

AM I FREE TO BE ME? HOW STRENGTH OF RACIAL IDENTITY AND GENDER
INFLUENCE JOB SELECTION DECISIONS

by

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(Under the Direction of KECIA M. THOMAS)

ABSTRACT

This study explored the complexity of racial discrimination based on the strength of racial identity and gender of Black job applicants and their influence on hiring decisions. The researcher presented standard resumes with a name (e.g., Latonya or Laurie) and professional affiliation manipulation to 285 White students who indicated their intent to hire, collective self-esteem and social class attitude. Results indicated that the strength of racial identity and gender did not influence the participants' intent to hire. Unexpectedly, parallel analysis revealed that the participants' perception of racial identity influenced their intention to hire such that perceived strongly racially identified Blacks were evaluated more favorably than were perceived weakly racially identified Blacks. In addition, the reported income level of the participants' parents served to moderate this relationship. Finally, class attitudes did not mediate the strength of racial identity – intent to hire relationship, providing support for the discrimination explanation (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Implications and directions for future research are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Racial identity, perceptions, gender, collective self-esteem, social class attitudes, selection

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my Grandmother, LaVerne Roote, who has supported, encouraged and loved me during each step of my journey leading to The University of Georgia. Your strength and wisdom will always guide me in each new endeavor and I will always be mindful to hold kindness in my heart. To my Mentor, Kecia M. Thomas, who allows me the complete freedom to be myself and who has dedicated her life to the promotion of research and engagement in diversity.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Corporate America is laden with barriers to success, especially for African Americans. Blacks earn nearly 23% less than Whites do, and unemployment is more than twice as high for Blacks (13.3%) compared to Whites (6.1%) (US Census Bureau, 2004).¹ In 2005, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) reported more than 27,000 racial discrimination charges filed against US organizations, resulting in \$76,500,000 paid in settlements and court related costs (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2005).² The expectation that Blacks will be mistreated in organizations is further reinforced by highly publicized lawsuits such as the multi-million dollar settlement paid by Texaco in response to discriminating against nearly 1,400 of its minority workers (Roberts v. Texaco, Inc., 1997). In 2005, the EEOC filed charges against Tyson foods in response to a complaint that several White employees barred Black employees from using a public restroom by posting a “Whites only” sign on the door. What's more, in response to the complainants, management retaliated against the African American employees by subjecting them to further discrimination, disciplinary write-ups and suspensions (EEOC v. Tyson Foods, Inc., 2005). It is not surprising therefore that many African Americans report experiencing significant impediments throughout their professional lifespan.

Research on Black workers is in line with these reported inequities. A field study conducted in three large U.S. corporations demonstrated that Black managers reported lower levels of job discretion and acceptance, received lower ratings on subjective and

objective measures of job performance and promotability assessments, and hit career plateaus more often than their White counterparts (Greenhouse, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). Moreover, in response to these highly publicized lawsuits and allegations of racism, minority students at the University of Cincinnati stated that many would avoid working in corporate America all together. In a survey, which asked African American students if they would have to sell-out in order to fit into corporate America, minority students reported sensing fear in response to the extra pressure to assimilate (i.e., to relinquish one's identity). Some students compared selling-out for the sake of financial gain to prostitution and to compromising a person's belief system. Consequently, Black youths understandably fear the additional challenges they will face when making the transition to corporate America (Bates-Parker, 2005). As a consequence, many agree that the single greatest barrier to success in corporate America is being Black.

There are two competing perspectives that attempt to account for the significant differences in employment rates and experiences between Black and White Americans. In the economics literature, a controversial field study conducted by Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) replicated previous field studies of disparate employment rates between Black and White job applicants. In the study, researchers mailed more than five thousand resumes to businesses in a variety of professional fields in the Boston and Chicago areas. To manipulate race, the name appearing at the top reflected either a name predominately given to Whites (e.g., Emily or Greg) or a name predominately given to a Blacks (e.g., Lakisha or Jamal). Furthermore, the resumes were of low or high quality; with the higher quality resumes including more years of professional experience, email

addresses and fewer gaps in employment history. In addition, in order to manipulate socio-economic status (SES) the researchers changed the zip code to reflect either an affluent neighborhood or an impoverished one. As a result, by simply changing the name on similarly written resumes, White job applicants received 50% more callbacks requesting an interview than Black job applicants received. Interestingly, this effect remained even among organizations advertising equal employment opportunities. Furthermore, results indicated having a higher quality resume did not help Blacks nor did having a zip code indicating an affluent neighborhood. Whites enjoyed, however, a 30% increase in callbacks in response to these changes.

Preference for White job applicants remains pervasive in our society, even for White applicants with a prison record. In a different field study, researchers examined the employment offers among low-wage labor markets in New York City. With similarly written resumes, reflecting equal levels of education and work experience in hand, trained White, Black and Latino job applicants applied for entry-level positions with over 1,000 employers. All else remaining equal, Whites received the most job offers (24.3%), followed by Hispanics (21.3%) and finally Blacks received the least number of offers (16.3%). The most compelling outcome of the study, however, resulted once researchers Pager and Western (2004) randomly included a criminal conviction on resumes. Low wage employers continued to demonstrate a preference for White and Latino job applicants with a prison record (12.9% & 13.3%, respectively), over non-offending, law abiding Black applicants (9.2%). These results are striking and it demonstrates the resilience of discrimination against Blacks.

One of the drawbacks, however, when conducting a field study is the lack of control necessary to understand the processes involved when deciding to pursue White applicants more often. Although zip codes represented affluent versus poor neighborhoods in the Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) field study, it is unclear if employers were even aware of the zip code manipulation and to what extent it influenced callback decisions. Moreover, in order to distribute multiple resumes to one organization, the researchers constructed each resume to be as similar as possible by including different information and thus the obtained results could reasonably be due to any number of factors. Furthermore, in the field study conducted by Pager and Western (2004), the use of confederates brings into question the degree to which dissimilar job applicants match up on every single qualification except for race. The current study will address each of these concerns by using a single resume for each job applicant and by manipulating only the strength of the applicants' racial identity and their gender. The researchers explain the pattern of results in the data to be a direct result of discrimination. Namely, corporate America continues to discriminate against Blacks when making hiring decisions, which consistently favors White applicants.

Economists Fryer and Levitt (2004) argue that a job applicants' name and race is not the cause of unemployment but merely a consequence of being poor. Using California birth certificates, the researchers conducted an economic analysis examining the degree to which African Americans chose distinctly Black sounding names and looked at four unique theories that attempt to explain the differences between distinctly Black and White names. The data supported the *identity model*, which purports that names, hairstyles and clothing became distinctly Black because of the Black Power movement of the 1960's,

which celebrated Black culture and resisted the claims of Black inferiority (Van Deburg, 1992). Although at the time the distinct names did not signal SES, over the last forty years, African American mothers from lower social classes (e.g., single mother, fewer years of education, child born with a low birth rate, etc.) were more likely to use a distinctly Black name for their child. Perhaps, the most relevant result from this study, when researchers controlled for these same social class variables, the impact of name became irrelevant. Fryer and Levitt (2004) concluded that Black-sounding names received fewer callbacks in the Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) study due to the signaling of lowered productivity because of factors related to a lower SES. The present study will explore the degree to which, if any, social class attitudes influence hiring decisions over and above the influence of race.

CHAPTER 2

DISCRIMINATION IN ORGANIZATIONS

Due, in part, to the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the dynamics of discrimination have changed over the past forty years. Shortly after the Civil Rights Movement, McConahay, Hardee, and Batts (1981) developed the social psychological theory of modern racism, making a clear distinction between *old-fashioned racism* and *contemporary racism*. Examples of old-fashioned racism include the hanging of a noose or a “White’s only” sign to intimidate minority individuals. Even though old-fashioned racism continues to occur in organizations, similar to the charges discussed earlier against Tyson, individuals are less likely to engage in this form of discrimination because it is immoral, socially unacceptable and illegal. As a result of the civil rights legislation, contemporary racial beliefs tend to focus on harder to detect behaviors and can include, for example, the belief that “Blacks push themselves into situations where they are not wanted, or the extent to which Blacks are getting more money or attention than they deserve” (p. 564).

Thomas (2006) classifies racial discrimination within an organization as a form of diversity resistance, and defines it as reflecting a continuum of individual and organizational behaviors and practices that interfere with the achievement of diversity goals and initiatives. Consequently, organizations can engage in policies and practices that resist diversity in overt and obvious ways (i.e., old-fashioned racism) or in ways that are more subtle and covert (i.e., contemporary racism). Subtle forms of diversity resistance, like contemporary racism, can be extremely difficult to identify but taken

together may result in significant barriers to success. Subtle resistance may include instances of psychological or social distancing from minority group members, retaliation, and subjective human resource policies that allow managers to rely on stereotypes and preferences when making important decisions (e.g., selection, promotion, training, etc.). The lack of attention to these very subtle forms of discrimination very likely derails many diversity initiatives.

