DOUBLE STANDARDS AND SELECTION

by

Sharon Clemons Doerer

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Approved by:

____
Dr. Lisa S. Walker

____
Dr. Tammy E. Beck

____
Dr. Shawn D. Long

____
Dr. Murray A. Webster, Jr.

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ABSTRACT

SHARON CLEMONS DOERER. Double standards and selection. (Under the direction of DR. LISA SLATTERY WALKER)

In this dissertation, I use an extension of status characteristics theory—the theory of double standards—to investigate whether and to what extent race activates the use of differential standards in the evaluation of objectively measured task-related performance. I devised and conducted a two-design experimental study using job application files. In the first design, 43 respondents selected job applicants differentiated by race with similar objectively measured performances, as indicated by relative class standing. Results from this design indicated that respondents did use different standards to assess the similar, task-related performances of a white and a black applicant. Respondents assessed the task-related performance of the white applicant with a lenient standard; however, respondents used a stricter standard to assess the similarly evaluated task-related performance of the black applicant. In the second design, 53 respondents again selected job applicants differentiated by race with similar objectively measured performances, as indicated by relative class standing. In this design, I informed respondents that they might have to justify their selection decisions. Results indicated that increasing respondent accountability did decrease the use of racial double standards. I provide explanations for the results obtained, implications for theory and organizations, limitations of this study and suggestions for future research.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the three most important people in my life. First, to Brian, my husband, whose love, support and encouragement were unwavering and unconditional. You always believed that I could do this, even when I doubted. You supported whatever I needed to do to get this done. I could not have completed this project without you. Second, to our son, Jonathan, who is everything any Mom could want in a son. I am so proud of you. Thank you for your patience with me through this process. And, third, but never last, to our daughter, Emily, who is the daughter every Mom deserves. I am so proud of you. I still have the “Blob of Good Luck” and will treasure it always. I love each of you more than you can know. I thank God for all of you and I dedicate this work to each of you.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In organizations, status processes resulting from race-based social inequalities in the larger society often affect outcomes of routine organizational practices such as employee hiring, promotion and wages. As one consequence, racial inequality within organizations contributes to the perpetuation of racial inequality in the larger society. Thus, the cyclical pattern of inequality is fostered and maintained. In this dissertation, I have three primary objectives. First, that the work reported here contributes to the sociological and theoretical study of race effects. Second, that this dissertation contributes to a better understanding of one undesirable effect of status processes on race-based inequality in organizational hiring outcomes. Third, that this dissertation provides one method that might be useful in decreasing or overcoming undesirable effects of status processes in hiring.

One aim of this dissertation is to contribute to the sociological and theoretical study of race effects. I intend for this dissertation to continue the investigation and understanding of status processes, particularly in terms of race. Several decades of theory development and research have examined how status characteristics, such as race and gender, affect power and prestige structures of small, face-to-face groups. (A recent summary is available in Berger and Webster 2006.) According to this theory, characteristics with status value can create, under specified conditions, structures of performance expectations for the quality of an individual's task behaviors. Foschi (1989) elaborated components of status characteristics theory in her theory of double standards. This theory predicts that the relative competence of a person with status disadvantage (e.g., a woman relative to a man) is likely to be assessed using a stricter standard than the same performance of a person with status advantage. When two job applicants differ on a diffuse status characteristic (one is male and the other is female, or one is white and the other is black), the minimum requirement for selection might, for instance, be 70% correct answers for one group (i.e., members with status advantage) and 80% correct answers for the other group (i.e., members with status disadvantage). Since race meets the theoretical definition of a status characteristic in our society, we can expect it to create a structure of performance expectations that will create differential standards for inferring competence. Thus, work-related performances of individuals with status disadvantage, if assessed with a higher standard, can result in lower rates of selection for hiring, promotion and other selection decisions based on expectations of performance.

Another goal of this dissertation is to contribute to the understanding of racial inequality in organizations. Changes in society, culture and laws have created an organizational environment that is increasingly diverse in gender, religion, race and ethnicity. Race and other characteristics can be indicators of structural inequality in the larger society. One can often link these societal inequalities to similar inequalities in organizational settings. With the increase in organizational diversity, opportunities to link diversity management with strategic human resource management (SHRM) initiatives have also increased. Research has demonstrated the benefit of diversity in terms of desirable business outcomes including increases in profitability and market share (Herring 2009). Status processes that result in inequality based on race thereby undermine and limit desired organizational outcomes of profitability and market share. Thus, the negative outcomes of status processes are contradictory to the goals of SHRM.

In this dissertation, I use these theoretical perspectives to explain ways in which race can create inequality in assessing the relatively equal performances of two applicants differentiated by race. I also apply these theories to the development and assessment of an intervention to reduce inequality resulting from status generalization and double standards. Investigations of the use of double standards in assessing the competence of men and women are plentiful. Less so are investigations of whether and the extent to which race affects the use of double standards for assessing the competence of individuals differentiated by race. Thus, the present study provides one of the few tests of the activation and use of race-based double standards.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the recent literature in two primary areas. The first is literature relevant to organizational diversity, including a brief overview of workplace discrimination. The second is literature relevant to investigations of status processes and the theory of double standards.

Chapter 3 presents the two theories from which the research for this dissertation is drawn and developed: status characteristics theory and the theory of double standards. Chapter 3 includes scope conditions, definitions and theoretical assumptions of both theories as well as theoretical derivations. This chapter also presents research hypotheses of the work reported here.

Chapter 4 describes the experimental design and operations. This chapter includes a review of the literature regarding sociological laboratory experiments, a description of the sample, the methodology, and operations used to conduct this research.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis and results of the study. Chapter 6 provides a discussion of the findings, including their relevance for the theories and for applications. Chapter 6 also includes suggestions for future work and concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, I describe the literature regarding the two areas of focus in this dissertation: organizational diversity and status processes. I organize the literature into four topics. First, I present literature on structural causes of workplace discrimination, an issue that continues to challenge organizations even as organizations become increasingly diverse. Second, I present literature regarding the role of strategic human resource management (SHRM) practices that cultivate productive, profitable and diverse work environments (Cunningham 2009; Lengnick-Hall, Beck, and Lengnick-Hall 2011). Third, I describe research relevant to the two theoretical processes regarding how status processes may function in the hiring process in organizations. Fourth, I review literature regarding the use of theoretically derived interventions designed to attenuate negative effects of status processes in the hiring situation. In this review, I focus on techniques and findings relevant to the research I describe in later chapters of this dissertation.

Research on Workplace Discrimination

Workplace discrimination remains a crucial concern of organizations. According to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (U.S. EEOC 2012), there were nearly 100,000 discrimination charges filed in 2011. Thirty-five percent of these filings were for racial discrimination. Research has demonstrated that one reason for persistent racial discrimination in the workplace is a structural environment that often supports workplace discrimination. This is puzzling, particularly since such actions take place in a legal context that expressly prohibits discriminatory behavior (Petersen and Saporta 2004). Human capital explanations, which researchers often use to explain inequality, have failed to account for these persistent differences (e.g., Castilla 2008). In this section, I review recent research that seeks to explain workplace discrimination in terms of structural factors.

Many sociologists have studied the effects of ascriptive inequality on employment outcomes (DiTomaso, Post, and Parks-Yancy 2007; Kalev 2009; Reskin 2000). As one outcome of social stratification, ascriptive inequality results in job segregation for workers with status disadvantage (i.e., women and racial minorities). Job segregation might result in fewer higher-level hiring and promotion opportunities for qualified workers with status disadvantage. These workplace opportunities often lead to increased visibility, higher attribution of ability, larger salaries and additional benefits. Moreover, job segregation limits the opportunities for the organization to leverage the abilities of qualified workers to advance organizational goals.

