four different forms were generated. Half of the forms paired the Black male photo with Candidate A and the White male photo with Candidate B, and the other half were reversed. Also, half of the forms had the reverse order of the position descriptions.

For each position, participants were be asked to rate both candidates on 5-point Likert scales on competence (not competent for the position to very competent for the position), likelihood of success in the position (very unlikely to very likely), and goodness of fit (poor fit to good fit).

Following the selection portion of the study was a manipulation check. Participants were asked to rate all four positions on contact with senior management and room for advancement. They were also asked to determine the race of both candidates and estimate their ages.

Participants were also asked to fill out the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992). This measure was used because it generates scores that have comparable meanings for individuals of many different ethnic groups. The MEIM includes items asking about the participant's ethnicity as well as his or her parents' ethnicities and his or her gender and year in school.

*Procedure:* The four forms of the test were randomly distributed to the participants after arriving in a large classroom. Instructions were delivered to all participants in a session

simultaneously. Participants were told that they were taking on the role of human resources professionals and their help was needed. They were told they would be seeing two resumes for two men applying for four positions. The position descriptions were described as something they might see on Monster.com. Because the status manipulation was at the end of the job description, participants were reminded that though the position descriptions might seem very similar that key differences were present and their attention to detail was necessary.

Participants read a letter from the CEO of a fictional company asking participants to assist in staffing four vacant positions in two of the company's United States offices. Participants then saw two resumes with pictures attached. One of the candidates was White the other Black. The participants then saw four position descriptions. Following each position description, participants were asked to respond to single item measures of competence, likelihood of success, and fit for each candidate. Following the rating task, participants were asked to respond to the manipulation check items and the MEIM. *Note: because the MEIM asks participants to provide their ethnicities, the term "ethnicity" will be used when referring to participant categorization, but "race" will be used to refer to the study manipulation.*

## CHAPTER 5

### MAIN STUDY RESULTS

*Manipulation Check:* Before beginning any of the analyses, it was necessary to determine if the participants viewed the materials the way they were intended. All 179 participants correctly identified the White candidate as Caucasian. Only two participants incorrectly identified the Black Candidate as Hispanic. A t-test was conducted on the age estimates of the two men. Though they were matched in the pilot test, the White man was estimated to be significantly older than the Black man ( $t[168] = 7.35, p < .001$ ). A regression analysis was done in which the dummy-coded position type and position location were used to predict estimates of contact with senior management and room for advancement. Both omnibus tests were significant (contact;  $F[713,2] = 422.8, p < .001$ , advancement;  $F[713,2] = 49.358, p < .001$ ) indicating that participants were perceiving status differences in the position descriptions. Tests of the individual coefficients indicate that the differences are explained by the different postscripts and not position type (contact;  $\beta = -.737, p < .001$ , advancement;  $\beta = -.348, p < .001$ ). Tests of the coefficient of an interaction term between position type and position status were not significant.

*HLM Analyses:* I used HLM 6.02 (Raudenbush, Bryk, and Congdon, 2005) for the analysis of the data in this study due to the policy capturing nature of the design. HLM can account for covariance in ratings due to the ratings being made by the same person. It can separate overall variance in hirability ratings to variance attributed to within subject differences and test for between subject differences such as participant ethnicity and score on the MEIM.

Each participant had eight lines of data representing race of candidate, position type, and position status. These variables were dummy coded as such: race (0 White, 1 Black), position type (0 HR, 1 Diversity Manager), and position status (0 high status, 1 low status). These represent the level one or within subjects variables because they vary across situations. Participants' ratings of competency, fit, and likelihood of success were coupled with all eight possible combinations. Between subjects variables that do not differ across conditions were entered into a separate data file with the same ID code used to match data. These variables include participant race, participant gender, and scores on the MEIM. They were entered at level two.

The first step in an HLM analysis is to compute an unconditional means model with only the outcome variable included in the model. This model determines the amount of variability in ratings attributed to within person and between person differences. If the proportion of between person variance (ICC) exceeds 0.1, enough between person variability exists to justify including level two predictors in the analyses. The ICC's were computed for the three outcome variables independently (multivariate statistics are not available in HLM). All exceeded the 0.1 cutoff (Competence = 0.247, Fit = 0.161, Likelihood = 0.181) indicating that it would be possible to test hypothesis three.

The three outcome variables were analyzed separately. Hypothesis one was tested first. This was done by first calculating a product term for position type and candidate race. Candidate race, position type, position location, and the race x type interaction term were entered at level one to yield the following model (for the sake of simplicity, only the models for competence will be shown unless otherwise stated):

$$\text{Level One: } \textit{Competence} = \pi_0 + \pi_1(\textit{Qual}) + \pi_2(\textit{CanRace}) + \pi_3(\textit{PosType}) + \pi_4(\textit{PosStat}) \\ + \pi_5(\textit{RaceType}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Level Two: } \pi_0 &= \beta_{00} + r_0 \\ \pi_1 &= \beta_{10} \\ \pi_2 &= \beta_{20} + r_2 \\ \pi_3 &= \beta_{30} + r_3 \\ \pi_4 &= \beta_{40} \\ \pi_5 &= \beta_{50} + r_5 \end{aligned}$$

In order to control for the possibility that participants did not view the candidate resumes as equivalent, a variable “Qualification” was entered into the Level One model. In half of the cases, Candidate A had a photo of the Black man attached to it and a photo of the White man in the other, but the body of the resume read the same in both cases. Therefore, the resumes were dummy-coded such that Candidate A was coded 0 and Candidate B was coded 1. The error term in the level one equation represents the residual within person variability not explained by the five predictors. The error terms in each of the level two equations represent the variability around the mean between-person slopes for each level one predictor. Because the error term for the slopes of Position Status and Qualification were estimated to be not significantly different from zero for all three outcome variables, these slopes were considered fixed (between participant variability in the extent to which the variable in question influenced ratings was assumed to zero) and the error terms were removed. This drastically reduced the number of iterations required by the program to estimate the models enabling the program to make more stable estimates of the remaining parameters. Tables 5.1a, 5.1b, and 5.1c contain the results of the analyses for hypothesis one.

The interaction term for Candidate Race by Position Type was significant for all three outcome variables (competence;  $t[177] = 3.479$ ,  $p < .01$ , fit;  $t[177] = 4.611$ ,  $p < .001$ , likelihood;  $t[177] = 4.256$ ,  $p < .001$ ). This supports Hypothesis one. Results indicate that the Qualification variable was significant in two of the models (competence;  $t[1410] = -2.316$ ,  $p < .05$ , fit;  $t[1410] = -2.281$ ,  $p < .05$ ), so, despite the perception that the candidates were

unequally qualified, participants were still rating the Black candidate higher than the White candidate for the Diversity Manager position. On average, participants rated both candidates higher on the Diversity Manager position than the Human Resources Manager position, but the Black candidate was rated even higher. The rating interactions are displayed in Figures 5.1a., 5.1b, and 5.1c.