In an attempt to understand why diversity initiatives often fail within organizations, Thomas and Ely (2000) present several paradigms organizations commonly adopt. A dominant perspective implemented by organizations is the *discrimination-and-fairness paradigm* in which organizational leaders focus on equal opportunity, fair treatment, recruitment, and compliance with federal Equal Employment Opportunity requirements. Though the numbers of African American employees may increase somewhat, once inside the organization, the culture reinforces that everyone is the same, differences are pathologized and there is an expectation to assimilate rather than integrate.

Due to this pervasive school of thought, many Americans place the responsibility to fit into the organizational culture directly on Blacks, believing that they should make greater efforts. More specifically, the expectation is that minority employees assimilate in order to integrate harmoniously into an organization (Johnson, 2003). Researchers Carbado and Gulati (2004) describe the racial problem in gaining organizational entry reflects decisions regarding which African Americans to let into an organization and

which ones should be kept out. Moreover, there is an emphasis, they state, on finding individuals who “look” but do not “act” Black. The issue then in part is also one of racial identity.

Racial Identity

Social scientists interested in racial identity – one’s sense of belonging to a racial or ethnic group – agree that having a sense of one’s racial identity plays an important role in shaping attitudes, personal beliefs, inter-group behavior, and other important outcomes (Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990; Phinney, 1996). Much of the research on racial identity, however, primarily focuses on measuring the identity of racial minorities (Phinney, 1996). Moreover, Thomas, Phillips and Brown (1998) discuss the lack of acknowledgment from the field of industrial/organizational (I/O) psychology to the differences within races. They challenge researchers interested in understanding the organizational realities for *all* workers, to consider the issue of ethnicity and identity of both minority and majority group members.

The formation of our unique identity is a life process we all experience and it can be markedly different based on gender, race, culture, religion, socio-economic status, or sexual orientation. Cross (1971), proposed a five stage developmental model of African American identity development to understand the shared processes. A person in the first stage (*pre-encounter*) maintains a common Eurocentric perspective that values Whiteness and consequently devalues Blackness. During the second stage (*encounter*), a person begins to challenge the White perspective, or dominant way of thinking, resulting from a significant or startling experience. During the third stage (*immersion-emersion*) a person experiences an intense period of transition and discovers a new found pride in ones

“Blackness,” which is commonly expressed by joining a Black organization or political group (e.g., NAACP). The degree of internalized pride during this stage, however, is usually minimal. Higher levels of racial identity formation include both the fourth stage (*internalization*), marked by an internalization of a secure racial identity, and the fifth stage (*internalization-commitment*) marked by controlled feelings of anxiety no longer directed at White people, but instead at systems of oppression and injustice. The latter stages include individuals who may exhibit Black pride, self-love, destiny, and a deep sense of Black communalism.

Furthermore, an individual’s racial identity, according to Helms (1990), results from one’s perception that he or she shares a common heritage with a particular racial group. In order to measure this aspect of our identity, Luthanen and Crocker (1992) developed the *Collective Self-Esteem Scale* (CSE), which measures the identity of respondents in two forms: personal identity (i.e., specific attributes of the individual) and social/collective identity (i.e., membership of a homogenous group of individuals that together share a similar identity). The identity subscale of the CSE reflects an individual’s membership in ascribed groups pertaining to gender, race, religion, ethnicity, and socio-economic status, thus race is included as a social/collective identity. Prior research demonstrates that Whites scoring high in CSE ascribe more resources to in-group members than to out-group members (Crocker & Luhtanen, 1990). Similarly, I expect *participants scoring high on CSE will recommend for hire perceived in-group members (i.e., the weak racially identified job applicant) than perceived out-group members (i.e., the strong racially identified job applicant).*

Accordingly, in order to gain a more complete understanding of the complex processes involved in discrimination, it is important to understand the ways in which White majority group members think and feel about their ethnic group membership (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). For the purpose of the current study, the CSE of the participants (i.e., White majority group members) will be measured and the strength of the racial identity (strong, weak) of the job applicants will be manipulated. By looking at the simultaneous identity of both the participant and the target, the current study will further the understanding of the complex processes involved in discrimination. Moreover, it is expected *that weak racially identified Black's will be more accepted than strong racially identified Black's will.*

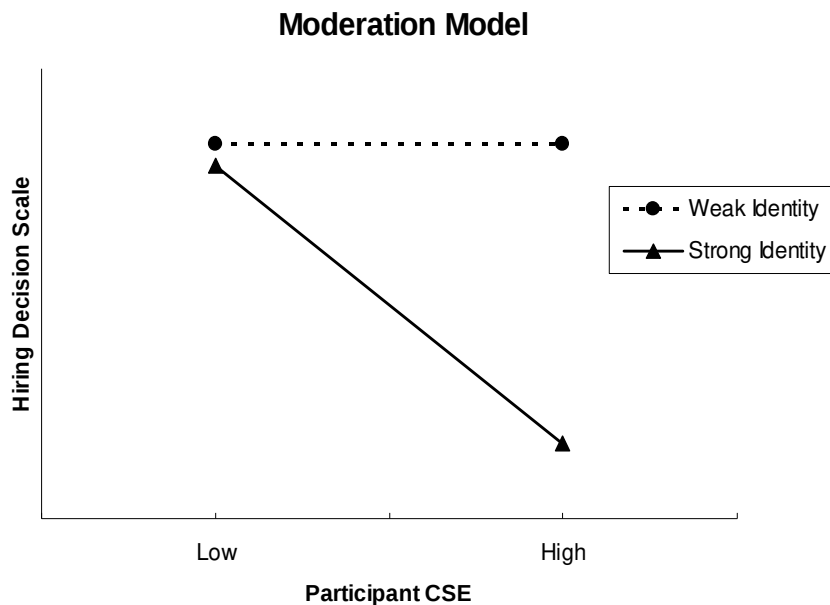
Hypothesis 1: Target racial identity will have a main effect on hiring decisions, such that weakly racially identified job applicants will receive higher evaluations than strongly racially identified job applicants will.

Hypothesis 2: Participant's collective self-esteem is expected to moderate the target racial identity – participant decision relationship, such that:

- a. Participants scoring low on the CSE will evaluate all targets similarly regardless of the strength of racial identity manipulation.
- b. The relation between target identity and hiring rating will be stronger for high CSE participants than low CSE participants.

Figure 1:

Expected Interaction Between Collective Self-Esteem and Hiring Decision Ratings



Gender

It is often tempting to believe that significant differences between men and women in the workplace no longer exist. The appointment of Carleton Fiorina, the first female Chief Executive Officer in a Fortune 500 company, even led her to declare that women no longer faced limitations to success (Meyer, 1999). Most recently, Pepsico named Indra Nooyi as its Chief Executive Officer, now one of the largest U.S. organizations to be lead by a woman (Klonick, 2006). Yet, significant discrepancies in selection, compensation, promotion, mentoring and training persist (Blumrosen & Blumrosen, 1999). White women continue to make only \$.77 on every dollar earned by a man, an increase of only six cents from a survey conducted over ten years ago (Morris,

1992). Furthermore, in 2004, White women, on average, made a total of over \$9,000 less each year than their male counterparts (US Census Bureau, 2005).