Many organizational processes provide an environment in which discrimination occurs. These include the manner in which wages are allocated within a particular job, allocative discrimination, which includes job segregation, and valuative discrimination, in which jobs held primarily by women and/or racial minorities are devalued relative to those held by white men (Petersen and Saporta 2004). Though within-job wage disparities have decreased and valuative wage disparities remain problematic, Petersen and Saporta (2004) posited that it is allocative discrimination, specifically the hiring process, in which discrimination is most feasible. The authors proposed that the hiring discrimination of women establishes the foundation for ongoing job discrimination. Thus, hiring discrimination initiates the development of an “opportunity structure” in which organizational discrimination occurs.

To investigate their proposition, Petersen and Saporta (2004) used personnel records on external hires in a large, regulated firm to examine initial placement of women and men into managerial, administrative and professional positions. The authors also examined progression within the organization through wages, promotions and departures. In terms of initial placement, they found that an opportunity structure for discrimination developed at the point of hire. Relative to men, women were less likely to be hired into management positions, even when they had the same level of education as men. Though not examined in the work by Petersen and Saporta (2004), the findings suggest the operation of a double standard (Foschi, Lai, and Sigerson 1994) for inferring managerial competence.[1]

In terms of progression in the organization, the longitudinal study found evidence of occupational stratification that persisted over the life course. Petersen and Saporta (2004) used growth curve analysis to study the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1979 and the Baltimore Epidemiologic Catchment Area Follow-Up. Results demonstrated the intransigence of inequality: women remained in positions of occupational disadvantage and occupational stratification by race did not decline over time. Moreover, occupational stratification by race and gender remained constant during the 1980s and 1990s, a time in which organizations implemented anti-discrimination and diversity programs designed to reduce occupational inequality.

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[1] Though it is not possible to determine the operation of a double standard in this case, it seems reasonable inasmuch as the authors control for education in conducting their analyses. I describe the theory of double standards in Chapter 3: Theories and Derivations.

Similar to the work of Petersen and Saporta (2004), Harrison and Thomas (2009) examined the relationship between skin color and hiring recommendations. The authors conducted a laboratory experiment in which participants evaluated resumes that included pictures of applicants and then made hiring recommendations. The researchers used a computer program to manipulate the sex and skin color of the applicants. Applicants were either male or female with a light, medium or dark complexion. The relevant finding here is that participants' ratings were higher for applicants with light skin and lower job qualifications than for applicants with dark skin and higher job qualifications. This finding was even more pronounced for male applicants with dark skin.

An investigation of racial differences in the reemployment of similarly qualified, displaced workers suggests possible discriminatory practices at the point of recruitment and hiring. Moore (2010) used a pooled sample of displaced workers from the Displaced Workers Survey from 1994 to 2006 to examine racial disparities in post displacement outcomes. Among several findings, one result indicated that black and Hispanic single men were less likely to be reemployed than were white single men. Moreover, findings suggest that individual differences in methods of job search might lead to lower reemployment rates for blacks and Hispanics. These differences did not explain the disparities in the overall reemployment of blacks and Hispanics relative to whites. These findings held even when the authors controlled predisplacement experience and earnings. Thus, one explanation is that labor market disadvantage for people of color, particularly males, is most likely to manifest in discriminatory recruitment and hiring practices.

Although much of the discrimination literature focuses on discrimination against those with status disadvantage, a study conducted by Giuliano, Levine and Leonard

(2009) examined the effect of the race of the hiring manager on the race of new hires. Using panel data from 1996 to 1998, the authors analyzed the hiring patterns of black and white managers focusing on the probability that a new hire was a member of a specified racial group. Results indicated a significant difference in the hiring patterns of black managers relative to managers of all other races in the study. For both black and white hiring managers, the probability that a new hire was white or black, respectively, was approximately four percentage points lower. According to the authors, these findings provide evidence of individual bias on the part of non-black managers toward hiring black workers.

Many sociologists and organizational researchers investigate the relationship between overall work structures and inequality in measures of the attainment of diversity goals. Many researchers attribute persistent inequalities in diversity outcomes to structural factors that foster and maintain discriminatory practices. As one example, Kalev (2009) hypothesized that overall work structure, that is, the extent to which workers were segregated in particular jobs, constrained or increased the access of women and racial minorities to management positions. She conducted a longitudinal study of the annual reports of 810 establishments to examine the effect of restructuring practices on measures of workforce composition. Estimated changes in the proportion of managers who are white men, white women, black men and black women indicated that establishments that restructured work that allows for more management interaction with previously segregated workers improved access to management positions for women and racial minorities, although the effect was significantly higher for women.

The previous examples of research investigating the role of structure in employment discrimination suggest the existence of an overarching tendency for discrimination in organizations. The tendency to discriminatory practices has been characterized, in this selective review, as being initiated in the hiring process and being maintained through subsequent selection processes. Acker (2006) termed such interlocked practices and processes that result in persistent inequalities in organizations as “inequality regimes”. She based her argument on observations of the ways in which class, gender and racial interact and mutually reproduce inequality. Moreover, Acker (2006) proposed that foundations for gender and racial inequality remain embedded in organizational practices through five dimensions of inequality: (1) hierarchical inequality, (2) inequality in work organizing processes, (3) visibility of inequality, (4) legitimacy of inequality, and (5) control and compliance to maintain inequality. Each of these dimensions acts to strengthen and legitimize workplace discrimination. Thus, Acker (2006) contributed to a conceptual strategy for understanding and examining processes that leads to and maintains workplace discrimination.

Research on Workplace Diversity

Most organizations responded to increasing legal findings of discrimination by implementing various types of diversity programs. Initially, organizations developed these programs to achieve legal compliance with affirmative action mandates. In recent years, however, the focus has shifted to the “business case for diversity”. That is, that diversity can have strategic importance for specific organizational outcomes. Research supports this notion. For example, Herring (2009) analyzed the economic indicators (e.g., sales revenues, number of customers and market share) of over 1,000 businesses and found that as workforce diversity increased, economic benefits for the organization increased as well. Moreover, both racial and gender diversity contributed to these increases. Research conducted by Cunningham (2009), elaborated Herring's (2009) work by examining factors posited to moderate the relationship between diversity and organizational performance. Using diversity and performance data of 75 NCAA Division I-A athletic departments, Cunningham (2009) demonstrated that noncompliance, compliance and reactive strategies regarding issues of diversity had no effect on performance. However, a proactive diversity strategy, one that integrated diversity throughout the organization, and included diversity at high-levels of the organization, resulted in better departmental performance. These studies demonstrated the organizational benefits obtained with a diverse workforce of qualified individuals.

Similar results obtained in a laboratory experiment conducted by Colarelli et al. (2010). In this study, the authors examined how different affirmative action policies and the race of job applicants influenced hiring decisions. The researchers asked participants in this study to pretend they were managers making hiring decisions. The authors used three different types of affirmative action policies: none, a weak or soft affirmative policy (i.e., "increase minority hires in near future"), and a strong affirmative action policy (i.e., the company had a long history of supporting affirmative action practices). Results demonstrated that both weak and strong affirmative action policies increased the likelihood of minority hires. However, as the strength of the affirmative action policy increased, respondents were more likely to attribute minority hires to affirmative action rather than to other causes, such as better qualifications.