Table 5.1a

*Race Typing Model Estimates for Competence Ratings*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.282	0.066	65.285	177	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.073	0.031	-2.316	1410	0.021
B20 CanRace	0.045	0.046	0.971	177	0.333
B30 PosType	0.120	0.051	2.339	177	0.021
B40 PosStat	0.011	0.024	0.455	1410	0.649
B50 RaceType	0.239	0.069	3.479	177	0.001

Table 5.1b

*Race Typing Model Estimates for Fit Ratings*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.063	0.083	49.113	177	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.087	0.038	-2.281	1410	0.023
B20 CanRace	0.026	0.057	0.458	177	0.647
B30 PosType	0.145	0.06	2.427	177	0.016
B40 PosStat	-0.051	0.033	-1.576	1410	0.115
B50 RaceType	0.398	0.086	4.611	177	0.000

Table 5.1c

*Race Typing Model Estimates for Likelihood of Success Ratings*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.048	0.083	48.535	177	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.068	0.038	-1.814	1409	0.069
B20 CanRace	0.076	0.059	1.306	177	0.193
B30 PosType	0.195	0.063	3.086	177	0.003
B40 PosStat	-0.016	0.032	-0.515	1409	0.606
B50 RaceType	0.394	0.09	4.256	177	0.000

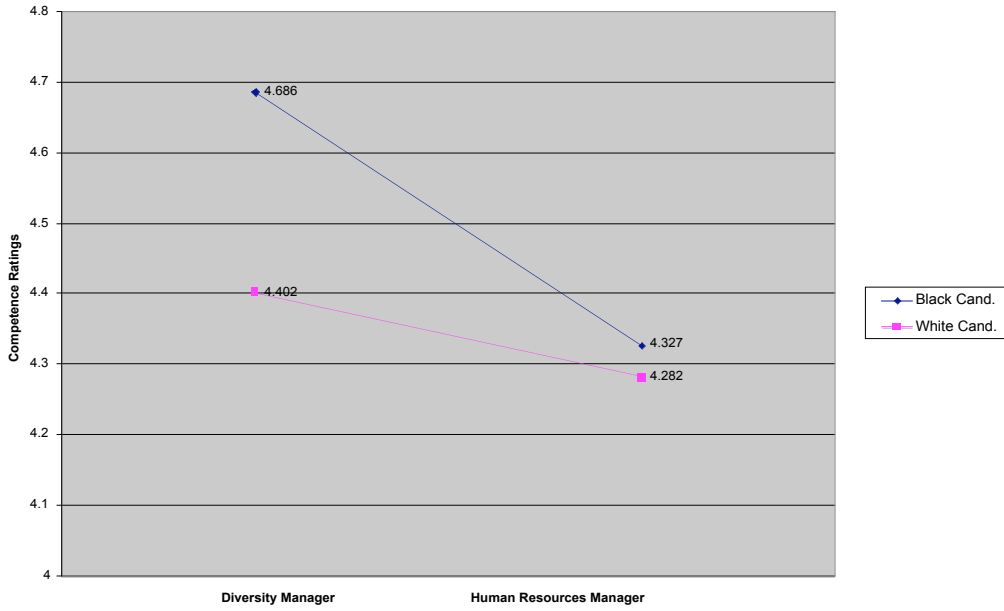


Figure 5.1a

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race and Position Type on Ratings of Competence*

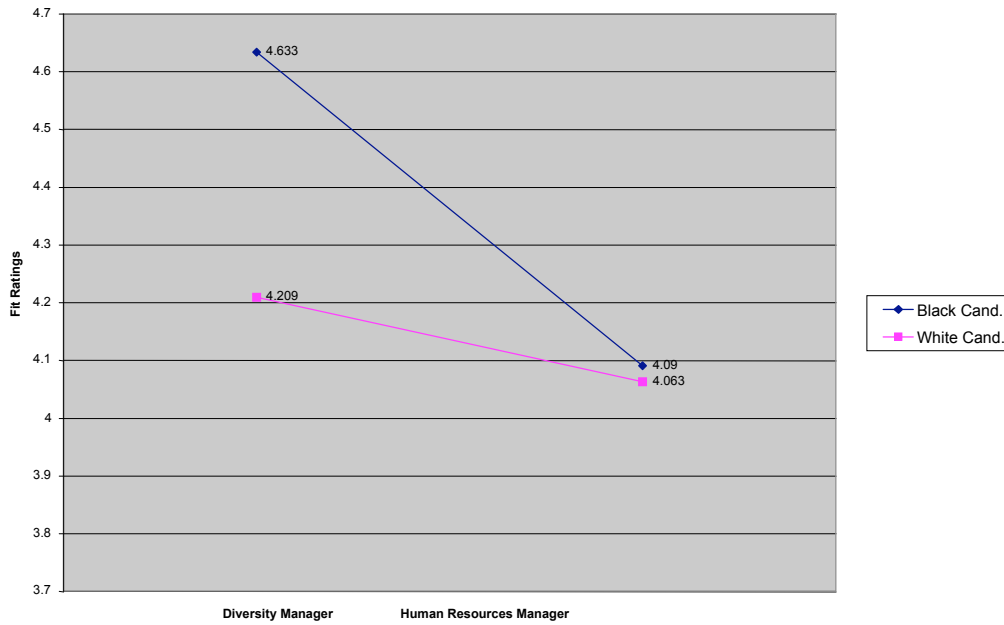


Figure 5.1b

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race and Position Type on Ratings of Fit*

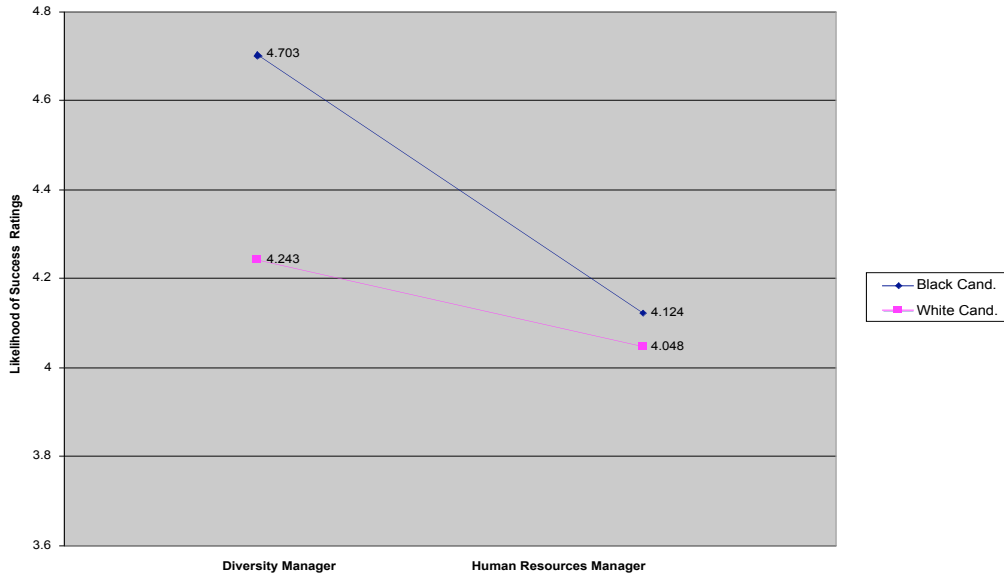


Figure 5.1c

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race and Position Type on Ratings of Likelihood of Success*