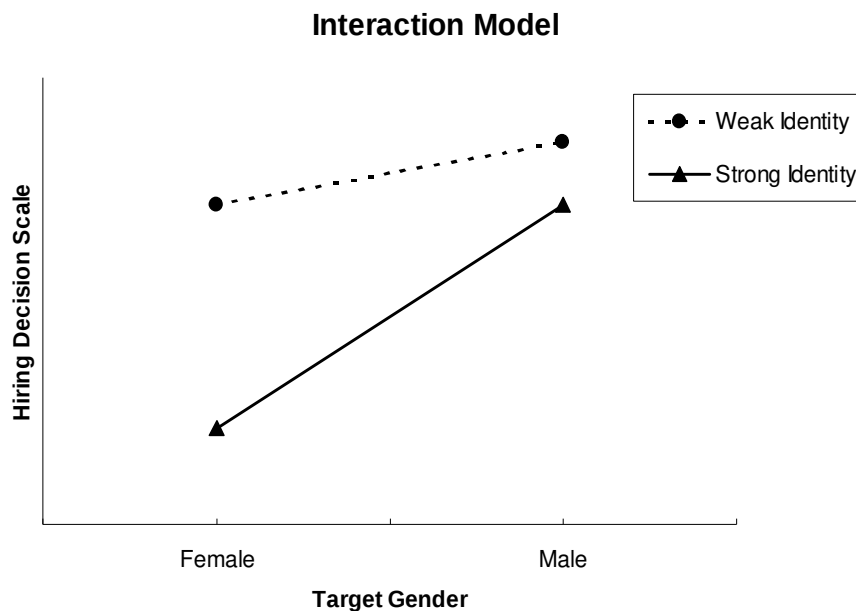
Disparities based on both gender and race remain pervasive in the workplace, especially for Black women. The double jeopardy hypothesis proposes that minority women face what some researchers refer to as the “double whammy,” defined as a more severe instance of discrimination based on a woman’s dual minority status as both African American and female (Berdahl & Moore, 2005). In a pair of studies, Davis (2004; 2006) examined how the relation between race and gender influenced promotion decisions and access to developmental jobs in senior level management promotions. Job applicants belonged either to an African American organization (e.g., NAACP) or to a neutral organization (e.g., Member Chamber of Commerce). Results indicated that job applicants belonging to African American organizations were selected for promotion and training less often than job applicants belonging to racially neutral organizations. Furthermore, when looking at the promotion choices involving Black male or female candidates, males were selected for promotion and training positions more often than were females.

Hypothesis 3: Target gender and racial identity will interact to affect participant’s decisions such that:

- a. Weak racially identified males will receive the highest evaluations;
- b. Strong racially identified males and weak racially identified females will receive the next highest ratings and no difference between them is expected;
- c. In addition, Strong racially identified females will receive the lowest ratings.

Figure 2:

Expected Interaction Between Strength of Racial Identity and Gender and Hiring Decision Ratings



Hence, the present study will address the competing hypotheses, discussed earlier, in the economics literature in two distinct ways. First, to control for SES, all resumes will include a Bachelor of Arts degree, therefore, job applicants will ostensibly be qualified for the entry-level marketing position; and the researcher will measure participant's social class attitudes. Subsequently, if a person has 'beaten the odds' and obtained an accredited college degree, it is unlikely that they should be suspect of operating from an economically disadvantaged paradigm. Second, as in Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), the racial identity of the job applicants will be manipulated by using either a Black sounding (i.e., Tyrone & Latonya) or a neutral sounding (i.e., Todd & Laurie) name. The researcher will further manipulate the identity of the strong racially identified job

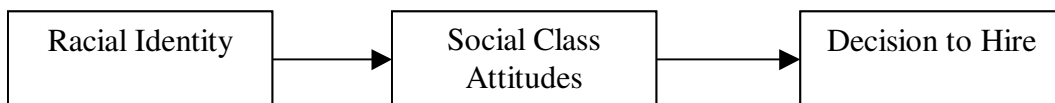
applicants to reflect either a strong racial identity, by means of inclusion in a predominately Black organization (e.g., American Black Marketing Association), or a weak racial identity, by means of inclusion in a neutral status organization (e.g., Member of the American Marketing Association). Therefore, by using a predominately Black sounding name in conjunction with membership to a predominately Black affiliation, the observed results can more convincingly be attributed to race.

Hypothesis 4: It is expected that participant's attitudes regarding social class will contribute to their selection decisions. More specifically, class attitudes will partially mediate the target racial identity – intent to hire relationship.

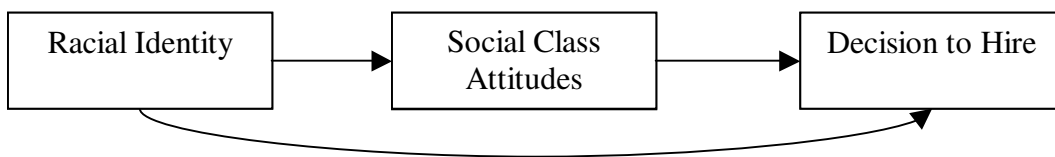
Figure 3:

Hypothesized Models of Mediation Relationship.

Full Mediation



Partial Mediation



CHAPTER 3

Method

The study utilized a 2 (gender: male vs. female) x 2 (strength of racial identity: strong vs. weak) between subjects design.

Participants

Two hundred and eighty-five White undergraduate students from a research pool at a large southeastern university participated in the experiment. The sample included 137 females and 148 males and had a mean age of 19 years ($SD = 1.44$, range 18-33).

Decision makers in corporate America are described as White-centric and continue to make a majority of selection decisions in the organizational setting (Essed, 1991; hooks, 1989; see Valian, 1998; Tsui & Gutek, 1999). To maintain fair access, the study was open to all students however; the data from only the White participants are reported here.

Stimuli

Resume. Each condition utilized one standard resume. Further, a realistic gender-neutral resume was created using pieces of several fictitious resumes found at: <http://susanireland.com/resumeindex.htm>. The resulting job applicants were recent college graduates possessing minimal prior experience and each applicant applied for a position at a marketing firm due to the gender-neutral aspect of the this industry (Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 2002).

A job description was created for the fictitious company using the detailed information provided by the United States Department of Labor, O-Net Consortium: <http://online.onetcenter.org>. Information from the occupational information provided

specifically for a marketing manager helped to create a list of the specific knowledge, skills and abilities (KSA) required for most general marketing positions. The implementation of a cutoff score was included to narrow the list of inclusion criteria. For example, for the *knowledge* and *skills* portion, only attributes over 90% were included (e.g., “critical thinking – using logic and reasoning to identify the strengths and weaknesses of alternative solutions, conclusions or approaches to problems”). A more relaxed criteria was used for the *attributes* because there are none reported over 90% importance, therefore attributes over 80% were included (e.g., “written comprehension – the ability to read and understand information and ideas presented in writing”) (See Appendix A for a complete copy of the job description).

The researcher manipulated strength of racial identity and gender by selecting four names from the list comprised by Bertand and Mullaninathan (2004). The names “Latonya” and “Tyrone” were selected to demonstrate a strong racially identified Black female and male first name, and the names “Laurie” and “Todd” demonstrated a weak racially identified Black female and male first name, respectively. The researcher created four separate resumes using each of the four names mentioned and assigned the last name of “Smith” to all resumes to ensure participants attend to only the first name. The second component of the strength of racial identity manipulation was the selection of a professional affiliation to demonstrate either a strong racial identity (e.g., American Black Marketing Association) or a weak racial identity (e.g., Member of the American Marketing Association) (See Appendixes B, C, D, and E for complete resumes).

Finally, a U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission reporting form for staff positions was included to convey the gender and race of the job applicant. This form

explained that the government survey required employers to provide a count of their job applicants by job category, race and gender and it was submitted as an attachment to the application (see Appendix F for complete form).

Measures

For each of the following measures, participants provided their level of agreement with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale, where higher scores are indicative of a high level of agreement.

Hiring Decision Scale (Intent to hire). Hiring decision referred to the probability of hiring the applicant for the job. Three items were combined to form a composite measure ($\alpha = .90$; $M = 5.01$, $SD = 1.1$, range 2-7), and included:

- (1) Based on the resume, how likely are you to recommend the applicant for hire?
- (2) Based on the resume, how confident are you that the applicant can do the job?
- (3) If you were in charge for hiring for the position in question, what is the likelihood that you would hire this applicant? (See Appendix G for the complete questionnaire.)

Collective Self-Esteem (CSE). Participants were given Luhtanen and Crocker's (1992) Collective Self-Esteem Scale. Analogous to Crocker and Luhtanen (1990), participants received a subscale asking them to rate how much they agree with four items that assess their collective group identity. The questions were imbedded among fourteen distracter items. Example items are "My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am" (reverse coded); and "In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image." For this scale, respondents provided their level of agreement with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly*

disagree to 7 = *strongly agree*), where higher scores are indicative of a higher level of in-group favoritism. The scale possessed adequate reliability ($\alpha = .78$; $M = 3.66$, $SD = 1.27$, range 1-7) (See appendix H for complete questionnaire).

Social Class Attitudes (SCA). Similarly, participant's class attitudes were measured using a twenty-one-item scale. Specific items from the Modern Racism, Ambivalence, and the Modern Racism Scale were included to measure SCA's by changing the appropriate group item from "Black people" to "poor people" (e.g., "Over the past few years, *poor people* have gotten more economically than they deserve"). In addition, several newly developed items were added to the questionnaire to measure SCA's (e.g., "There is really no excuse to be poor in the United States" (reverse scored)). The questions were imbedded among several "distracter" items measuring intergroup anxiety towards Gays and Lesbians (Britt, et. al., 1996) (e.g., "I can interact with Gay men without experiencing much anxiety"). For the SCA scale, participants provided their level of agreement with the statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*), where higher scores are indicative of positive attitudes towards the poor. One item was removed from the eleven-item SCA composite, increasing the reliability ($\alpha = .86$; ($M = 4.73$, $SD = .84$, range 2.4 – 6.3).