The previous research demonstrates the efficacy of affirmative action and diversity practices on organizational performance and hiring outcomes. However, particular approaches to diversity policies and programs might yield varying degrees of success. In order to assess the effect of typical diversity programs, Kalev, Dobbin and Kelly (2006) analyzed the federal data (i.e., EEO-1 reports) of over 700 private sector establishments from 1971 to 2002. They authors also analyzed survey data on the establishments' employment practices, focusing on the change in management composition. Results of the study showed that programs designed to affect behavior (e.g., diversity training) had the least effect on management diversity. However, programs that focused on organizational responsibility for diversity had the greatest effect. The authors found that responsibility structures that embed accountability, authority and expertise increased the odds that white women, black women and black men would occupy management positions.

Brooks, Guidroz and Chakrabarti (2009) conducted two studies to examine applicant reactions to alternative methods of incorporating diversity into employee selection decisions. The authors used a laboratory study to assess the effects of a holistic approach to incorporating diversity (i.e., diversity as one component of a hiring decision) compared to a mechanical approach to incorporating diversity (i.e., considering applicants' group membership over merit) in hiring decisions. The authors also examined the effect of different modes for receiving the information on diversity. One mode provided information on the two methods individually; the other mode provided information on the two methods simultaneously. One result indicated that respondents preferred the holistic approach, whereby diversity is incorporated on an individual applicant basis. The second result showed that the magnitude of the preference was increased by providing information on the two methods for incorporating diversity simultaneously. Thus, this study provides evidence that distinction bias influences the magnitude of respondent preference when comparing two different policies.

In another study, Dobbin, Kim and Kalev (2011) examined the organizational determinants of diversity programs. They argued against the institutional theory used to explain organizational adoption of diversity programs. Rather, the authors posited that corporate culture is more likely predictive of the adoption of diversity programs. To test their hypothesis, the authors analyzed data from a retrospective survey of corporate change and federal workforce composition data (i.e., EEO-1 reports). Findings provided broad support for the authors' prediction that corporate culture, rather than external and internal institutional pressures, lead to the adoption of diversity programs. Specifically, results indicated that a firm's past pattern of responses to new societal norms tended to be more important in diversity program adoption than institutional pressure and regulatory scrutiny.

These studies of workplace discrimination and diversity provide evidence of ongoing organizational attention to issues of discrimination and diversity. Strategic Human Resource Management (SHRM) provides an organizational framework within which research examining discrimination, diversity and organizational performance might be conducted.

Research on Strategic Human Resource Management

In the past, human resource management focused on specific human resource practices (e.g., recruitment and selection), formal human resource policies, and overarching human resource philosophies (Jackson and Schuler 1995). However, as Jackson and Schuler (1995) argued, human resource management practices, policies, and philosophies should be developed within specific internal and external contexts. Internal contexts include firm structure, while external contexts include the legal, social and political environment. Drawing on several theoretical perspectives, the authors demonstrated the importance of context in determining best practices for human resource management. For example, general systems theory is concerned with the organization as an open system that is dependent on its environment for necessary inputs. In the case of human resource management, individuals’ skills and abilities are important inputs into the system. Thus, a primary function of human resource management is to acquire, utilize and retain necessary competencies to support the profit-seeking goal of the organization.

As organizations faced increased competition, human resource management had to adapt to provide strategic value to the organization. In response to these pressures, SHRM emerged as a subfield of human resource management that focuses on human resources as strategic sources of an organization’s sustainable competitive advantage.

The link between traditional human resource management and SHRM is the resource-based view of the firm (RBV). This view of the organization posits that sustainable competitive advantage is realized in the degree to which organizational resources are valuable, rare, inimitable and nonsubstitutable (Wright, Dunford, and Snell 2001). As technological and physical resources have become easier to imitate, human resources have emerged as the organizational asset most likely to confer competitive advantage (Richard 2000). That is, the organizational configuration of resources, especially human resources, can provide competitive advantage because the configuration is unique to the organization, creates value for the organization, cannot be imitated nor easily substituted. Research conducted by Richard (2000) used data from the banking industry to examine the relationship between diversity and firm performance. Results from an initial analysis showed a negative relationship between diversity and firm performance. However, once firm strategy (i.e., growth or downsizing) was included, results indicated that for firms with a growth strategy, diversity aided in firm performance.

Subsequent to Richard's (2000) work, Wright et al. (2001) conducted a review of empirical work in SHRM. The authors found that early research demonstrated the positive effect of human resource practices on accounting and market-based measures of organizational performance. Germane to the present study, however, is research focused on the human capital pool and the benefits of racial diversity on firm performance. As examined by Wright et al. (2001), the use of resource-based logic supports organizational diversity as a strategic resource.

> "…diversity provides value through ensuring a variety of perspectives, that it is rare in that very few firms have achieved significant levels of diversity, and that the socially complex dynamics inherent in diversity lead to its inimitability. [The author] found in a sample of banks that diversity was positively related to productivity, return on equity, and market performance for firms engaged in a growth strategy, but negatively related for firms downsizing." (p. 708).

This research showed that in order to increase sustained competitive advantage, organizations must increase SHRM at the highest levels of the firm. In addition, organizations must provide a system of support for the administration of human resource practices that result in the recruitment and retention of a diverse pool of qualified individuals.

The mechanism by which human resources result in competitive advantage is found at various levels within the organization (Ployhart and Moliterno 2011). Prior to the selection process, SHRM processes identify and communicate the individual knowledge, skills and abilities necessary for organizational performance. After selection, SHRM practices monitor personnel resources and create unique configurations. Depending on task complexity and environmental dynamism, these configurations emerge as a human capital resource, modified from the individual level by interaction. Thus, the role of SHRM is identifying key characteristics of employees prior to selection, and ensuring selection based on those criteria.

In addition to creating competitive advantage, SHRM provides organizations with the capability to be resilient to constantly changing environmental pressures and expectations (Lengnick-Hall et al. 2011). The strategic management of human resources in turbulent economic environments requires the development of competencies among core employees. The core competencies of fundamental employees provide resiliency for the firm. By leveraging core employees to enable the development of situation-specific responses, organizations can capitalize on disruptive events and emerge stronger.

One practice by which employees are developed for aiding organizational goals is through human resource systems. These systems entail practices to enhance employee skills and motivation for attaining competitive advantage (Lepak et al. 2007). However, organizations often implement such practices unequally. Inequality in the implementation of human resource systems can affect both organizational and individual outcomes. A study conducted by Lepak et al. (2007) found that high-investment human resource systems (e.g., selective staffing, comprehensive training, and results-based and equitable compensation) are provided disproportionately to core employees relative to support employees, particularly in non-manufacturing firms. These practices support the organization, but also provide marketable skills to the employees. Thus, the extent to which jobs are segregated by race and gender affects access to more and varied job tasks with increasing levels of worker discretion and autonomy (Lepak et al. 2007). This limitation in access to human resource systems negatively affects female and minority workers as well as the organizations for which they work.

The research discussed here provides evidence that SHRM can have a fundamental role in creating an environment in which diversity is recognized as a means to obtain sustained competitive advantage. Specifically, by focusing on selection criteria, training and high-investment human resource practices, SHRM can advance organizational diversity for the benefit of both organizational and employee outcomes.

Research on Theoretical Foundations

Status Generalization Processes-Overview

Status generalization is a three-stage process by which status characteristics of individuals affect cognitive and behavioral outcomes in interaction (Webster and Foschi 1988).[2] In the first stage, individuals recognize the status characteristics that they and others possess. Status characteristics are socially defined and bestow advantages and disadvantages in a particular society. In the second stage, status advantage and disadvantage creates generalized expectations of task performance. Performance expectations are ideas, either latent or overt, of skill at various tasks. In the third stage, those expectations organize interaction such that those with status advantage outside the group (i.e., in the larger society) enjoy power and prestige advantages within the group.

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[2] I describe the status generalization process more formally in Chapter 3: Theory and Derivations.