In order to test Hypothesis two, three additional interaction terms were created. Terms for the product of Candidate Race by Position Status, Position Status by Position Type, and a three-way product for Candidate Race by Position Status by Position Type were computed. The additional variables were added to the first model at level one to yield the following model:

$$\text{Level One: } \textit{Competence} = \pi_0 + \pi_1(\text{Qual}) + \pi_2(\text{CanRace}) + \pi_3(\text{PosType}) + \pi_4(\text{PosStat}) \\ + \pi_5(\text{RaceType}) + \pi_6(\text{RaceStat}) + \pi_7(\text{TypeStat}) + \pi_8(\text{Three}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{Level Two: } \pi_0 = \beta_{00} + r_0$$

$$\pi_1 = \beta_{10}$$

$$\pi_2 = \beta_{20} + r_2$$

$$\pi_3 = \beta_{30} + r_3$$

$$\pi_4 = \beta_{40}$$

$$\pi_5 = \beta_{50} + r_5$$

$$\pi_6 = \beta_{60}$$

$$\pi_7 = \beta_{70}$$

$$\pi_8 = \beta_{80}$$

Once again the error terms for several of the slopes were estimated as not significantly different from zero and removed from analyses to allow for more accurate estimation of the rest of the model. Though the inclusion of a large number of terms can affect the ability to detect effects due to the loss of degrees of freedom, it was important to include all lower order terms in the three way interaction in order to isolate the effects of the interaction in question. The three-way interaction term was not significant in any of the models. Therefore, no support was found for hypothesis two as it was proposed. The results of the aversive racism model tests are included in Tables 5.2a, 5.2b, and 5.2c.

Table 5.2a

*Aversive Racism Model Estimates for Competence Ratings*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.411	0.051	87.326	174	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.073	0.032	-2.299	1383	0.022
B20 CanRace	-0.015	0.058	-0.259	174	0.796
B30 PosType	-0.116	0.063	-1.848	174	0.066
B40 PosStat	0.065	0.049	1.333	1383	0.183
B50 RaceType	0.277	0.085	3.249	174	0.002
B60 RaceStat	-0.062	0.069	-0.893	1383	0.372
B70 TypeStat	0.013	0.069	-0.188	1383	0.851
B80 Three	0.067	0.098	-0.683	1383	0.495

Table 5.2b

*Aversive Racism Model Estimates for Fit Ratings*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.225	0.06	70.387	174	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.089	0.038	-2.326	1383	0.020
B20 CanRace	0.028	0.074	-0.373	174	0.709
B30 PosType	0.163	0.077	-2.131	174	0.034
B40 PosStat	0.028	0.066	-0.419	1383	0.675
B50 RaceType	0.463	0.11	4.225	174	0.000
B60 RaceStat	-0.011	0.096	-0.115	1383	0.909
B70 TypeStat	0.024	0.093	0.262	1383	0.794
B80 Three	-0.115	0.131	0.873	1383	0.383

The MEIM score was computed as the mean item response on the twelve items. A factor analysis was performed on the MEIM data to determine if participant responses should be split into separate scores. Using principle axis factoring and scree plot analysis, I determined that only one factor was present. For this reason, no subscale scores were computed or used in analyses. Ethnicity was broken down into three groups due to the low numbers of participants in three of the groups. Two dummy coded variables were created for White participants (0,0), Black Participants (1,0), and Asian/Mixed ethnicity participants (0,1). Individuals who classified themselves as mixed race or ethnicity were included with participants that identified themselves as Asian, because all of them claimed that one of their

Table 5.2c

*Aversive Racism Model Estimates for Likelihood of Success Ratings*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.336	0.061	71.44	174	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.063	0.038	-1.668	1382	0.095
B20 CanRace	-0.072	0.074	-0.965	174	0.336
B30 PosType	-0.266	0.079	-3.383	174	0.001
B40 PosStat	-0.063	0.064	-0.976	1382	0.330
B50 RaceType	0.427	0.112	3.82	174	0.000
B60 RaceStat	-0.012	0.091	-0.133	1382	0.894
B70 TypeStat	0.14	0.091	1.541	1382	0.123
B80 Three	-0.078	0.128	-0.606	1382	0.545

parents was Asian and one was White. The participants of other ethnicities were excluded from the analysis due to low numbers. A regression analysis using group membership to predict MEIM score was computed. The omnibus test was significant ( $F[2,172] = 11.207$ ,  $p < .001$ ) meaning that ethnic group membership predicted MEIM score. Tests of the coefficients indicated that Black participants had a mean MEIM score 0.504 higher than White participants ( $\beta = .338$ ,  $p < .001$ ). The test of the coefficient for Asian participants was not significant, and power analysis indicated that increased sample size in this demographic group would not increase the effect size.

When creating the model to test Hypothesis three, MEIM, Ethnicity (dummy coded 1 for Black participants and 0 for all other participants), and an interaction term between the two were added to the Position Type portion of the model. Because it was found to be significant in earlier tests, the Candidate Race by Position Type interaction term was retained yielding the following model:

$$\text{Level One: } \textit{Competence} = \pi_0 + \pi_1(\text{Qual}) + \pi_2(\text{CandRace}) + \pi_3(\text{PosType}) + \pi_4(\text{Pos Stat}) + \pi_5(\text{RaceType}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{Level Two: } \pi_0 = \beta_{00} + r_0$$

$$\pi_1 = \beta_{10}$$

$$\pi_2 = \beta_{20} + r_2$$

$$\pi_3 = \beta_{30} + \beta_{31}(\text{MEIM}) + \beta_{32}(\text{ETH}) + \beta_{33}(\text{MEIMETH}) + r_3$$

$$\pi_4 = \beta_{40}$$

$$\pi_5 = \beta_{50} + r_5$$

No significant effects were detected for the MEIM by Ethnicity joint effect on ratings for the Diversity Manager position. In the model for Hypothesis one, it was detected that participants were rating both candidates higher on the Diversity Manager position than the Human Resources Manager position despite both resumes having been pilot tested as equally qualified for both positions. A significant joint effect was detected for MEIM and Position Type on ratings of Fit ( $t[171] = -2.020, p < .05$ ) such that the higher the MEIM score, the lower the fit ratings for the Diversity Manager. This effect brought the average ratings of candidate fit for the Diversity Manager position closer to the average ratings for the Human Resources Manager position (see Figure 5.2). It is probable that no three-way effect of MEIM, Ethnicity, and Position Type was detected due to the large standard errors for the MEIM and MEIM by Ethnicity variables. Because standard errors decrease as a function of sample size (Snijders & Bosker, 1993) this is most likely due to the small sample of Black Participants.