The dimensionality of the 10 items from the SCA measure was analyzed using maximum likelihood factor analysis. Three criteria were used to determine the number of factors to rotate: the a priori hypothesis that the measure was unidimensional, the scree test, and the interpretability of the factor solution. The scree plot indicated that the initial hypothesis of unidimensionality was correct and thus, one interpretable factor, SCA was retained that accounted for 47.6% of the item variance. In addition, the measure of SCA

resulted in a number of significant zero-order correlations. The correlations between SCA and the income and CSE of the participants were both negative and significant, ($r = -.15$; $p < .05$ & $r = -.13$; $p < .05$; respectively). Thus, White participants from affluent backgrounds and White participants maintaining a high CSE reported less favorable SCA's than their counterparts. Further, the correlations between SCA's and participant gender and perceived level of target SES were both positive and significant ($r = .20$; $p < .01$ & $r = .14$; $p < .05$; respectively). In this instance, White female participants and White participants who saw the Black job applicant to be from a higher SES reported more favorable SCA's than their counterparts. Taken together, the observed correlations provide the initial steps that suggest convergent and divergent validity of the SCA construct. Specifically, the negative correlations observed for income, the CSE of participants provide divergent support and the positive correlations for gender, and perceptions of higher status applicants provide convergent support (See appendix I for complete questionnaire).

Finally, Appendix J includes information used to gather participant demographics and Appendix K includes information on the pilot study used to develop the measures.

Procedure

The experimenter greeted participants and provided each an individual manila envelope containing one packet that included a randomly assigned resume attached to a job description and EEOC reporting form and a separate packet containing the questionnaires. All participants completed a consent form. Similar to the procedure used by Harrison (2005), participants were told that the current study would examine how strongly an applicant's resume influences selection decisions and how information is

used in selection decisions. Next, participants were told that they were viewing an application for an entry-level marketing position at a fictitious company and were instructed to remove only the packet containing the resume and to leave the other packet inside the manila envelope. Respondents were provided five minutes to view all stimulus materials and that there would be a short recall test at the conclusion of the study.

At the end of the five-minute period, participants were told to replace the resume into the manila envelope and to remove the questionnaire forms. Next, they were told to rate the following series of questions based only on the information provided on the job description and resume. Participants next completed both the CSE and the SCA; the order of the measures was randomly assigned. Moreover, participants completed both measures after the decision to hire questionnaire to ensure that they were not made aware of the main hypothesis of the study.

The instructions provided on the CSE were similar to those provided by Crocker and Luhtanen (1990):

Modern Attitudes Section

We are all members of different social groups or social categories. We would like you to consider **your race or ethnicity** (e.g., African American, Latino/Latina, Asian, or European American) in responding to the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the scale below.

The instructions on the SCA directed the participant to complete the questionnaire and to rate each statement on a 7-point Likert scale. The researcher debriefed and thanked all participants for their participation.

Manipulation Checks

Ninety-five percent of the participants correctly recalled the gender and race of the job applicant. To ensure participants were aware of the strength of racial identity manipulation (i.e. strong versus weak), they were asked to rate the perceived strength of the applicant's racial identity on a 5-point Likert scale (1= *weak* to 5= *strong*). Results supported that participants rated both Tyrone and Latonya to possess a stronger racial identity than Todd and Laurie, ($r = .40, p < .001$). Participants were also asked to indicate the applicants' level of SES on a 4-point Likert scale (1= *upper class* to 4= *lower class*). Interestingly, results indicated that Black women were rated to be from a lower SES than were Black men, ($r = -.14, p < .05$). In addition, participants rated Todd and Laurie to be similar to Tyrone and Latonya on the perceived SES item ($r = .01, n.s.$). Finally, White female participants assigned more favorable ratings on the intent to hire scale than did male participants, ($r = .13; p < .01$). This difference in ratings however, did not affect any of the consecutive analyses, thus the participants' gender variable was collapsed.³

Correlation Analyses

The significant relationships between variables were examined. See Table 1 for a complete summary of variable intercorrelations. The correlation between intent to hire and participant perceived target SES and perceived target racial identity were both significant and positive ($r = .16; p < .01$ & $r = .22; p < .05$; respectively). Thus, White participants assigned favorable ratings to job applicants perceived to be from affluent

backgrounds and to applicants who maintained a strong racial identity. Not surprisingly, the correlation between CSE and participant income was also both significant and positive ($r = .18; p < .01$). Thus, White participants from affluent backgrounds also reported higher levels of self-esteem than their counterparts. Finally, White participants from affluent backgrounds also perceived the Black job applicant to be from a lower SES ($r = -.21; p < .01$).

Table 1

Zero-Order Correlation Coefficients among Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Target identity ^a	---								
2. Target gender ^b	-.03	---							
3. Participant income ^c	.02	.00	---						
4. Participant gender ^b	.03	.04	-.10	---					
5. Perceived target SES ^c	.01	-.14*	-.21**	.08	---				
6. Perceived target racial identity ^d	.40**	.02	-.09	.14*	.00	---			
7. Intent to hire ^e	-.01	-.07	-.10	.13*	.16**	.22**	(.90)		
8. Collective Self-Esteem ^e	-.06	.05	.18**	.04	-.08	.08	-.10	(.78)	
9. Social Class Attitudes ^e	.07	-.08	-.15*	.20**	.14*	.06	.12	-.13*	(.86)
<i>M</i>	.53	.49	2.88	.48	2.30	3.56	5.01	3.66	4.73
<i>SD</i>	.50	.50	.74	.50	.50	.95	1.10	1.27	.84

Note. Sample sizes ranged from 277 to 285. ^aDummy coded (0 = *weak racial identity*; 1 = *strong racial identity*). ^bDummy coded (0 = *Male*; 1 = *Female*).

^cBased on a 4-point scale, with a higher value indicating a higher degree of the construct (e.g., higher perceived target SES). ^dBased on a 5-point scale, with higher values indicating a perceived strong racial identity. ^eBased on a 7-point scale, with higher values indicating a higher degree of the construct (e.g., higher CSE). Coefficient alphas are reported on the main diagonal.

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The purpose of the study was to explore the differential experiences of Black job applicants based on one's gender and manipulated strength of racial identity. This study utilized a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) in order to examine the impact of racial identity and to examine the interaction of the strength of racial identity and job applicant gender on intent to hire. A test for moderation (James & Brett, 1984) was conducted using hierarchical regression to examine the moderating effects of the participants' CSE on the racial identity - intent to hire relationship. Finally, a test for mediation (James & Brett, 1984; Baron & Kenny, 1986) was conducted using hierarchical regression to examine the potential mediating effects of SCA on target racial identity and intent to hire relationship.

T-test and One-way ANOVA

An independent sample *t*-test was utilized to examine the relationship of strength of racial identity and gender on participants' intent to hire. Hypothesis 1 states that a job applicant's strength of racial identity will have a main effect on participants' intent to hire such that participants will assign more favorable ratings to weakly racially identified applicants than strongly racially identified applicants. The results did not provide support for this hypothesis, $t(283) = .020$; *n.s.*

Descriptive analyses were conducted for each of the levels of the independent variable on the intent to hire scale where higher scores indicated a greater likelihood to hire (See Table 2). A one-way ANOVA tested for differences between the mean ratings

in each of the four conditions. The resulting omnibus test was not significant, $F(3, 281) = .602$. Thus, Hypotheses 3 was also not supported; target gender and racial identity did not interact to affect participants' decisions. The observed pattern of results, however, were in the expected direction but nonsignificant.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Intent to Hire

Strength of Racial Identity	Female	Male
Weak	5.00 (.96)	5.05 (1.3)
Strong	4.89 (1.0)	5.11 (1.1)

Test for Moderation

Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to evaluate Hypothesis 2, which stated that participant's CSE would moderate the relationship between strength of target racial identity and intent to hire. To test for a possible moderating effect of CSE, procedures outlined by James and Brett (1984) were employed. A joint effect term was created by multiplying the strength of racial identity dummy coded variable (RACEID; 0 = Weak & 1 = Strong) with the CSE composite score. In step 1, intent to hire was regressed on both the strength of racial identity and CSE variables. Standardized beta's for the racial identity ($\beta = -.014$) and CSE ($\beta = -.103$) were both nonsignificant. In step 2, the joint effect term was added to the model. Results suggest that the RACEID x CSE

joint effect was also not significant ($F(3,281) = 1.03, p = .38, ns$). Thus, hypothesis 2 was not supported; participants scoring either high or low on the measure of CSE rated targets similarly, regardless of the job applicant's strength of racial identity manipulation.