Status generalization processes often occur below the level of conscious awareness, yet still affect performance expectations and subsequent interactional behavior.

For example, members of a jury usually include both women and men. In our society, gender confers many status advantages to men and disadvantages to women. In such a situation, first, jurors will notice the gender composition of the jury. Second, because of status generalization, jurors—both women and men—often presume that the men have better ideas and a better understanding of legal issues. Third, status generalization may result in behavioral manifestations such as jurors being more likely to select a man as foreperson, encouraging men to talk more during deliberations and granting men greater influence over the verdict.

Studies of status generalization processes all have the form described above. A society invests certain characteristics with status advantages and disadvantages. Upon the formation of task groups, status characteristics that individuals possess generate inferences, both explicit and unstated, of competence to perform the group task. Those inferences, which the theory calls "performance expectation states," create a power and prestige structure in the task group. This structure is evidenced by interaction patterns, perceptions of abilities, and choices for leadership positions, among other features.

Research on Status Generalization Processes

Social psychologists have conducted extensive research on the basic status generalization process.[3] Some of this research resulted in extensions to the basic expectation states theory. For example, Ridgeway and Berger (1986) proposed that the role of dominance behaviors in status processes results in the legitimation of informal status orders that provides validation and creates the presumption of collective normative support for status advantaged group members. This legitimation of informal status orders, if confirmed, would provide an explanation for the difficulty that those with status disadvantage have in attempting to exercise directive power over their group members even when they are task leaders.

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[3] Berger and Webster (2006) summarize much of the related research examining status generalization processes.

Bunderson (2003) investigated another extension of the status generalization process by developing and testing the role of expertise recognition based on members' status cues (i.e., characteristics). The author posited that specific status cues (i.e., those specifically related to the task) would better predict attributions of expertise in longer-tenured groups while diffuse status cues (i.e., gender or race) would better predict attributions in shorter-tenured groups. Bunderson (2003) surveyed over 350 members of approximately 40 process teams. Results indicated an association between perceived expertise and intragroup influence. In addition, both specific and diffuse cues were associated with perceived expertise. Thus, the findings provided evidence consistent with the author's hypotheses that specific status cues are better indicators of expertise than are diffuse cues.

In organizational research on status processes, Lucas (2003a) investigated effects of organizational structures that formally legitimate women as leaders on the subsequent level of influence exerted by female leaders. Fifteen males and 15 females participated in the study. Lucas institutionalized the role of female leadership through a fictitious organizational video that established the organizational benefits achieved by women leaders. Findings consistent with the hypotheses showed that legitimation might increase the influence of female leaders. The results of this research showed that institutionalizing the role of women as leaders is one way to close the influence gap between women and men.

Another study of the effect of status generalization based on gender demonstrated that motherhood could function as a diffuse status characteristic that creates perceptual and interactional disadvantages for women (Correll, Benard, and Paik 2007). In this study, the authors demonstrated that motherhood initiated a status generalization process that resulted in lowered expectations of competence. No comparable effects were found for men with children.

Rashotte and Webster (2005) examined the role of status beliefs in creating and maintaining gender inequality, despite two features of the current social environment. The first feature reflects changes in societal norms prescribing gender equity. The second feature is widely professed attitudes of gender equality. Though gender status beliefs often exist below conscious awareness, they nonetheless lead to weak but continuous biasing of evaluations, behavior and rewards. Using a two-part questionnaire, the authors assessed whether and the extent to which gender created status beliefs. They also examined the effect of social desirability to respond in an egalitarian manner. Data from over 150 students, the majority of them female, demonstrated higher general expectations for men than for women. Moreover, results showed a stronger effect for specific performance expectations in ratings given by male respondents. Results indicated the presence of gender status beliefs even among respondents with professed egalitarian attitudes.

Ellis, Ilgin and Hollenbeck (2006) examined the effects of team leader race on subordinate performance evaluations. The authors predicted that black leaders would be less likely to receive internal attributions (e.g., effort, ability) for successful performance than white team leaders. The authors also predicted that black leaders would be more likely to receive external attributions (e.g., luck, ease of task) than white team leaders for poor performance. Using an experimental design, the authors randomly assigned 177 undergraduate students into 59 four-person teams. Each team consisted of three subordinates and one team leader who was a confederate. Findings were not consistent with the authors' hypotheses. The black leader was more likely to receive internal attributions when performing well than the similarly performing white leader. The black leader was also more likely to receive external attribution when performing poorly than the similarly performing white leader. One interpretation of these results is that they reflect respondents' social desirability as demonstrated by Rashotte and Webster (2005).

A related area of elaboration and formalization of status generalization processes is that of nonverbal status cues (Fişek, Berger, and Norman 2005). Status cues are indicators or markers associated with actors that provide information to others regarding their status. People can use these status cues when interacting with previous unknown others to identify their status and send cues regarding their own status. Status cues can be things such as expensive clothing, brand name accessories and other items that can be used to infer status. Fişek et al. (2005) examined the results of eight empirical studies focusing on the expectation advantage of one person over another in a small task focused group (i.e., the proportion of times a person rejects influence when met with disagreement). Results from these studies provided evidence for the elaboration of status characteristics theory to a more generalized version. The generalized version introduces effects of strong and weak task cues on status generalization processes.

Theories of status processes predict and explain the development of observable structures of power and prestige based on performance expectations. Salient diffuse and specific status characteristics can initiate status generalization processes. These processes have been shown to affect behavior, performance evaluations and other outcomes. In the next section, I review literature on double standards, a theoretical extension of theories of status generalization.

Research on Double Standards-Overview

Standards are norms for inferring competence from performance. Competence inferences are important because they can affect hiring, team choice, selection into leadership positions promotions, salary, and other outcomes. Foschi's (1989) theory of double standards, elaborated from status characteristics theory (SCT; Berger et al. 1977), predicts that the status generalization process results in the use of different standards for inferring competence. In this extension, a performance by an actor with status advantage is predicted to be assessed with a lenient standard. Conversely, the similar performance an actor with status disadvantage is likely to be assessed using a stricter standard.[4] When two job candidates differ on a diffuse status characteristic (one is male and the other is female, or one is white and the other is black), the minimum requirement for selection might be lower for the candidate with status advantage and higher for the candidate with status disadvantage. The difference in minimum requirements for selection can lower the selection rate of an actor with status disadvantage compared to that of an actor with status advantage.

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[4] I formally present the theory of double standards in Chapter 3: Theories and Derivations.

Research on Double Standards

Foschi has done extensive research on the theory of double standards (a review is available in Foschi 2000). Here, I briefly review research relevant to the present study.

Foschi and colleagues, in one of the earliest works investigating double standards, examined the effect of gender on the assessment of job applicants (Foschi et al. 1994). In this study, Foschi used a new experimental setting in which subjects did not perform the task but rather evaluated two or more other performers. This study used an application files design that provided application materials of two applicants, a man and woman. Respondents reviewed these materials and made a selection decision. Male subjects used a double standard for assessing competence. The man was selected more when he was the better performer than when the woman was the better performer. Female subjects did not use a double standard in their assessment of the competence of the two applicants.

In a similar study, Foschi, Sigerson and Lembesis (1995) conducted a laboratory experiment to examine hiring decisions for job applicants differentiated by gender and task related qualifications. Participants assessed each candidate individually, made recommendations for hire, and rated candidates on job suitability and competence. Results showed that higher qualifications (i.e., specific status characteristics explicitly relevant to the task) had a stronger effect on selection decisions for outstanding performances than for average performances. Results also indicated that respondents used double standards in the assessment of average performances by male and female applicants.