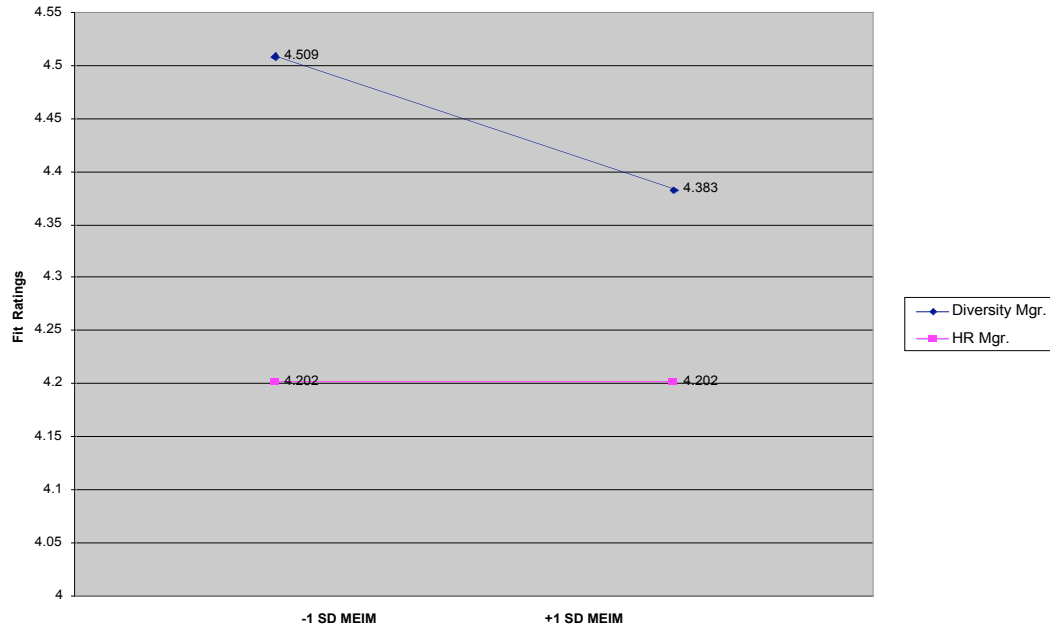


Figure 5.2

*Joint Effect of MEIM Score and Position Type on Ratings of Fit for Black Candidates*

The effects of MEIM on all three ratings were further explored to answer the research question posited. This was done by adding MEIM as a second level predictor to the Candidate Race, Position Type, and Race by Type interaction equations. MEIM was not included in the other variables because their effects were fixed. If one assumes that the variability between participants on a given rating effect is zero, adding a second level predictor does not add any predictive value. The following model resulted:

$$\text{Level One: } \textit{Competence} = \pi_0 + \pi_1(\text{Qual}) + \pi_2(\text{CandRace}) + \pi_3(\text{PosType}) + \pi_4(\text{Pos Stat}) + \pi_5(\text{RaceType}) + \varepsilon$$

$$\text{Level Two: } \pi_0 = \beta_{00} + r_0$$

$$\pi_1 = \beta_{10}$$

$$\pi_2 = \beta_{20} + \beta_{21}(\text{MEIM}) + r_2$$

$$\pi_3 = \beta_{30} + \beta_{31}(\text{MEIM}) + r_3$$

$$\pi_4 = \beta_{40}$$

$$\pi_5 = \beta_{50} + \beta_{51}(\text{MEIM}) + r_5$$

No additional effects for MEIM were found when added to the models alone. Because significant differences were found between the ethnic groups on the MEIM, the Ethnicity variables were entered into the above model to test for the possibility of group interacting with rating effects. With a model of this size, however, it may become difficult to detect significant effects due to the loss of degrees of freedom. For this reason, any second level effects with p-values greater than 0.500 were deleted from the model. When this was done, two effects emerged. A joint effect between Position Type, Candidate Race, and Participant Ethnicity (Black) on Competence was found ( $t[173] = 2.969, p < .01$ ) such that controlling for all other variables, Black participants rated the Black candidate as having significantly

Table 5.3

*MEIM by Ethnicity Interaction Model for Competence*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.437	0.046	96.729	174	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.073	0.032	-2.292	1383	0.022
B20 CanRace	-0.046	0.047	-0.98	174	0.329
B30 PosType	-0.018	0.18	-0.099	171	0.921
B31 MEIM	-0.042	0.06	-0.69	171	0.491
B32 ETH	-0.496	0.648	-0.764	171	0.446
B33 MEIMETH	0.195	0.195	1.002	171	0.318
B40 PosStat	0.011	0.025	0.452	1383	0.651
B50 RaceType	0.243	0.07	3.479	174	0.001

higher competence for the Diversity Manager position than for all other candidate/position combinations (see Figure 5.3a and 5.3b). Another joint effect was found for Participant Ethnicity and Candidate Race on ratings of Fit ( $t[172] = 2.603, p=.01$ ) such that, on average, Black participants' ratings of Fit for the Black candidate were higher than for White participants' ratings of the Black Candidate. There were no differences for ratings of the White candidate (see Figure 5.4a and 5.4b). This may be considered partial support for the Aversive Racism Hypothesis due to the more ambiguous nature of the Human Resources Manager position. The Race-Typing hypothesis is already explaining the inflated Fit ratings of Black candidates in the Diversity Manager position, so, because qualifications have been controlled for, any differences seen in ratings of Fit for the Human Resources Manager position can only be seen as bias.

Table 5.4

*MEIM by Ethnicity Interaction Model for Fit*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.235	0.053	80.117	174	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.089	0.038	-2.318	1383	0.021
B20 CanRace	-0.033	0.058	-0.057	174	0.569
B30 PosType	0.234	0.204	1.148	171	0.253
B31 MEIM	-0.137	0.068	-2.02	171	0.045
B32 ETH	-0.301	0.73	-0.412	171	0.680
B33 MEIMETH	0.13	0.219	0.594	171	0.553
B40 PosStat	-0.05	0.033	-1.505	1383	0.132
B50 RaceType	0.405	0.088	4.62	174	0.000

Table 5.5

*MEIM by Ethnicity Interaction Model for Likelihood of Success*

Fixed Effect	Coefficient	Standard Error	T-ratio	d.f.	P-value
B00 Intercept	4.313	0.054	79.887	174	0.000
B10 Qual	-0.063	0.038	-1.633	1382	0.102
B20 CanRace	-0.078	0.059	-1.315	174	0.190
B30 PosType	-0.077	0.211	-0.366	171	0.714
B31 MEIM	-0.046	0.070	-0.650	171	0.516
B32 ETH	-0.166	0.756	-0.220	171	0.826
B33 MEIMETH	0.091	0.227	0.399	171	0.690
B40 PosStat	-0.018	0.032	-0.567	1382	0.570
B50 RaceType	0.388	0.092	4.235	174	0.000

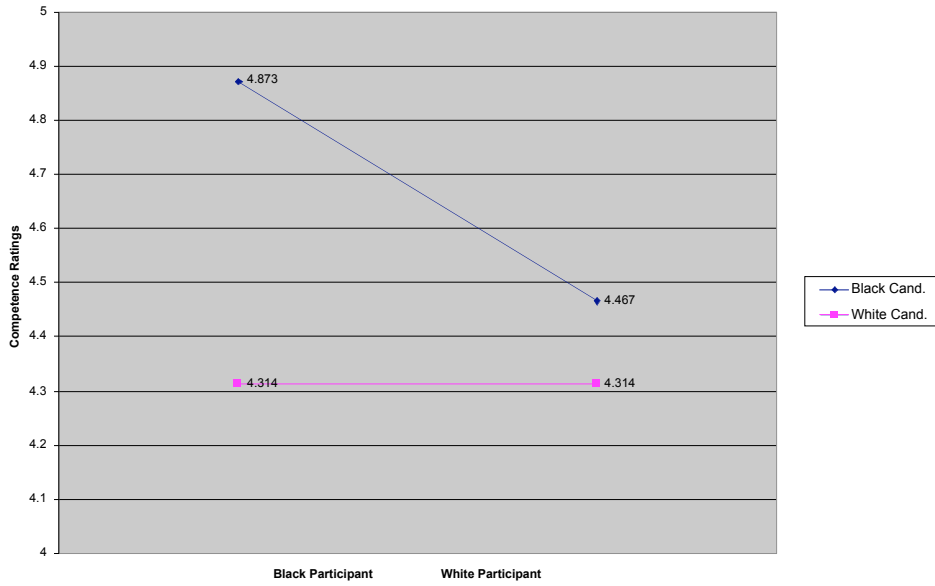


Figure 5.3a

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race, Position Type, and Participant Ethnicity on Ratings of Competence for Diversity Managers*