Test for Mediation

According to Baron and Kenny (1986), to test for mediation, the relationship between strength of racial identity and intent to hire must be significant. This condition was not satisfied, thus a test of mediation was not conducted.

Post Hoc Analyses

Parallel analyses utilized the perceived strength of the applicant's racial identity variable rather than the strength of racial identity manipulation. For this item, participants were asked to rate the strength of the applicants' perceived racial identity (hereafter referred to as PRID) (range 1-5; 1 = *weak*, 5 = *strong*) with higher scores indicating a stronger perceived racial identity. A multiple regression analysis in which intent to hire was regressed on gender and PRID was conducted. The linear combination of the two predictors was significantly related to intent, $F(2, 282) = 7.89, p < .001$. The standardized coefficient for the PRID was significant ($\beta = .22, p < .001$) although the coefficient for gender was not ($\beta = -.06, ns$). Thus, participants' who perceived the job applicant to possess a strong racial identity, regardless of gender, rated the applicant more favorably, which was opposite of the direction expected.

Hierarchical multiple regression analysis was used to evaluate if participants' CSE would moderate the relationship between perceived strength of target racial identity and intent to hire. In step 1, the centered data for PRIDc and CSEc esteem were entered into the model; the standardized beta coefficients for both predictors were significant

(PRIDc $\beta = .231, p < .001$ and CSEc $\beta = -.12, p = .038$). In step 2, the joint effect term was added to the model. Although the resulting omnibus F value was significant ($F(3,281) = 6.80, p < .001$), the standardized beta coefficient for the joint effect was not ($\beta = .066, ns$). Thus, the data provided partial support for hypothesis 2. That is CSE and perceived racial identity was useful in predicting intentions to hire however, there was not a joint effect.

Finally, as proposed by Fryer and Levitt (2004), I investigated whether SCA mediated the association between the perceived strength of racial identity and intent to hire. Because the relationship between PRID and intent was significant, I could examine whether SCA mediated this relationship. Following the procedures outlined in Baron and Kenny (1986; see also James & Brett, 1984), hierarchical multiple regression analyses were conducted. In step 1, intent to hire was regressed on PRID ($\beta = .219, p < .001$). In step two, SCA were entered into the model and the standardized regression coefficients for both of the predictors were examined. Thus, the standardized regression coefficient for SCA was not significant ($\beta = .103, n.s.$) and coefficient for PRID remained statistically significant ($\beta = .213, p < .001$; R^2 change = .011; F change (1, 282) = 3.15, ns). Therefore, when SCA were added as a covariate, results illustrated that SCA did not make a unique contribution to the prediction of intent to hire, above and beyond the contributions made by the targets' perceived racial identity.

A final analysis examined the extent to which parent's income of the participants moderated the PRID and intent to hire relationship. Parent's income was reported on a 4-point scale (1 = \$0-30,000 ($N = 7$; 2.5%)); (2 = \$31,000 - \$80,000 ($N = 73$; 26%)); (3 = \$81,000 - \$200,000 ($N = 145$; 51%)); and (4 = over \$200,000 ($N = 53$; 19%)). Results

suggested a significant joint effect of parent's income and PRID on intent to hire, $R^2 \Delta = .025, p < .01$ (see Figure 4 & Table 5). Procedures described by Aiken and West (1991) were employed to compute the simple slope coefficients for PRID on intent to hire at 3-levels of income (i.e. low, moderate and high). Specific analyses for examining interactions in multiple regressions provided by O'Connor (1998) were employed. Upon analysis of the standardized simple slope coefficients, findings suggest that the stronger the perception of the job applicant's racial identity, participants' whose parents made moderate to high levels of income resulted in higher intent to hire ($\beta = .207, p < .001$ and $\beta = .365, p < .001$, respectively) than Blacks perceived to have a weak racial identity. Participants whose parents made relatively low levels of income however, evaluated the job applicant's similarly regardless of the perceived strength of racial identity ($\beta = .05, p = .539$) (see Table 3 & 4). Thus, parental income moderated the relationship such that White participants from affluent backgrounds rated strongly racially identified Black job applicants more favorably than they rated weakly racially identified Black applicants.

Table 3
Mean Perceived Racial Identity of Participants at Different Levels of Parental Income

<u>Parental Income</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Manipulated Racial Identity</u>		
		<u>Weak</u>	<u>Strong</u>	<u>t</u>
1 (\$0-30,000)	7	3.50 (2.12)	3.80 (1.10)	0.07
2 (\$31,00 - \$80,000)	73	3.18 (.76)	4.18 (.80)	30.03**
3. (\$81,000 - \$200,000)	145	3.09 (.83)	3.98 (.89)	37.00**
4. (>\$200,000)	53	3.12 (.88)	3.64 (.83)	4.97*

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 4

Mean Intent to Hire Rating of Participants at Different Levels of Parental Income

<u>Parental Income</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>Job Applicant</u>			
		Tyrone	Todd	Latonya	Laurie
1 (\$0-30,000)	7	5.00 (--)	5.50 (1.18)	-- --	5.00 (.61)
2 (\$31,00 - \$80,000)	73	4.98 (1.17)	5.04 (1.35)	5.05 (.80)	4.92 (1.19)
3. (\$81,000 - \$200,000)	145	5.31 (.86)	5.19 (1.07)	5.03 (1.04)	5.09 (.88)
4. (>\$200,000)	53	4.76 (1.41)	4.46 (1.50)	4.38 (1.15)	4.61 (.81)

Table 5

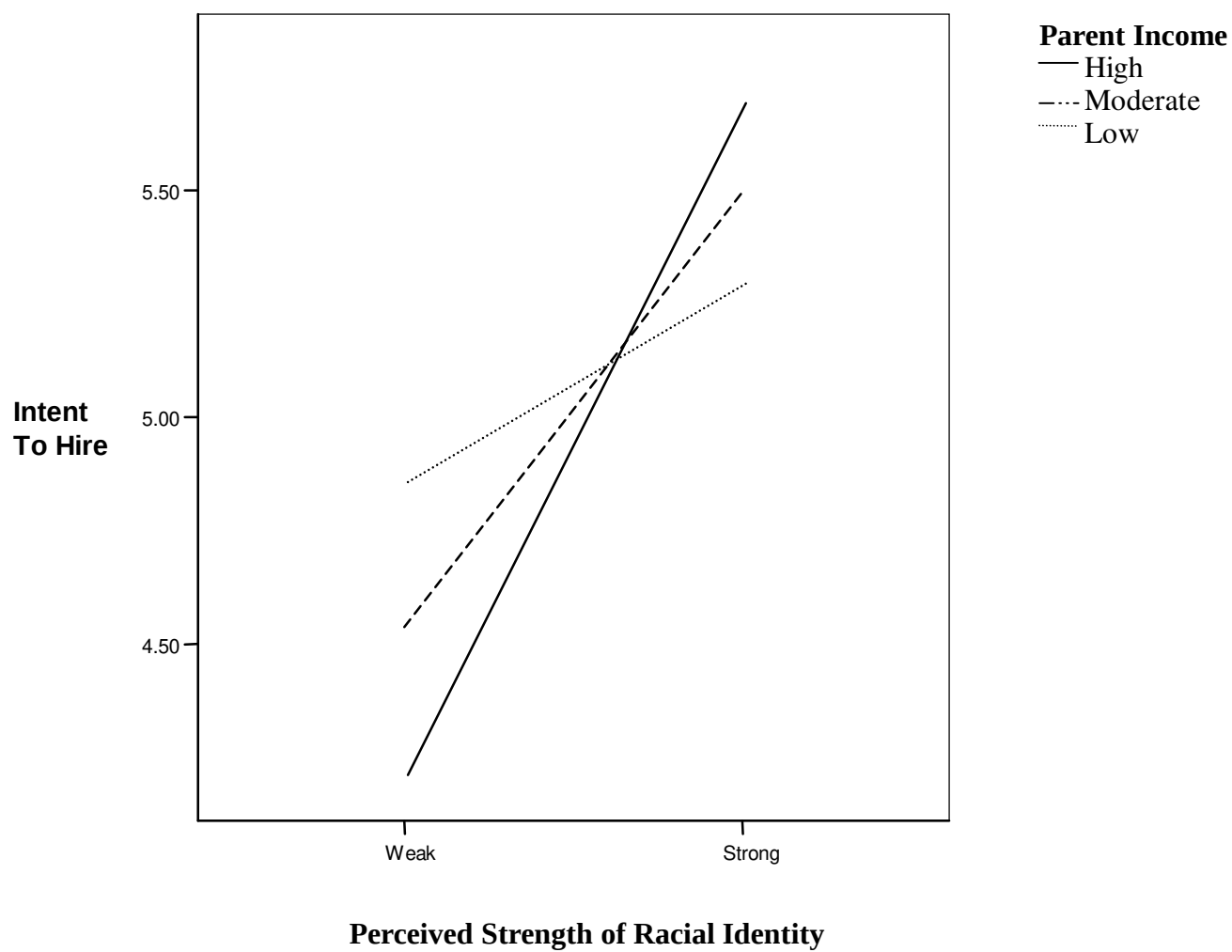
Summary of Parallel Simple Slope Coefficients for Intent to Hire on the Perceived Racial Identity at 3 Levels of the Parental Income