Foschi and Valenzuela (2008) and Foschi (2009) tested extensions of the theory of double standards (Foschi 1989). Foschi and Valenzuela (2008) incorporated self-presentation style (i.e., confident or neutral cover letters) into their examination of the activation of double standards. Results did not support the authors' predictions. Self-presentation style of the job applicants had no effect for either men or women. Importantly, however, both groups selected the woman when she was more confident, as indicated by the cover letter, than her male competitor, but did not select the male when he was less confident as indicated by the cover letter. The authors concluded that shifting cultural norms toward gender equality was likely responsible for these findings.

Related Research on Double Standards

Since the publication of the theory of double standards (Foschi 1989), several research studies have examined the effects of double standards on various outcomes. Jasso and Webster (1997) conducted one of the earliest studies of the effect of double standards on judgments of just earnings for men and women. Using a probability sample of white American adults in private households in Baltimore, the authors conducted a vignette study to first assess the existence of a double standard and then the mechanism by which the standard operates. Findings indicated the use of a double standard. Respondents regarded as just a gender wage gap in which women earn 15 percent less than otherwise comparable men. Results on the mechanism by which the double standard operated was less clear. Further analysis found that education or gender-based needs were likely mechanisms by which the double standard operated.

Other research examined the effect of double standards on determinants of promotion for white men relative to women and minorities (Smith 2005) and in student evaluations of African American and European American professors (Ho, Thomsen, and Sidanius 2009). In the first study, Smith (2005) analyzed the Multi-City Survey of Urban

Inequality 1992 to 1994. Primary results showed that black men benefitted from having more workforce experience than did white men. The author described this finding as an indication that the performance of black men undergoes more scrutiny than that of white men.

Ho et al. (2009) examined whether and to what extent students differentially evaluated academic competence and overall job performance of African American and European American professors. Results from analyses of evaluation forms and an explicit racism measure showed that both black and white students placed significantly more weight on the academic competence of black faculty than was placed on the competence of white faculty.

A study conducted by Park et al. (2009) used a status generalization framework to examine manager and student bias against white and Muslim job applicants with similar positive or negative information. The authors used Muslim and European names to instantiate the applicants' ethnicity. Participants evaluated applicant information and recommended an applicant for hire. Students were more likely than were managers to select the Muslim job applicant if he had no negative information. However, both managers and students favored the white applicant over the Muslim applicant when both applicants had negative information. The authors concluded that Muslim names were able to activate status generalization processes that resulted in the use of double standards for evaluating negative information.

Research on Shifting Standards

The theory of double standards (Foschi 1989) has been used to develop a related body of work examining stereotypes (Kobrynowicz and Biernat 1997) and shifting standards (Biernat et al. 2009; Biernat and Fuegen 2001; Biernat, Fuegen, and Kobrynowicz 2010). The shifting standards effect refers to the tendency for subjective judgments of targets to show no stereotype effect while judgments of the same targets in objective units show stereotypical effects. In a study of stereotypes, Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1997) had students listen to a narrative in which an individual described his or her parenting skills as either "very good" or "alright". The students then evaluated the target's parenting on a subjective rating scale. Findings showed that mothers objectively evaluated as performing more parenting behaviors were not subjectively evaluated any better than was a father with lower numbers of parenting behaviors. In a similar study, the authors found that the race of target (i.e., black or Asian) affected judgments of math ability. Respondents judged the Asian target as objectively better at math even though both the black and Asian targets gave similar self-assessments of math ability.

Three additional studies by Biernat and colleagues examined different effects of shifting standards. The first of these focused on the effects of shifting standards on the evaluation of competence for male and female job applicants (Biernat and Fuegen 2001). In a laboratory experiment using features of a hiring decision, the authors showed that standards shifted depending upon the stage in the selection process in which judges assessed performance (i.e., placing candidate on a short list for hire or selecting from a pool of candidates). Results showed that female participants set harsher standards for women when choosing from an applicant pool. However, participants tended to be more lenient toward women than toward men once study participants selected female applicants for a short list. The authors posit that once respondents placed women applicants onto the short-list, respondents shifted to a more lenient standard in further evaluation of their competence.

In one of the few studies examining race effects on shifting standards, Biernat et al. (2009) used a laboratory experiment to investigate the relationship between shifting standards in academic assessment and discriminatory behavior regarding funding allocation for a black student organization. White students participated in the study. They first made subjective judgments of black and white targets' academic ability. They then made objective judgments of the target students. Behavioral measures showed that participants with a greater tendency to shift standards allocated less money to the black student organization than those without such a tendency.

Biernat et al. (2010) conducted a three-part laboratory study to determine the relationship between formal and informal methods used to document negative behaviors on inference of incompetence. In the first and second studies, the authors examined ability inferences for male and female targets. In the third study, they examined ability inferences for male targets differentiated by race. In all three studies, respondents used stricter standards for targets with status disadvantage (women and black males). Results showed that white men required more and stronger evidence to be evaluated as incompetent. For women and black men, results showed that less evidence was required to infer incompetence for women and black men.

Theories of status generalization and double standards have resulted in numerous studies. Research has shown that these theories are often predictive of the particular outcomes of interest in this dissertation. As the previous review shows, both status generalization and double standards affect important personnel decisions including selection, promotion and wage setting. Also relevant is the development and test of interventions to decrease negative outcomes of these processes, where desirable.

Research on Interventions

Educational Interventions

Theoretical foundations of discrimination reviewed here provide at least two benefits to researchers and organizational practitioners. First, theory identifies relevant interaction components and distinguishes them from irrelevant features of the situation (Webster and Entwisle 1976). Thus, theory provides the framework from which testable hypotheses may be derived. Second, theory enables the development and test of interventions to lessen the effects of status generalization and double standards processes where their influence is undesirable.

In one of the earliest tests of an intervention derived from theory, Webster and Entwisle (1976) used a natural setting to examine how different performance information affects evaluation. Results indicated that in different information conditions, expectations respondents formed for an individual affect evaluations of performances. Moreover, findings provided evidence that participants made the mental connections necessary to complete the expectation structure and form equal expectations regardless of the information provided.

Educational research based on the theoretical foundation of status processes has generated a research program that developed interventions to foster equal status interaction among racially and ethnically differentiated classroom students. Cohen and

Lotan (1997) conducted two studies of status treatments tested in elementary and middle school classrooms. The first intervention focused on multiple abilities or characteristics necessary for successful completion of a task. The objective of this treatment was to convince students that no one student has high ability on all necessary characteristics. The authors predicted that this treatment would increase the participation of students with status disadvantage. In a test of another intervention, classroom teachers observed status disadvantaged students performing well. The teachers then verbally acknowledged the competence of those students. Results showed that both interventions succeeded in raising the participation levels of students with status disadvantage.

Double Standards Interventions

Interventions designed to decrease the use of double standards for inferring competence have been developed and investigated. Foschi (2004) reported the results of tests developed to block the use of gender-based double standards through two primary mechanisms. Each mechanism modified the scope conditions of the theory. The first intervention (Foschi 1996) created accountability for selection decisions; the second intervention (Foschi 2009) established explicit standards for inferring competence.

Foschi (1996) examined the effect of accountability on the use of double standards in the evaluation of the performances of a male and female working together in a dyad. Using a similar experimental design as previous studies, (Foschi et al. 1994, 1995) this research focused on assessments of the performances of self and an opposite gender other. The situation also included varying levels of accountability. Results showed significant effects in the low accountability condition. The male referent had lower standards than did the female referent. In addition, perceived competence, measured by resistance to influence, showed that men rejected more influence from their female partner than did women in the low accountability condition. Increasing accountability reduced the gap in standards, as well as rejection of influence of the male partner.