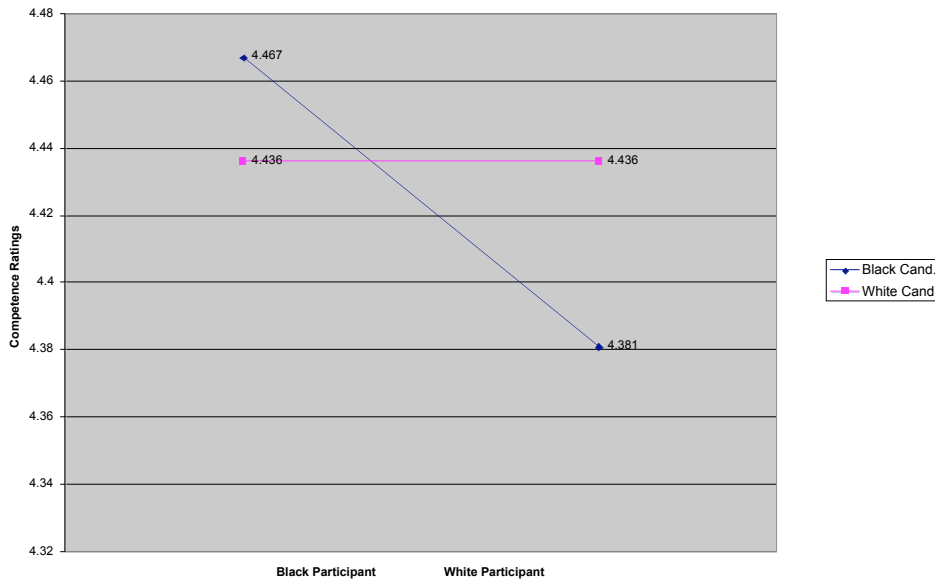


Figure 5.3b

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race, Position Type, and Participant Ethnicity on Ratings of Competence for Human Resources Managers*

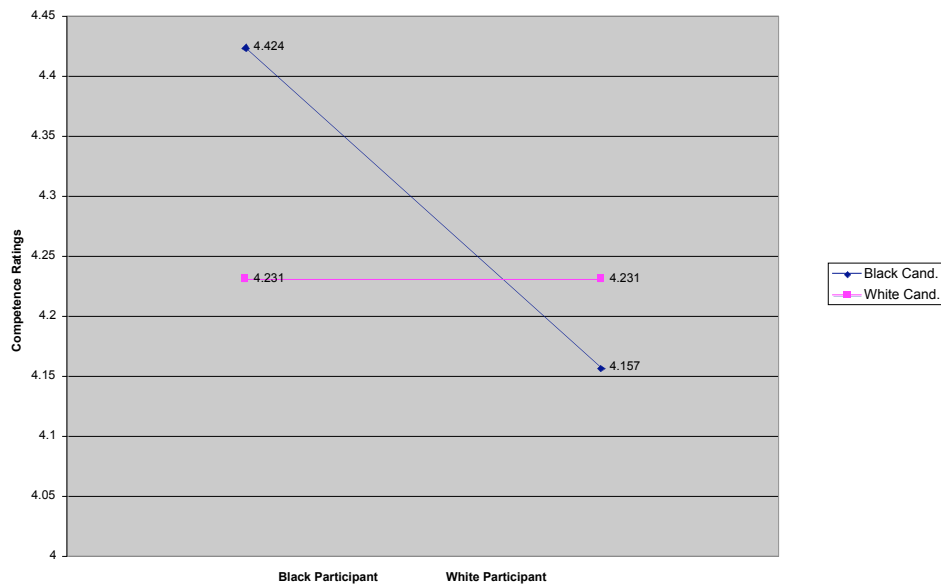


Figure 5.4a

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race and Participant Ethnicity on Fit Ratings for Human Resources Managers*

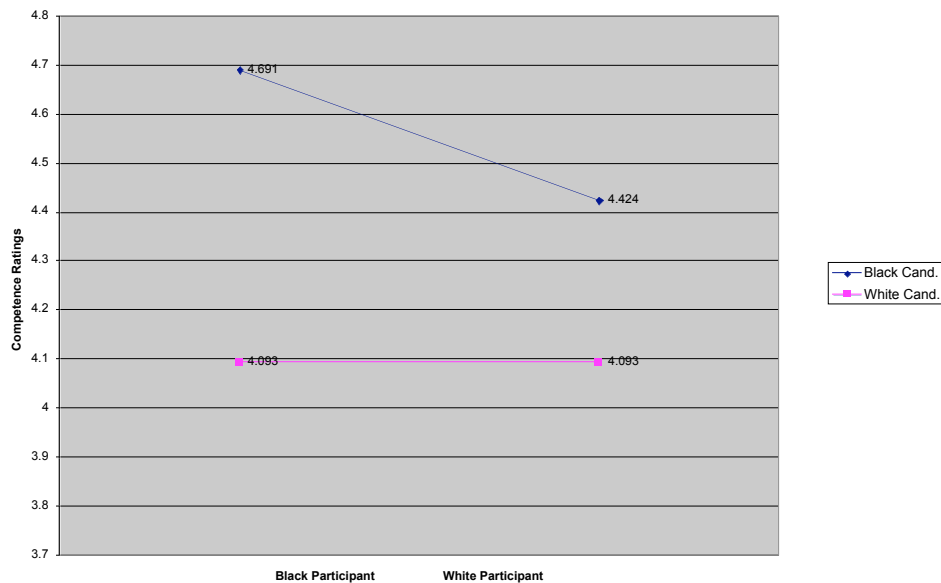


Figure 5.4b

*Joint Effect of Candidate Race and Participant Ethnicity on Fit Ratings for Diversity Managers*

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION

It appears that despite qualifications, individuals making selection decisions feel Black men are more competent, have better fit, and are more likely to be successful as Diversity Managers than White men. Both men in this study possessed the knowledge, skills, abilities, and work experiences necessary to be successful as a Diversity Manager, and any perceived differences in qualifications were controlled for statistically. The Race-Typing hypothesis was fully supported by these findings.

The implications of support for the Race-Typing hypothesis absent of support for the Aversive Racism hypothesis are unclear. This study could be considered support for the Access-Legitimacy paradigm of Ely and Thomas (2001). According to their theory, organizations place minorities in positions with high involvement with other minorities to make the organization appear more legitimate to the minority population in question. Because a diversity manager would primarily serve minorities, this study can be seen as evidence that people feel a minority is a more legitimate candidate than a White candidate. This has negative connotations because Ely and Thomas believe that minorities in Access-Legitimacy organization are likely to be and feel marginalized and isolated.

In order for race-typing to have these negative consequences, one of three conditions must be met: Minorities in the applicant pool must have applied for positions other than those that are diversity related and were then placed in the diversity related positions at a higher rate than they were placed in non-diversity related positions for which they were equally or

greater qualified. Second, the applicant pool for these positions must be representative or close to representative of the demographics of the general population. Finally, ethnicity cannot be a valid predictor of actual performance in the diversity related position. None of these conditions was tested in this study, but could be in subsequent research. If none of the above conditions is met, however, then race-typing is at worst, irrelevant, but one additional condition must be met to avoid highly negative consequences for the individual in the diversity manager position: Diversity related positions must be equal in pay, status, and mobility to equivalent “main stream” positions filled by equally qualified individuals.