Independent Variable	Level of Income	<i>b</i>	β	SE	<i>t</i>
PRID	High	.414	.365	.084	4.33**
	Moderate	.235	.207	.058	3.55**
	Low	.056	.050	.080	0.62

Note. ** $p < .01$

Figure 4

Profile Plot of Parental Income by Perceived Strength of Racial Identity Plot



CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This study represents the first time that differences in the hiring recommendations for Black male and female job applicants at varying levels of racial identity and the collective self-esteem (CSE) of Whites have been incorporated into a single study. Past research has looked primarily at the differences between Black and White job applicants in the work setting to further our understanding of discrimination (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Fryer & Levitt, 2004; Greenhouse, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990). Further, to expand on previous research, the effect of Whites' social class attitudes (SCA) on discriminatory behavior has been explored. The results of this study may be particularly helpful by addressing the difficult decision some Black and other racial or cultural minority members make to change or conceal their identity in an attempt to avoid access discrimination ("If your name is Tyrell," 2006). Specifically, many non-White individuals are well aware of the negative culturally shared stereotypes that dominant group members hold about their group and intentionally may try to "pass" or camouflage themselves in a way to better align with dominant group norms. The perception is, then, that Whites will reward these tactics with some of the same societal resources, privileges and benefits freely bestowed upon other dominant group members.

Strength of Racial Identity

In the current study, Whites' hiring recommendations were similar for Black job applicants who possessed either a weak or a strong racial identity, suggesting that White participants did not react strongly to the strength of racial identity manipulation. Thus,

Whites demonstrated a generic and largely favorable response to all applicants providing initial support that indeed racial identity might not matter at the initial stage of the application process; at least when all of the job applicants are Black. It is important to use some caution with the interpretation of these results as past research has consistently demonstrated that when making a decision between a Black and White job applicant, employers prefer Whites (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager & Western, 2005).

Of greater importance was the impact of perceptions on hiring decisions. In the current study, although ratings for both strongly and weakly racially identified applicants were favorable, Whites systematically assigned the highest ratings to applicants they perceived to reflect a strong racial identity. These results were unexpected in light of previous literature demonstrating that Whites prefer Blacks who maintain a dominant Eurocentric perspective (Carbado & Gulati, 2004; Cross, 1971; Helms, 1990; Johnson, 2003; Thomas & Ely, 2000).

Katz and Hass (1988) have named this phenomenon the ambivalent amplification, which posits that dominant group members hold both negative and positive opinions of Blacks and that Whites will amplify positive responses in favorable situations but will also amplify negative responses in unfavorable ones. The positive cues on the resumes in this study probably led participants to assign significantly more favorable ratings to job applicants who they perceived to fit the prototypic stereotype of a Black person than to applicants perceived to fall outside this expectation.

These findings suggest that Whites react to Blacks differently based on both environmental cues and in this case perceived strength of racial identity. It is important to realize that in a competitive job market; even slight preferences can seriously affect

career related outcomes (Martell, Lane & Emrich, 1996). Specifically, Black applicants who are perceived to maintain a weak racial identity may be selected less often for employment. Furthermore, in the past, researchers typically only compare Whites' ambivalent amplification in response to both a Black and a White target. When reviewing graduate school applicants, for example, participants in Linville and Jones's (1980) study evaluated a successful Black applicant more favorably than they evaluated a successful White applicant. Similar to the current study, further research should examine the boundary conditions in which Whites will either amplify positive or negative responses towards Blacks and other cultural minorities especially when making comparisons across race.

Interestingly, the income of the participants' parents in this study surfaced to moderate the relationship between perceived racial identity and intent to hire. That is, participants from affluent backgrounds, who perceived the job applicant to possess a strong racial identity, evaluated the job applicant more favorably than they evaluated applicants perceived to possess a weak racial identity. Participants from modest backgrounds however, evaluated all job applicants similarly regardless of perceived racial identity. The data supports the realistic conflict theory (Levine & Campbell, 1972), which simply put, states that competition for valuable but limited resources breeds discrimination. Accordingly, upper class Whites, with presumably limited interaction and who are not in direct competition with Blacks, assigned favorable ratings that ostensibly allowed them to preserve their egalitarian self-image. In contrast, participants from lower economic backgrounds with presumably increased contact with Blacks resulted in a more consistent response.

Gender

In the study, Black females were provided only slightly lower ratings than their male counterparts. The fact that all applicants had obtained a bachelors degree in marketing presumably qualified them for the entry-level position. Moreover, the lack of gender differences in the hiring recommendations in the current study may present some support that stereotypes of women are changing to reflect evolving gender roles. Specifically, in a survey of 800 adults, Diekmann and Eagly (2002) reported women are perceived to be much more independent, assertive and competitive. This result should be taken with caution however, as White participants significantly rated Black women to be from a lower SES than Black men. Moreover, this study does nothing to address other common barriers Black women continue to face including pay disparity, double jeopardy, and the glass ceiling. Further, although women occupy a significant number of entry and mid-level managerial positions, they continually face extensive barriers to achieving executive positions (Ragins, Townsend, & Mattis, 1998). In 2005, women held only 16.4% of corporate office positions in Fortune 500 companies. The results for Black women were even more striking with only 2.1% of Black women filling top ranking jobs (Catalyst, 2005).

Collective Self-Esteem

Previous research has indicated that CSE plays an important role in the allocation of resources (Luthanen & Crocker, 1992), such that perceived ingroup members receive the resources. The data provided some support for this previous finding; CSE was a factor in predicting intent to hire such that White participants reporting a high CSE rated all applicants less favorably. Specifically, White participants with high levels of CSE

rated both strongly and weakly racially identified applicants significantly lower than participants with lower CSE scores did. The researcher anticipated that the strength of racial identity would have affected this relationship such that perceived outgroup members (i.e., strong racial identity) would have been rated less favorably than perceived ingroup members (i.e., weak racial identity). In hindsight, participants reporting higher levels of CSE may not have viewed the weakly racially identified job applicant to be an ingroup member and thus rated all applicants less favorably. Future research should attempt to identify the boundary conditions, beyond a person's name or professional affiliation, in which Whites perceive Blacks and other cultural minorities to be ingroup versus outgroup members.

The Importance of Social Class Attitudes

The impact of a racially distinct name on life outcomes continues to spark debate (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Fryer & Levitt, 2004). An interesting finding of this research addressed to what extent perceptions of racial identity, versus Whites' attitudes towards the poor, accounts for discrimination. Two contrasting theories, systematic preferences (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) and the SCA attitudes perspective (Fryer & Levitt, 2004) were used as possible explanations for why qualified Blacks are consistently passed over in the job market. Proponents of the systematic preference perspective suggest that the presence of a racially unambiguous name signals the race of the applicant and discrimination ensues. In contrast, the SCA perspective hypothesizes that Black sounding names signal race, which in turn signals stereotypes of the poor. Organizational hiring officials assume the applicant will work slowly, have a lower organizational commitment and even steal. The results of the study indicate that the

impact of Whites' views of the poor did not significantly mediate hiring decisions but that the perceived strength of racial identity of the job applicant was of greater importance. Thus, participants systematically favored one group over another based on perceived group membership. This finding supports the systematic preference perspective (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004); Whites showed a significant preference for applicants they perceived to maintain a strong racial identity.

Limitations

It is important to note several limitations of this laboratory study. In hindsight, it is plausible that the professional affiliation (i.e., American Black Marketing Association) of the strongly racially identified job applicants was not effective. Previous research on racial identity theory describes a highly identified Black person as belonging to a group that challenges systems of oppression. Social justice groups such as the N.A.A.C.P exemplify these organizations (Cross, 1971; Helms 1990). In contrast, membership in a professional affiliation that does not fight to end injustice does little to convey the *internalization-commitment* stage of Black racial identity development. Thus, it is appropriate to speculate that in the current study, belonging to the "American Black Marketing Association" did not effectively convey a strong racial identity.