Foschi (2009), reported findings from a laboratory experiment investigating the extent to which explicit, universal standards set by a legitimate source block participant-generated double standards. Foschi (2009) hypothesized that universal standards would decrease the possibility that respondents would assess scores using multiple standards. This study also examined the effect of a non-gender based task definition on the activation of double standards. Findings from this study were consistent with the hypotheses. Explicit, universal standards for assessing performance did lower the use of gender-based double standards. Results also found that making the task gender neutral reduced the use of gender-based double standards.

Other Double Standards Interventions

Cohen and Pfeffer (1986) examined the relationship between the organization and hiring standards. The authors studied several establishments’ use of educational credentials, tests and screening criteria based on worker characteristics. Findings showed that the technological change and internal labor market practices of an organization increase overall selectivity with educational credentials and tests. Additionally, for organizations with a personnel department, selection standards are more likely to be based on educational credentials, tests and overall selectivity. Though not explicitly addressed in this study, the findings seem to suggest that larger organizations should be less likely to use double standards in hiring.

Though not all of the interventions are explicitly derived from theory, many of them implicitly focus on theoretical components for decreasing the use of double standards. For example, Ford et al. (2004) examined the role of accountability in decreasing managers' pre-interview bias against African American sales job applicants. Using a sample of sales managers, the authors assessed the extent to which varying levels of accountability affected the managers' tendency to select white job applicants over similarly qualified African American job applicants. In the low accountability condition, participants exhibited racial bias. However, in the high accountability condition, participants did not exhibit racial bias. Thus, results were consistent with hypotheses. Managers tended to suppress racial bias insofar as they perceived themselves accountable for their evaluations.

Similar findings obtained in studies of accountability in negotiations (Lerner and Shonk 2006). In this study, the authors examined the effect of requiring justification for decisions. Among other findings, the author demonstrated the importance of organizational communication to identify those situations in which individuals will be accountable, the outcomes or decisions for which they will be accountable, and the methods by which employees will be rewarded for accuracy in their decision-making.

Management directives regarding expectations of fair hiring practices have also been found to be an effective treatment for the use of double standards. Umphress et al. (2008) examined one method by which the negative impact of social dominance orientation (SDO) on the selection of applicants from status-disadvantaged groups might be decreased.[5] The authors used an experimental design in which respondents first completed online measures of SDO and sexism. Respondents then participated in an applicant selection task that either included being asked by a person in authority to focus on job-related criteria or did not include that request. Results showed that SDO had a stronger impact on intent to select the best candidate when directives were absent than when they were present. Though the directives diminished the negative relationship between SDO and ratings of the black candidate, the negative effect was still significant when directives were present. Thus, directives to focus on job qualifications were more successful in removing the negative response of those high in SDO on reactions to the female candidate than to the male candidate. These findings provided evidence that directives, coupled with accountability, may have more effect on decreasing the use of racial double standards and discrimination in job selection.

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[5] Social dominance orientation (SDO) refers to an individual difference variable that indicates support for the "domination of 'inferior' groups by 'superior' groups" (Umphress et al. 2008).

Summary

The literature on organizational discrimination shows the intransigence of issues of racial and gender discrimination. The literature on diversity shows the importance of diversity and a range of its effects on organizational outcomes. The research on strategic human resource management provides the overarching framework within which issues of discrimination and diversity might be addressed within organizations. Research involving basic status processes and double standards provided evidence of the effects of status generalization processes and the use of double standards for inferring competence. The research investigating the efficacy of various treatments for undesirable effects of status generalization and double standards shows the interconnectedness of this research and the implications for individual and organizational success in the hiring process.

My research uses ideas from all the bodies of research summarized in this chapter. Organizational research has established the prevalence of discrimination and the importance of diversity in organizations. The theories of status generalization and double standards have been developed with precise tests in the laboratory, showing both that the basic processes occur as predicted, and that status generalization uses all available status information. Thus, interventions derived from theory might block the use of double standards. Research conducted in organizational settings has documented status and double standard effects, and some successful interventions using the theories have been devised for use in classrooms and organizations. Finally, while there is currently not a great deal of work on status and double standard processes related to race and ethnicity, it seems obvious that race and ethnicity should act as other status characteristics have been shown to act in studies of status generalization and double standards. It is equally obvious that characteristics of race and ethnicity are growing in importance in organizations that are increasingly diverse. Thus, status generalization processes, and their role in the use of racial double standards for inferring competence, provides the theoretical framework within which this dissertation advances knowledge in the areas of organizational diversity and status processes.

Chapter 3 presents the theories of status characteristics and expectation states and that of double standards. In the chapter, I present the scope conditions, definitions and theoretical assumptions of both theories. Then, I draw derivations that will function to develop operational hypotheses for my research that I describe in Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY AND DERIVATIONS

In this chapter, I present the theoretical foundation for this dissertation, specifically, the theory of status characteristics and expectation states and the theory of double standards. For several decades, a program of theoretical and empirical investigation has resulted in a group of theories that addresses the effects of external social structures on performance expectations, interaction and other behavioral outcomes in small, task-focused, collectively oriented groups (Berger et al. 1977).

As noted in Chapter 2, status generalization is a process by which status characteristics affect perceptual and behavioral aspects of interaction. Status characteristics initiate a three-step process. First, status characteristics, such as gender or race, create inferences of ability. Second, ability inferences create performance expectations. Third, performance expectations produce an observable power and prestige structure that organizes interaction. The power and prestige structure organizes interaction such that individuals with the culturally preferred state of a characteristic are more likely to receive more opportunities to perform, receive more positive evaluations of their performances, and exhibit more influence, among other behaviors, than those with the less-preferred states of the characteristic. The term “preferred” means that social advantages adhere to certain states of diffuse status characteristics. In a society, if white skin is the culturally preferred state, then a white person might be considered fortunate, and, because of status generalization, might be presumed to be more competent than a black person. If individuals interact, the differential inferences of competence would result in perceptual and behavioral advantages to the white person and corresponding disadvantages to the black person.

The theory of double standards is an elaboration of status characteristics theory. The theory draws on attribution ideas and identifies a mechanism by which status generalization leads to differential inferences of competence. The theory of double standards focuses on situations in which two performers differ along a diffuse status characteristic (e.g., one person is white, the other black), and as a result, a double standard is used to assess their performances. That is, an evaluator uses a stricter standard to assess the successful performance by the person with status disadvantage. An evaluator uses a lenient standard to assess the similarly successful performance by the person with status advantage. Thus, the successful performance of a person with status disadvantage is less likely to be attributed to ability.

In this chapter, I have four objectives. First, I present those features of status characteristics theory (SCT) relevant to this dissertation.[6] Thus, I present most of the theory because Foschi (1989) bases a large part of her elaboration on multiple features of SCT. Second, I describe those unique features of the theory of double standards in terms of scope and initial conditions, definitions and propositions relevant to the present work. Third, I describe a theoretical extension designed to modify the initial conditions to include accountability as described in Foschi (2000). Foschi (2000) found that requiring assessor accountability intervened in the status generalization process for gender. That is, assessors will seek to comply with given directives rather than assess performances based on gender or race (Umphress et al. 2008). Fourth, I derive testable hypotheses that are the presented in Chapter 4.

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[6] Adapted from Webster and Whitmeyer (1999) and Webster, Whitmeyer and Rashotte (2004). I only present parts of the theory relevant to the work reported here. Berger et al. (1977) presents a full statement of the general theory.