Diversity management and related positions are lower in status, have limited contact with senior management and are lower paid than similar positions filled by equally qualified individuals ((Friedman & DiTomaso, 1996). Even if the first three conditions are met, this disparity still needs addressed. In order for diversity management to be successful, senior management must show its support (Cox, 1991). They can do this by elevating the status and visibility of diversity related positions to the same level as their main stream counterparts.

Participants of all racial and ethnic backgrounds rated the Black candidate higher than the White candidate on all three rating scales, but participants were not asked which candidate they personally would prefer if they were an employee in the mock organization used in the study. If employees of an organization prefer minorities in diversity related positions, minorities in those positions (assuming they are qualified) may be more successful than an equally qualified White individual. Because no data was found to support or refute this idea, future research could determine the extent to which race-typing might actually assist an organization.

Though it was possible to find support for the aversive racism hypothesis in addition to the race-typing hypothesis due to the orthogonal nature of the material presentation, no support was found for the hypothesis *as it was stated*. Though the status of a position did not influence candidate choice as was predicted in hypothesis two, after accounting for differences in fit ratings in the Diversity Manager position explained by the Race-Typing hypothesis, differences in ratings of the Black candidate for the Human Resources manager position may be described as a manifestation of Aversive Racism. As mentioned previously, both candidates were equally qualified for both positions. They had an equal number of occupational and educational experiences for both position types. Any remaining differences in perceptions of qualification were controlled for statistically. Because the human resources qualifications may not have been as salient to most participants, the qualifications of both candidates may be seen as ambiguous. According to Dovidio and Gaertner's (2000) Aversive Racism Theory, racist tendencies manifest themselves when the situation is not clear-cut. The difference in ratings of Fit for the Human Resources Manager position due to the ambiguity in qualification appears to be a manifestation of aversive racism. This difference is important, because all things equal, the perception of fit according to an individual making selection decisions may influence the decision to hire.

There are several possible reasons a lack of direct support for hypothesis two was found. Because no bias was detected in Competence and Likelihood of Success ratings, the first possibility is that little aversive racism was present in the sample to detect. With respect to Fit ratings, after controlling for general bias in selection decisions, Position Status does not contribute to additional variance in scores. Participants may have found the Position Status manipulation too weak and were not attending to it, or the Position Status manipulation was

too face valid and the situation became less ambiguous than it was designed to be. Results of the manipulation check revealed that the former is likely not the case. If the latter had been the case, demand characteristics might have operated in such a way that participants made efforts to diminish the influence of the manipulation on the ratings they made. To test for the possibility that individual differences in the understanding of the Position Status manipulation influenced ratings, the manipulation check ratings of the four positions provided by the participants were entered as level one predictors in place of the dummy code for Position Status. This adjustment to the analysis did not change anything. Efforts will be made in future research to test other manipulations and vary the extent to which the situations are ambiguous.

Though no support was found for hypothesis three, it is likely due to the lack of Black participants. Also, hypothesis three was group specific due to the lack of work done on White Identity. Effects were detected only when Ratings of Fit were used as the outcome variable. Increased MEIM scores predicted lower ratings of Fit for the Diversity Manager position, but no interaction between MEIM and Ethnicity was found. This seems to show that higher ethnic identity has the same effect for all groups. Though it seems counterintuitive that higher MEIM scores would equal lower fit ratings for Diversity Managers, participants with higher MEIM scores are actually rating the Black candidate such that the candidate's Fit score is closer to the same for both the Diversity Manager position and the Human Resources Manager position (after controlling for candidate race and qualifications). For example, a participant with a low MEIM score would rate the Black candidate significantly higher for the Diversity Manager position than he would rate the same candidate for the Human Resources position. The difference would not be as great for the ratings made by a

participant with a high MEIM score. High ethnic identity seems to increase the salience of Fit. Those high in ethnic identity likely appreciate the importance of Diversity Managers more than those low in ethnic identity.

Want, Parham, Baker, and Sherman (2004) found that Black counseling clients prefer counselors of their own race when all other variables are held constant, and it appears that Black participants demonstrate a similar preference for Black Diversity Managers. White employees will likely be less interested than a Black coworker in who is hired as the Diversity Manager at their company (Jacques, 1997). Therefore, when all else is held constant, it follows that Black participants' fit ratings of Black Diversity Managers would be higher than both their ratings of White Diversity Managers and White participant's ratings of either.

Though only one of the hypotheses was completely supported, this study elucidates many unanswered questions about race, selection decisions, ethnic identity, and to some extent, racism. Efforts should be made by human resources professionals to discount any preconceived notion that a Black man is more appropriate for a Diversity Management position than a White man unless evidence can be found that minority status is job related and can be established as a bona fide occupational qualification. Ethnic identity did not account for much of the variance in ratings made by the participants, but its joint effect with Position Type on perceptions of Fit suggest that diversity training might be beneficial to avoid the possibility of making poor selection decisions.

Ideally, the reason no support for the aversive racism hypothesis was found was because college students are becoming increasingly knowledgeable about other cultures and have less implicit racism than young adults of the past. Even if they were aware of the

purpose of the status manipulation, it is important that they made efforts to respond in an unbiased way. Further exploration into the interaction between race-typing and aversive racism may yield positive (as in promising) results.

Certain design flaws and situational constraints may have affected results. The resumes were pilot tested to be equal, but the sample detected differences in the qualifications. To control for perceptions of differences in qualifications, a between-subjects design in which groups of participants see only one resume should be used. Each group should see different photos attached to this resume. The greatest situational constraint of this study was the manipulation of race. Many individuals may have immediately understood the nature of the study due to the salience of the photo. Also, despite being pilot tested, participants detected a significant difference in the ages of the candidates. This may have affected how the candidates were rated. Lastly, the University of Georgia is a largely homogenous school with Black students comprising only 5.5% of the total student population (AB-H, 2004). Though participation in this study was double this percentage, I still had too few Black participants to have conclusive results on some of the tests. Efforts will be made to include more minority students in future research on this topic.

Undergraduates are limited in the extent to which they have been a part of selection decisions. For this reason, external validity may be enhanced by the use of participants with human resources training. Decisions made by these individuals may be more representative of real world trends in diversity manager selection.

Future research could include several new or different manipulations that continue to explore race-typing and bias in selection decisions of this nature. It would be interesting to see how gender interacts with race of the candidates. It would also be interesting to see how

things might change if the qualifications of the candidates were manipulated purposefully. Because this is a fairly under-researched area, many possibilities exist for continued exploration.

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## APPENDICES

## Appendix A: Participant Consent Form

I \_\_\_\_\_ agree to take part in a research study titled “Who is better for the job?”, which is being conducted by Darrin Grelle; Department of Psychology; 542-2174 under the direction Dr. Gary Lautenschlager; Department of Psychology; 542-2174. My participation is voluntary; I can stop taking part at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty. I can ask to have information related to returned to me, removed from the research records, or destroyed.

The purpose of this experiment is to measure how people make hiring decisions using resumes and job descriptions and to determine if individual differences affect these decisions.