Although the race of the sample was explained as an important factor for research dealing with discrimination (Essed, 1991; Hooks, 1989; see Valian, 1998; Tsui & Gutek, 1999), the use of White undergraduate students could pose potential problems that limit the generalizability of the findings. Specifically, most of the White students had no real work experience in a corporate setting in which the scenario was based. Furthermore, geographical differences in Whites' motivation to utilize or overcome the use of rigid

stereotypes or the economic differences in the sample may not generalize to other parts of the country.

Another limitation of the study was the nature of the experimental design. It is unrealistic that managers view a resume individually and then make almost immediate decisions to hire. In reality, however, at some point managers must form an evaluation of a resume or job application. In addition, managers are usually multi tasking and may experience heightened attentional demands (Martell, 1991; 1996) resulting in increased stereotyping because of the lack of cognitive resources to employ deeper level thinking processes (Jones, 2002). Some report that managers overlook stacks of resumes in a type of sorting process, which involves quickly scanning and compiling qualified applicants and discarding “unqualified” ones. In many organizations, these “unqualified” applicants tend to include a disproportionate number of applicants that have a traditionally Black sounding name (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) or contain some other racial demarcation.

Future Research

Only through the analysis of the data did the limitations of the present study become apparent. The correlation between manipulated strength of racial identity and PRID was modestly effective, sharing only 16% of the variability in hiring decisions; thus, research should also examine the perceptions of the participants for other factors that influence decisions. As mentioned earlier, future studies should also examine the effects of differing types of professional affiliations (e.g., NAACP). Additionally, researchers should directly examine the amount of contact participants have with diverse groups. In the current study, the researcher presumed that Whites from affluent

backgrounds had the least contact with Blacks. Researchers should also collect the diversity attitudes of participants in an attempt to explain who is more likely to rely on stereotypes.

Future research should also change the research method to be a within subjects design. For example, an inbox task, which includes the evaluation of multiple resumes under varying time constraints, would more accurately simulate a real world decision-making situation. The evaluations of minority group members' views of intra-minority members are also of great importance as organizations increase in ethnic diversity and their decisions increase impact. Finally, the present research found that Whites from affluent backgrounds made evaluations in line with realistic conflict theory. Future research should examine whether Blacks face more discrimination in high wage versus low wage labor markets.

Implications

Taken together the results of the study might suggest that racial identity may not matter as much as expectations based on cultural stereotypes. In a similar study, King et al. (2006) found that occupational stereotypes, which are preconceived notions about a particular occupation and who should fill that specific occupation (Lipton, O'connor, Terry, & Bellamy, 1991), accounted for the effects of race and discrimination. More specifically, participants in the study were more likely to select Black and Hispanic applicants for a low status occupations and Whites and Asians for the high status ones. One should not assume that stereotypes are inevitable. Rather, they are a form of intellectual laziness that serves as an excuse for failing to treat a person as an individual (Jones, 2002). To overcome relying on stereotypes, a person must first desire to act in a

non-prejudiced way and, according to the compunction theory (Devine, 1989), engage in controlled thinking processes to counteract any initial biased reactions. As with breaking any habit, low prejudiced individuals, especially Whites, can eventually act in non-prejudiced ways with concerted effort. On the other hand, there is also a need for more research to understand how best to encourage high prejudiced Whites to abandon their prejudiced thinking and acting (Jones, 2002).

The present research also extends the work of Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) by demonstrating that preferences for Black job applicants need further examination. As a result of the aforementioned study and race relations in our society, many Black job applicants attempt to change their first name or disguise it by only using initials to appear “less Black” (“If your name is Tyrell,” 2006). As was found in the current study, this may not result in favorable reactions, as Whites preferred strong racially identified Blacks to weakly identified ones. These findings may suggest that in some situations Black job applicants might initially benefit from including racial identifiers and demonstrate a strong racial commitment.

Ideals of personal liberty and independence lend themselves to the sense that we should all truly feel free to be who we are. Within the organizational setting, Blacks have faced and continue to face quantifiable disparities in hiring, promotion, pay, and unemployment levels, among other factors (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Greenhouse, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990; Pager & Western, 2004; US Census Bureau, 2004). The results of this study can help better understand ways in which Whites can specifically work toward alleviating these discrepancies. Ultimately, Whites in this study did not demonstrate a generic response to Blacks but displayed preferential nuances motivated by

intrapersonal factors. This finding reiterates that discrimination is complex and that subtle preferences during the initial application process can be detrimental to a person's chances at gaining organizational entry. Thus, the challenge for dominant group members is to strive to cultivate worldviews that aim to promote an inclusive workplace for us all.

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FOOTNOTES

¹“In 2000 there were over twice as many non-Hispanic Whites working full-time who earn \$50,000 (27.5%) than there were Blacks who earn such high salaries (13.6%) (US Census Bureau, 2001a). In the same year, the median income for White male, full-time, year-round workers was \$42,224, compared to \$30,886 for Black men and \$25,042 for Hispanic men. For female full-time, year –round workers, the disparities across race are not as dramatic, but nonetheless apparent. White women earn \$30,777 compared to \$25,736 for Black women and \$21,025 for Hispanic women (US Census Bureau, 2002)” (Cokley, Dreher, & Stockdale, 2004, p. 169).

²The reported race-based charges include cases filed against organizations from people of all races including charges of reverse discrimination. Although African Americans file the majority of cases, the EEOC does not report the race of the complainant, thus, the reported statistics must be interpreted with caution.

³ Prior to the analysis, several diagnostics were performed to locate potential outliers. The first examined the “leverage” or the distance from the mean of all the independent variables. The average leverage for a set of scores is equal to $(k+1)/N$. For this data set, the equation used was $(4+1)/285 = .018$. As a rule of thumb, $h_i > 2(k + 1)/N$ is considered to be high (Hoaglin & Welsh, 1978). The value for h_i in the data set was $10/285 = .035$. Therefore, values that were near to or larger than .035 indicated scores exerting leverage. Only four participant’s scores fell near or above the .035 cutoff (range .037 - .055). After closer examination, the only reason these scores differed from the others was due to their extreme score obtained on the CSE measure. Specifically, each of the four participants had either the highest or the lowest possible composite score-

assessing group self-esteem. Therefore, no further examination of influential scores was necessary.

The detection of outliers relies on the detection of extreme residual scores. The studentized deleted residuals (SDRESID) follow a t distribution, which takes into account the change in the standard error if the outlier were removed. For this data set, $N-k-2 = 279$ ($t = 3.86, p < .01$), thus, a SDRESID score higher than 3.86 warranted further examination. The highest absolute SDRESID score in the data set was 3.05 and no further examination of outliers was necessary.

Finally, Cook's D (1977, 1979) is based on both "outlierness" (i.e. SRESID) and leverage characteristics of the observation. Values greater than 1 are considered problematic (Weisberg, 1980). Observed Cook's D were relatively low (ranging from .000 to .056), indicating the absence of influential observations.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Job description form

INSTRUCTIONS:

The current study will examine how strongly an applicant's resume influences selection decisions and how information is used in selection decisions. You are viewing an application for an entry level marketing position at Top Marketing Inc. Please rate the attached questions based only on the information provided on the resume, application and the job description below. Afterwards, there will be a simple recall test.

Job Description

Business Unit: Top Marketing Inc.

Responsibilities:

This entry-level position is for those with a passion for people and a desire to implement change, while working alongside seasoned professionals. This job involves face-to-face sales of services to new business prospects. During the course of employment, you will be exposed to:

- Team Management
- Campaign Coordination
- Business to business marketing and sales

Required knowledge, skills and abilities:

- **Sales and Marketing** — Knowledge of principles and methods for showing, promoting, and selling products or services. This includes marketing strategy and tactics, product demonstration, sales techniques, and sales control systems.
- **Critical Thinking** — Using logic and reasoning to identify the strengths and weaknesses of alternative solutions, conclusions or approaches to problems.
- **Coordination** — Adjusting actions in relation to others' actions.
- **Active Learning** — Understanding the implications of new information for both current and future problem solving and decision-making.
- **Reading Comprehension** — Understanding written sentences and paragraphs in work related documents.
- **Speaking** — Talking to others to convey information effectively.
- **Writing** — Communicating effectively in writing as appropriate for the needs of the audience.
- **Written Comprehension** — The ability to read and understand information and ideas presented in writing.
- **Oral Comprehension** — The ability to listen to and understand information and ideas presented through spoken words and sentences.
- **Oral Expression** — The ability to communicate information and ideas in speaking so others will understand.
- **Speech Clarity** — The ability to speak clearly so others can understand you.