Status Characteristics Theory

Status characteristics theory is one theory in the extensive expectation states theoretical program. Theories in this program investigate the development of power and prestige hierarchies in task-focused, collectively oriented groups (Foschi 1996). The key theoretical concepts used in this dissertation are diffuse and specific status characteristics and performance expectation states. The theory defines the first term explicitly; the second is a theoretical construct, defined by the assumptions that describe its functioning.

A *diffuse status characteristic* has three features. First, the characteristic has at least two states that are differentially evaluated by a society. That is, one state of the characteristic confers advantage; the other state confers disadvantage. Second, each state of the characteristic also carries similarly evaluated specific performance expectations with the same advantage or disadvantage as the diffuse characteristic. Third, each state of the characteristic carries similarly evaluated general performance expectations with the same advantage or disadvantage as the diffuse characteristic.

A *specific status characteristic* has two features. First, the characteristic has at least two states. Second, each state of the characteristic also carries a specific performance expectation that has the same evaluation as the characteristic, and is relevant to a specified task outcome.

In a particular society, if being racially identified as white is preferred over being racially identified as black, then race meets the first part of the definition of a diffuse status characteristic. If a society attaches differential inferences of specific skills to race, associating it with differential performance in school or differentially valuable contributions to a corporation, then race meets the second part of the definition of a diffuse status characteristic. Finally, if race is thought to indicate differential performance at "most tasks" without specification of those tasks, then it meets the third part of the definition of a diffuse status characteristic. Thus, an individual may assign task ability directly from performance evaluations, or indirectly, from status characteristics. In this dissertation, I presume, rather than test empirically, that race is treated as a diffuse status characteristic in our society. Gender, age, attractiveness, occupation and other characteristics also are often so treated in our society.

Once task ability is assigned to a performer, performance expectations develop based on those assignments. *Performance expectations* are perceptual, often non-conscious, stable beliefs about how an individual will perform a task in the future. Performance expectations are formed relative to other group members. Thus, higher relative performance expectations for an individual result in a higher position for that person in the hierarchy of group behavior, including participation rates, influence, performance evaluations, and choice for leadership positions.

Five assumptions describe the status generalization process by which status characteristics affect expectations and behavior. In this exposition, I refer to a group of two actors in a task-focused, collectively oriented group. The actors are similar on most status characteristics, such as age, gender, and educational level, but they differ in terms of race.

> Assumption 1 (Salience): All D characteristics that are already considered by the actor p to be linked to outcome states of the task T (T+ and T-), become salient in the situation; all D or C characteristics that discriminate actors also become salient.

According to Assumption 1, characteristics become salient, or socially significant, if they differentiate actors, or if actors believe they are relevant to task completion. Thus, race becomes salient in a mixed race group. It might not be a salient feature in a group of individuals who share the same race, unless those individuals already believed race was relevant to their task for some other reason.

> Assumption 2 (Burden of Proof): If any diffuse status characteristic is salient, then for each state of the characteristic, the associated general expectations will also become salient. These general expectations will become relevant to the similarly evaluated state of the specific task-relevant ability.

This assumption states that salient status characteristics will create performance expectations for ability at the group’s task unless the characteristic is definitely known to be irrelevant. This assumption is sometimes called “burden of proof” because it claims that the burden of proof is on someone who would claim the characteristic is irrelevant to the group task, not the other way around. Unless actors know for sure that a status characteristic is irrelevant to performance at their task, they will treat it as if it is relevant and will form task-specific expectations on that basis.

For example, if race is a diffuse status characteristic not explicitly dissociated from the task, expectation states with the same valence as the states of the diffuse characteristic will be inferred. No “logical” or evidential basis for linking race to performance need exist for the burden of proof process to operate. Without demonstrated irrelevance, actors thus form task-specific performance expectations based on race.

> Assumption 3 (Sequencing): A structure of status characteristics and expectation states will become fully connected through the salience and burden of proof processes, as described. If actors leave or enter the situation after the structure has been completed, new connections will appear according to the same processes, and all parts of the structure previously completed will remain in subsequent interaction.

This assumption describes what happens when individuals enter or leave a continuing interaction. No status or expectation information is lost. Performance expectations formed in one encounter may carry over to subsequent interactions even if the actors involved change. This means that an intervention experienced in one situation—for instance, a white person who interacts with a highly skilled black person—will carry effects of that intervention to new interaction situations of mixed race groups.

Assumption 3 is not a major part of the work reported here. However, it predicts that any interventions used, for instance, to raise expectations held for individuals disadvantaged by race will carry over to subsequent interactions with new interaction partners.

> Assumption 4 (Aggregation): All salient positive or negative status information is used to create expectation states for all actors. No information is ignored or suppressed. [7]

This assumption describes how individuals combine multiple items of status information to form aggregate performance expectations relevant to the immediate task situation. No status information is lost or ignored. This assumption was tested against several alternatives in the Berger et al. (1977) research summarized in Chapter 2. Of particular importance here is that this assumption suggests a way to intervene in the status generalization process to produce desirable outcomes. It predicts that status disadvantage based on race may be partly overcome by introducing additional, positively valued, status information. Resulting expectations will then reflect all available status information, including the newly introduced status advantages, along with the existing status disadvantages.

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[7] The formal theory (Berger et al. 1977) includes a mathematical function for combining status information.

> Assumption 5 (Behavior): Once any actor has formed aggregated expectation states for self and for other, then that actor's power and prestige position relative to any other actor and the relative levels of their subordinate/superordinate behavior will be direct functions of the aggregated expectation advantage of all status information regarding the two actors.

Assumption 5 translates aggregated performance expectations, created through Assumptions 1-4, into observable behavior. Thus the theory describes how structural features of a society—the social definitions and distribution of status characteristics—can create differential inferences of performance skill—performance expectation states—and those expectations can create interaction inequality—a power and prestige structure—in task groups.

In this dissertation, I focus on the relationship between status generalization and performance evaluation. Thus, I now turn to Foschi's (1989) theoretical extension to SCT.

Theory of Double Standards

Foschi's (1989) theory of double standards elaborates SCT and incorporates work on standards, the relationship between evaluations and expectations, and on source of expectations.[8] The theory predicts that, under certain conditions, a status characteristic that differentiates performers will activate the use of double standards for inferring competence and for inferring lack of competence. Both inferences of competence and incompetence are stricter for lower status performers (Foschi 1996). The extension to SCT is has two key features. The first extends SCT to settings in which there is no group. The second feature is that the evaluator of task performance and the performer of the task are two different individuals. The theory has four scope conditions as presented in Foschi and Valenzuela (2008):

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[8] The term "double standards" refers to the use of different standards for two individuals differentiated by two states of a characteristic. Thus, multiple standards could be applied in instances where the characteristic has three or more differentially evaluated states. In addition, double standards should be distinguished from "performance standards" . The latter are usually objectively set standards of actual performance. For example, that any test score between 80 and 89 constitutes a grade of "B" is a performance standard.

1. The evaluator or assessor is motivated to do well at the task of assessing the competence of two other actors. The assessor knows that he or she can use whatever information believed to be useful to do the task well.

2. The two actors being assessed differ on a characteristic that the assessor believes to have status value (e.g., race, whereby “white” has higher status than “black”). This information is implicitly useful in the setting. From SCT, the difference between the two actors on this characteristic makes the characteristic salient to the assessor.

3. The two actors being assessed have completed individual performances on a task that the assessor values. Both performers have achieved similar results of average quality. Evaluation of these performance has been done by an outside source and is accepted as being unbiased.

4. The assessor has no other basis on which to base assessments of competence. He or she has no prior experience in judging competence on the task. There is no explicit association between the performers’ task and their status, nor are there clearly set or widely accepted standards for inferring competence.