I will receive 1.0 credit toward the completion of my research requirement. During my participation I will see job descriptions and resumes very similar to those that I might see in a real job search. This research may provide me with insight into how hiring decisions are made.

If I participate in this study, I will be asked to do the following things:

- Read resumes from two job candidates
- Read four job descriptions
- Rate both candidates on all four jobs
- Complete two questionnaires

Participation should take between 30-60 minutes. No stresses or discomforts are expected.

My participation in this study is anonymous; my name will not be connected with any of the materials I complete. All questionnaires and surveys I complete will be stored securely and accessed only by the principal researcher. If any findings are ever presented or published, I will not be identified individually. Any materials containing identifying information will be promptly destroyed at the completion of the study.

The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, now or during the course of the project, and can be reached by telephone at: 706-542-2174, or by E-mail at: [dmgrelle@uga.edu](mailto:dmgrelle@uga.edu).

My signature below indicates that the researchers have answered all of my questions to my satisfaction and that I consent to volunteer for this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Researcher  
706-542-2174  
[dmgrelle@uga.edu](mailto:dmgrelle@uga.edu)

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature of Participant

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

Additional questions or problems regarding your rights as a research participant should be addressed to The IRB Chairperson. Human Subjects Office, University of Georgia, 606A Boyd Graduate Studies Research Center, Athens, Georgia 30602-7411; Telephone (706) 542-3199; E-Mail Address [IRB@uga.edu](mailto:IRB@uga.edu).

**Appendix B: Participant Instructions**

Dear Participant,

Thank you for your participation. We are a large manufacturing company based in Atlanta, Georgia with offices and plants all over the United States. Due to recent expansion, Human Resources Manager and Diversity Manager positions have opened up in our Atlanta and Chicago offices. We would like your assistance evaluating two candidates for these four positions. Please indicate how competent you feel both candidates are for the listed positions. Also indicate how well you feel both candidates would fit in the positions. Because these ratings will be used for selection purposes, we ask that you not give both candidates equal ratings for the same position. We appreciate your help in this process.

Sincerely,

Joseph Granger

## Appendix C: Position Opening One: Human Resources Manager: Atlanta Office

### TASKS:

- Administer compensation, benefits and performance management systems, and safety and recreation programs.
- Identify staff vacancies and recruit, interview and select applicants.
- Allocate human resources, ensuring appropriate matches between personnel.
- Provide current and prospective employees with information about policies, job duties, working conditions, wages, opportunities for promotion and employee benefits.
- Perform difficult staffing duties, including dealing with understaffing, refereeing disputes, firing employees, and administering disciplinary procedures.
- Advise managers on organizational policy matters such as equal employment opportunity and sexual harassment, and recommend needed changes.
- Analyze and modify compensation and benefits policies to establish competitive programs and ensure compliance with legal requirements.
- Plan and conduct new employee orientation to foster positive attitude toward organizational objectives.
- Serve as a link between management and employees by handling questions, interpreting and administering contracts and helping resolve work-related problems.
- Plan, direct, supervise, and coordinate work activities of subordinates and staff relating to employment, compensation, labor relations, and employee relations.

### REQUIRED KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND/OR ABILITIES:

- Knowledge of principles and procedures for personnel recruitment, selection, training, compensation and benefits, labor relations and negotiation, and personnel information systems.
- Knowledge of principles and methods for curriculum and training design, teaching and instruction for individuals and groups, and the measurement of training effects.
- Motivating, developing, and directing people as they work, identifying the best people for the job.
- Bringing others together and trying to reconcile differences.
- Developing constructive and cooperative working relationships with others, and maintaining them over time.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

- This position is excellent for highly motivated professionals looking to grow with the company. This position has direct contact with senior level executives and is immediately admitted in the company's career development track. The individual in this position will be based in Atlanta.

**Based on the position description provided above, rate both candidates on how competent you feel each would be in this position based on his training and experience, how well you believe each candidate would fit in this position, and how likely you feel he would be successful in this position. Circle the appropriate number.**

**CANDIDATE A (JOHN X):**

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

**CANDIDATE B (BILL X):**

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

## Appendix D: Position Opening Two: Human Resources Manager: Chicago Office

### TASKS:

- Administer compensation, benefits and performance management systems, and safety and recreation programs.
- Identify staff vacancies and recruit, interview and select applicants.
- Allocate human resources, ensuring appropriate matches between personnel.
- Provide current and prospective employees with information about policies, job duties, working conditions, wages, opportunities for promotion and employee benefits.
- Perform difficult staffing duties, including dealing with understaffing, refereeing disputes, firing employees, and administering disciplinary procedures.
- Advise managers on organizational policy matters such as equal employment opportunity and sexual harassment, and recommend needed changes.
- Analyze and modify compensation and benefits policies to establish competitive programs and ensure compliance with legal requirements.
- Plan and conduct new employee orientation to foster positive attitude toward organizational objectives.
- Serve as a link between management and employees by handling questions, interpreting and administering contracts and helping resolve work-related problems.
- Plan, direct, supervise, and coordinate work activities of subordinates and staff relating to employment, compensation, labor relations, and employee relations.

### REQUIRED KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND/OR ABILITIES:

- Knowledge of principles and procedures for personnel recruitment, selection, training, compensation and benefits, labor relations and negotiation, and personnel information systems.
- Knowledge of principles and methods for curriculum and training design, teaching and instruction for individuals and groups, and the measurement of training effects.
- Motivating, developing, and directing people as they work, identifying the best people for the job.
- Bringing others together and trying to reconcile differences.
- Developing constructive and cooperative working relationships with others, and maintaining them over time.

### ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

- This position is housed in the Chicago office and has limited contact with senior executives based in Atlanta. Individuals in this position are eligible for admission into the company's career development track after two years of employment. Superior performance on annual appraisals is necessary for admission.

**Based on the position description provided above, rate both candidates on how competent you feel each would be in this position based on his training and experience, how well you believe each candidate would fit in this position, and how likely you feel he would be successful in this position. Circle the appropriate number.**

**CANDIDATE A (JOHN X):**

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

**CANDIDATE B (BILL X):**

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

## Appendix E: Position Opening Three: Diversity Manager: Atlanta Office

### TASKS:

- Advise managers on organizational policy matters such as equal employment opportunity and sexual harassment, and recommend needed changes.
- Provide current and prospective employees with information about diversity policies.
- Identify staff vacancies and recruit minority applicants. Facilitate the creation and maintenance of outreach programs and networking groups for women and minorities.
- Analyze and modify compensation and benefits policies to establish competitive programs and ensure compliance with legal requirements. Evaluate and modify compensation plans to align with diversity values.
- Plan and conduct new employee orientation to foster positive attitude toward diversity values and organizational objectives. Oversee the creation and evaluation of diversity training programs.
- Serve as a link between management and employees by handling questions, interpreting and administering contracts and helping resolve work-related problems.
- Plan, direct, supervise, and coordinate work activities of subordinates and staff relating to employment, compensation, labor relations, and employee relations.
- Perform difficult staffing duties, including dealing with understaffing, refereeing disputes, firing employees, and administering disciplinary procedures.