Appendix B: Strong racially identified female resume**Latonya Smith**

1206 Gravois Road #435
St. Louis, Missouri
(314) 246-2214

Career Objective

To obtain a Marketing position

Summary of Qualifications

- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts

Professional Marketing Experience

ONLINE SOLUTIONS, Saint Louis, MO

Summer 2006

- Marketing Consultant / Student Intern
- Interned as marketing consultant for this international e-business development company
- Became integral team member in the development of online marketing programs for clients including AT&T, Avon and Nike
- Conducted extensive research on the Internet, analyzed information, identified online solutions and reported results to project leaders and clients

Education

B. A., Marketing, Missouri College, Saint Louis, MO, 2006

Professional Affiliation

- American Black Marketing Association
- Missouri College Alumni Association

Technical Skills

Microsoft Access, Excel, Power Point, Word

Appendix C: Weak racially identified female resume**Laurie Smith**

1206 Gravois Road #435
 St. Louis, Missouri
 (314) 246-2214

Career Objective

To obtain a Marketing position

Summary of Qualifications

- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts

Professional Marketing Experience

ONLINE SOLUTIONS, Saint Louis, MO

Summer 2006

- Marketing Consultant / Student Intern
- Interned as marketing consultant for this international e-business development company
- Became integral team member in the development of online marketing programs for clients including AT&T, Avon and Nike
- Conducted extensive research on the Internet, analyzed information, identified online solutions and reported results to project leaders and clients

Education

B. A., Marketing, Missouri College, Saint Louis, MO, 2006

Professional Affiliation

- American Marketing Association
- Missouri College Alumni Association

Technical Skills

Microsoft Access, Excel, Power Point, Word

Appendix D: Strong racially identified male resume**Tyrone Smith**

1206 Gravois Road #435
St. Louis, Missouri
(314) 246-2214

Career Objective

To obtain a Marketing position

Summary of Qualifications

- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts

Professional Marketing Experience

ONLINE SOLUTIONS, Saint Louis, MO

Summer 2006

- Marketing Consultant / Student Intern
- Interned as marketing consultant for this international e-business development company
- Became integral team member in the development of online marketing programs for clients including AT&T, Avon and Nike
- Conducted extensive research on the Internet, analyzed information, identified online solutions and reported results to project leaders and clients

Education

B. A., Marketing, Missouri College, Saint Louis, MO, 2006

Professional Affiliation

- American Black Marketing Association
- Missouri College Alumni Association

Technical Skills

Microsoft Access, Excel, Power Point, Word

Appendix E: Weak racially identified male resume**Todd Smith**

1206 Gravois Road #435
St. Louis, Missouri
(314) 246-2214

Career Objective

To obtain a Marketing position

Summary of Qualifications

- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts

Professional Marketing Experience

ONLINE SOLUTIONS, Saint Louis, MO

Summer 2006

- Marketing Consultant / Student Intern
- Interned as marketing consultant for this international e-business development company
- Became integral team member in the development of online marketing programs for clients including AT&T, Avon and Nike
- Conducted extensive research on the Internet, analyzed information, identified online solutions and reported results to project leaders and clients

Education

B. A., Marketing, Missouri College, Saint Louis, MO, 2006

Professional Affiliation

- American Marketing Association
- Missouri College Alumni Association

Technical Skills

Microsoft Access, Excel, Power Point, Word

Appendix F: Department of Labor Reporting Form

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
EEO Reporting Form for Staff Positions
CONFIDENTIAL

The EEO-1 Report – formally known as the “Employer Information Report” – is a government survey requiring many employers to provide a count of their job applicants by job category and then by race and gender. Please fill out the information below and submit it with resume as part of your application.

APPLICANT STATUS**(CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)**

	<i>APPLICANTS</i>			<i>JOB CATEGORY</i>	
<i>RACE/ETHNICITY</i>	<i>MALE</i>	<i>FEMALE</i>	<i>NOT REPORTED</i>	<i>TYPE</i>	
<i>White/Caucasian</i>				<i>Full Time</i>	X
<i>Black/African American</i>	X			<i>Part Time</i>	
<i>Hispanic or Latino</i>				<i>Temporary</i>	
<i>Asian</i>				<i>Seasonal</i>	
<i>Pacific Islander</i>					
<i>American Indian</i>					
<i>Two or more races</i>					
<i>Other</i>					

The EEOC is responsible for enforcing the nation’s laws prohibiting employment discrimination based on race, color, gender (including sexual harassment and pregnancy), religion, national origin, age, disability and retaliation. Further information about the EEOC is available on its web site at www.eeoc.gov.

Appendix G: Decision Questionnaire

INSTRUCTIONS: Based on your reading and evaluation of the resume, please respond to the items below by circling the number that best reflects your opinion. Please do not re-read the resume distributed.

(1) Based on the resume, how likely are you to recommend the applicant for hire?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not likely						Definitely

(2) Based on the qualifications, how professional does the resume appear to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Professional						Very Professional

(3) Based on the resume, how confident are you that the applicant can do the job?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Confident						Very Confident

(4) Based on the resume, how likeable do you perceive this applicant to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Dislike						Very Likeable

(5) Based on the resume, how competent do you perceive this applicant to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Incompetent						Very Competent

(6) If you were in charge for hiring for the position in question, what is the likelihood that you would hire this applicant?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not Likely Definitely

(7) Based on the resume, how qualified is the applicant?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Qualified						Very Qualified

* Items in bold are dependant measures

Appendix H: Collective Self-Esteem Questionnaire (Modern Attitudes Section)

INSTRUCTIONS: We are all members of different social groups or social categories. We would like you to consider **your race or ethnicity** (e.g., African-American, Latino/Latina, Asian, or European-American) in responding to the following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the scale below.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I am a worthy member of my race/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I often regret that I belong to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Overall, my racial/ethnic group is considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Overall, my race/ethnicity has very little to do with how I feel about myself. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I feel I don't have much to offer to my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	In general, I'm glad to be a member of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Most people consider my racial/ethnic group, on the average, to be more ineffective than other groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I am a cooperative participant in the activities of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Overall, I often feel that my racial/ethnic group is not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	In general, others respect my race/ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	My race/ethnicity is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I often feel I'm a useless member of my racial/ethnic group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I feel good about the race/ethnicity I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	In general, others think that my racial/ethnic group is unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	In general, belonging to my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix I: Social Class Attitudes (Modern Attitudes Section Continued)

Modern Attitudes Scale INSTRUCTIONS: For the questions below, please rank your opinion to the question posed on the 7-point scale provided. Please indicate your ranking circling the number that best reflects **your opinion**.

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I repeatedly have contact with someone who is gay or lesbian in school.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I have little patience for people living on welfare. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I often interact with a neighbor who is gay or lesbian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Poor people should not push themselves where they are not wanted. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	It is easy to understand the anger of poor people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I do not frequently have contact with a close friend who is gay or lesbian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	People who drop out of high school usually have a valid excuse.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	People who receive welfare are lazy. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I often engage in informal talks with someone who is gay or lesbian.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	There is really no excuse to be poor in the United States. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	I often have someone who is gay or lesbian visit my home or apartment.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	Discrimination against poor people is no longer a problem in the United States. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I would characterize my interactions with someone who is gay or lesbian as an equal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	Over the past few years, poor people have gotten more economically than they deserve. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	I perceive my contact with a gay or lesbian person as voluntary.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
16.	Poor people do not have a lot of money because they have the wrong values. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	My interactions with gay or lesbian individuals would be considered superficial.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to poor people than they deserve. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	My contact experiences with gay or lesbians have been pleasant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	Poor people lack a strong work ethic. (Reverse Coded)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21.	My previous contact experiences with a gay or lesbian would be characterized as cooperative.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix J: Participant demographics and recall form
Please provide the following demographic information:

- (1) Gender ☐ Male ☐ Female
- (2) Age _____
- (3) Major _____
- (4) What year are you in school? ☐ Freshman ☐ Sophomore
- ☐ Junior ☐ Senior
- ☐ Graduate
- (5) Parent's income ☐ \$0 - 30,000 ☐ \$31,000 – \$80,000
- ☐ \$81,000 – \$200,000 ☐ over \$200,000
- (6) How would you describe your family's socio-economic status?
- ☐ Upper class ☐ Middle class
- ☐ Working class ☐ Lower class
- (7) Estimate the number of years of work experience you have _____

INSTRUCTIONS: The next set of questions is a recall test based on the information provided on the resume. Please indicate your response to each of the questions below. Keep in mind that not all information was blatantly stated on the applicant's resume. Some questions may require inferences in order to select a response.

1. The applicant's race is: ☐ African American/Black ☐ Asian ☐ Caucasian/White ☐ Hispanic ☐ Native American ☐ Other	2. The applicant's gender is: ☐ Male ☐ Female
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