### REQUIRED KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND/OR ABILITIES:

- Knowledge of laws, legal codes, court procedures, precedents, government regulations, executive orders, and agency rules (especially those that refer to employment discrimination).
- Knowledge of principles and procedures for personnel recruitment, selection, training, compensation and benefits, labor relations and negotiation, and personnel information systems.
- Knowledge of principles and methods for curriculum and training design, teaching and instruction for individuals and groups, and the measurement of training effects.
- Motivating, developing, and directing people as they work, identifying the best people for the job.
- Bringing others together and trying to reconcile differences.
- Developing constructive and cooperative working relationships with others, and maintaining them over time.

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

- This position is excellent for highly motivated professionals looking to grow with the company. This position has direct contact with senior level executives and is immediately admitted in the company's career development track. The individual in this position will be based in Atlanta.

**Based on the position description provided above, rate both candidates on how competent you feel each would be in this position based on his training and experience, how well you believe each candidate would fit in this position, and how likely you feel he would be successful in this position. Circle the appropriate number.**

### CANDIDATE A (JOHN X):

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

### CANDIDATE B (BILL X):

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

## Appendix F: Position Opening Four: Diversity Manager: Chicago Office

### TASKS:

- Advise managers on organizational policy matters such as equal employment opportunity and sexual harassment, and recommend needed changes.
- Provide current and prospective employees with information about diversity policies.
- Identify staff vacancies and recruit minority applicants. Facilitate the creation and maintenance of outreach programs and networking groups for women and minorities.
- Analyze and modify compensation and benefits policies to establish competitive programs and ensure compliance with legal requirements. Evaluate and modify compensation plans to align with diversity values.
- Plan and conduct new employee orientation to foster positive attitude toward diversity values and organizational objectives. Oversee the creation and evaluation of diversity training programs.
- Serve as a link between management and employees by handling questions, interpreting and administering contracts and helping resolve work-related problems.
- Plan, direct, supervise, and coordinate work activities of subordinates and staff relating to employment, compensation, labor relations, and employee relations.
- Perform difficult staffing duties, including dealing with understaffing, refereeing disputes, firing employees, and administering disciplinary procedures.

### REQUIRED KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS, AND/OR ABILITIES:

- Knowledge of laws, legal codes, court procedures, precedents, government regulations, executive orders, and agency rules (especially those that refer to employment discrimination).
- Knowledge of principles and procedures for personnel recruitment, selection, training, compensation and benefits, labor relations and negotiation, and personnel information systems.
- Knowledge of principles and methods for curriculum and training design, teaching and instruction for individuals and groups, and the measurement of training effects.
- Motivating, developing, and directing people as they work, identifying the best people for the job.
- Bringing others together and trying to reconcile differences.
- Developing constructive and cooperative working relationships with others, and maintaining them over time.

## ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

- This position is housed in the Chicago office and has limited contact with senior executives based in Atlanta. Individuals in this position are eligible for admission into the company's career development track after two years of employment. Superior performance on annual appraisals is necessary for admission.

**Based on the position description provided above, rate both candidates on how competent you feel each would be in this position based on his training and experience, how well you believe each candidate would fit in this position, and how likely you feel he would be successful in this position. Circle the appropriate number.**

### CANDIDATE A (JOHN X):

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

### CANDIDATE B (BILL X):

1 very incompetent	2 incompetent	3 neither incompetent nor competent	4 competent	5 very competent
1 very poor fit	2 poor fit	3 neither poor nor good fit	4 good fit	5 very good fit
1 very unlikely	2 unlikely	3 neither unlikely nor likely	4 likely	5 very likely

### Appendix G: Candidate A

**RESUME CANDIDATE A**

March 2006

**John XXXXXXXX, M.B.A.****EDUCATION**

**University of XXXXX** (August 1983 – May 1987)  
MBA with Human Resources focus

**XXXX University** (August 1992 – May 1994)  
Bachelor of Arts, Business/Management  
Bachelor of Arts, German

**WORK EXPERIENCE**

Human Resources Assistant: (1987-1992) XXXXXXXXXXXX

- Interviewed and hired job candidates for entry-level positions
- Conducted new employee orientation sessions

Human Resources Generalist: (1994-current) XXXXXXXXXXXX

- Recruited, interviewed, and selected job candidates for positions throughout the organization.
- Developed and delivered diversity training program.
- Assessed employee training needs and developed programs to meet training needs.
- Ensured organization maintained a diverse staff.

**RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS**

- Knowledge of hiring and training processes and pay and benefits systems.
- Knowledge of regulations and laws governing human resources functions
- Ability to effectively motivate staff and delegate responsibility.

**Appendix H**: Candidate B

**RESUME CANDIDATE B**

March 2006

**Bill XXXXXXX, M.B.A.****EDUCATION**

**University of XXXXX** (August 1983 – May 1987)  
MBA with Human Resources focus

**XXXX State University** (August 1992 – May 1994)  
Bachelor of Arts, Business/Management  
Bachelor of Arts, Italian

**WORK EXPERIENCE**

**Human Resources Associate:** (1987-1992) XXXXXXXXXXXX

- Interviewed and hired job candidates for entry-level positions
- Assessed employee training needs and developed programs to meet training needs.

**Human Resources Generalist:** (1994-current) XXXXXXXXXXXX

- Recruited, interviewed, and selected job candidates for positions throughout the organization.
- Recruited high potential minority candidates from college campuses across the country
- Created and maintained mentoring program between minority employees and executive members of a local Black professional organization.
- Ensured management complied with human resources regulations.

**RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE AND SKILLS**

- Knowledge of hiring and training processes and pay and benefits systems.
- Knowledge of regulations and laws governing human resources functions
- Ability to effectively motivate staff and delegate responsibility.

## Appendix I: Manipulation Check

**Please answer the following questions based on the information provided earlier:**

### 1. Position One has extensive contact with senior management

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

### 2. Position One has room for advancement

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

### 3. Position Two has extensive contact with senior management

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

### 4. Position Two has room for advancement

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

### 5. Position Three has extensive contact with senior management

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

### 6. Position Three has room for advancement

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

**7. Position Four has extensive contact with senior management**

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

**8. Position Four has room for advancement**

1	2	3	4	5
strongly disagree	disagree	neither agree nor disagree	agree	strongly agree

**9. What race is candidate A?**

- a. White
- b. Black
- c. Hispanic
- d. Asian
- e. Other

**10. How old is Candidate A? \_\_\_\_\_**

**11. What race is candidate B?**

- f. White
- g. Black
- h. Hispanic
- i. Asian
- j. Other

**12. How old is Candidate B? \_\_\_\_\_**

## Appendix J: Multiethnic Identity Measure

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or ethnic groups that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others. These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

Please fill in: In terms of ethnic group, I consider myself to be \_\_\_\_\_

Use the numbers below to indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

**(4) Strongly agree (3) Agree (2) Disagree (1) Strongly disagree**

1. \_\_\_\_\_ I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.
4. \_\_\_\_\_ I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.
7. \_\_\_\_\_ I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.
8. \_\_\_\_\_ In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.
9. \_\_\_\_\_ I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.
10. \_\_\_\_\_ I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.
11. \_\_\_\_\_ I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.
12. \_\_\_\_\_ I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.
13. \_\_\_\_\_ My ethnicity is
  - (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
  - (2) Black or African American
  - (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
  - (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
  - (5) American Indian/Native American
  - (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
  - (7) Other (write in): \_\_\_\_\_
14. \_\_\_\_\_ My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)
15. \_\_\_\_\_ My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)
16. \_\_\_\_\_ My year in school is (write in)
17. \_\_\_\_\_ My gender is