The primary theoretical definitions of diffuse and specific status characteristics were described above. However, Foschi (1989) adds three additional definitions:

1. A standard for inferring ability is a rule specifying requirements for the inference of task ability from one or more successful task outcomes.

2. A standard for inferring ability is considered strict if the assessor includes more demanding requirements from Person 1 than from Person 2.

3. A standard for inferring ability is considered lenient if the assess includes less demanding requirements from Person 1 than from Person 2.

Foschi (1989) proposes that the activation of different standards for the inference of competence or lack of competence will correspond to a person’s status. That is, an assessor will use a lenient standard for inferring competence to assess the performance of a person with status advantage and use a strict standard to assess the similar performance of a person with status disadvantage. Thus, the theory describes how structural features of a society—the social definitions and distribution of status characteristics—can create differential expectations of performance skill. Those expectations can create interaction inequality in cases of workgroup tasks, and the use of different standards for inferring performance ability. Next, I describe a situation meeting the scope and initial conditions of Foschi’s (1989) theory, including two interventions for that setting, and derive consequences for test.

Consider a situation in which an individual must assess the relative performances of two individuals, Applicant 1 and Applicant 2, and recommend one of the applicants for hire. Presume that applicant race is the only differentiating information available; the candidates do not differ on age, education, gender, SES or other status characteristics. From the theoretical assumptions above, I first describe the effects of standards in two situations in which status generalization from race does not occur. The first situation occurs when applicants are the same in terms of a diffuse characteristic, but vary dramatically in terms of the specific characteristic, Hypothesis 1. The second situation occurs when applicants do not vary in terms of either a diffuse or specific characteristic, Hypothesis 2. I assess these two hypotheses in both the Baseline and Accountability Designs described in the following chapter. I then describe effects of standards in two status generalization cases. In Hypothesis 3, the applicants vary in terms of only the diffuse status characteristic; they are equated in terms of the specific status characteristic. I also assess this hypothesis in the Baseline Design of the experiment described in the following chapter.

Next, consider an intervention that introduces additional parameters to the scope conditions of Foschi's (1989) theory. The intervention should reduce the inequality produced by status generalization from race by requiring the accountability of the judges for their recommendations. Thus, I derive Hypothesis 4. I assess this hypothesis in the Accountability Design described in the following chapter.

Derivations

From the theory of double standards, I derive two types of hypotheses. The first type of hypotheses represents an application of the theory to status homogeneous and status heterogeneous applicants and includes four hypotheses. These four hypotheses derive from the logical progression of the theory from the scope and initial conditions. The second type of hypotheses describes effects of one intervention to reduce the behavioral inequality produced by status generalization, and differential standards. There is one hypothesis in this category.

The scope conditions of the theory of double standards require two performers, and a single characteristic, required for task performance. Foschi (1989) extended the scope of the theory to include a judge, or assessor, who is not a performer, but is charged with assessing the performance of two other actors. Thus, a situation in which an assessor of two job applicants applying for the same job meets the scope conditions of the theory. Other conditions required for application of the theory include the presence of a differentiating diffuse status characteristic between the two performers not shown to be irrelevant to ability, and no agreed upon level of performance for inferring competence. For this dissertation, an assessor of two job applicants differentiated by race, with no previously set standard for inferring competence, meets those conditions.

By assumption 1 (salience) from SCT, race will be noticed by the assessor and will be treated as a significant social fact. Applicant race will result in differentiated performance expectations and activate the use of differential standards for inferring competence. By assumption 2 (burden of proof), because race has not been definitely shown to be irrelevant to the job, the assessor will treat it as if it is relevant and will apply strict or lenient performance standards corresponding to performance expectations. Expectations will be higher, and standards more lenient, for white applicants. Conversely, expectations will be lower, and standards more strict, for black applicants.

In this study, actors will not enter or leave the situation, nor will I introduce additional status information, so assumptions 3 and 4 will not function in the derivations. However, by assumption 5, relevant features of a power and prestige structure will predict the use of differential standards for assessing the competence of the two applicants.

Thus, I derive Hypothesis 1 for the case of two job applicants with the same diffuse status characteristic and different levels of specific status characteristics. The theory predicts the following. First, since applicants do not differ on a diffuse status characteristic, status generalization from the diffuse characteristic will not occur. Thus, respondents will use the same ability standard for inferring competence to assess the two applicants. Second, respondents will use the specific characteristic to assess the competence of the two applicants. Third, respondents will form higher expectations for the applicant with the higher level of the specific status characteristic. Thus, Hypothesis 1 predicts different outcomes for the two applicants based on their relative level of the specific status characteristic:

> Hypothesis 1a: Respondents will select the applicant with the higher class standing (Applicant 1) more often than they will select the applicant with the lower class standing (Applicant 2).
>
> Hypothesis 1b: Respondents will give higher competence and suitability ratings to the applicant with the higher class standing (Applicant 1) than to the applicant with the lower class standing (Applicant 2).

Hypothesis 2 predicts outcomes for the case of two job applicants with the same diffuse status characteristic and the same level of the specific status characteristic. The theory predicts the following. First, since status does not differentiate the applicants, respondents will use the same ability standard for inferring competence to assess the two actors. Second, since the two applicants are status equals in terms of both diffuse and specific status characteristics, respondents will form similar performance expectations for both applicants.[9] Thus, Hypothesis 2 predicts no difference in outcomes for the two actors based on their equated status. Thus, I derive Hypothesis 2:

> Hypothesis 2a: There will be no difference in respondents' selection proportions of Applicant 1 or Applicant 2.
>
> Hypothesis 2b: There will be no difference in respondents' competence and suitability ratings given to either Applicant 1 or Applicant 2.

I test Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 in both the Baseline and Accountability Designs of the experiment presented in the next chapter.

Hypothesis 3 predicts outcomes for the case of two job applicants with different diffuse status characteristic and similar levels of a specific status characteristic. The theory predicts the following. First, since applicants differ on a diffuse status characteristic, status generalization form the diffuse characteristic will occur. Thus, respondents will use different ability standards for inferring competence for the two applicants. Status advantage or disadvantage conferred by the diffuse status characteristic will determine these standards. Second, respondents will form different performance expectations for the applicants. Again, this difference will be determined by the status advantage or disadvantage conferred by the diffuse status characteristic. Thus, Hypothesis 3 predicts different outcomes based on status advantage or disadvantage for the two applicants.

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[9] Respondents may form differentiated expectations; however, status does not provide the basis for doing so.

First, in Condition 1, respondents will use a lenient ability standard for inferring competence for the applicant with status advantage from race and the higher class standing. In Condition 2, respondents will use a strict ability standard for inferring competence for the applicant with status disadvantage from race and the higher class standing. Second, in Condition 1, respondents will form higher expectations for the applicant with the higher class standing and status advantage from race. Respondents will form lower expectations for the applicant with the higher class standing and status disadvantage from race. Thus, I derived Hypothesis 3.

> Hypothesis 3a: Respondents will select the white applicant with the higher class standing in Condition 1 more often than they will select the black applicant with the higher class standing in Condition 2.
>
> Hypothesis 3b: Competence and suitability advantage will be greater for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 than for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

I test Hypothesis 3 in the Baseline Design of the experiment presented in the next chapter.

The second type of hypothesis also derives from the theory of double standards and constitutes changes to the initial conditions of the theory. I predict that assessors in this situation will respond to an increased level of accountability by attending to specific applicant characteristics. I base this prediction on the following. Given different social expectations for performance based on race, assessors will hold lower performance expectations for applicants with status disadvantage. However, if assessors think that they will be accountable for their assessment, this may suppress the use of differential standards for inferring competence. The results should be as follows. First, there will be a reduction in respondents' use of racial double standards to assess the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Second, respondents will form similar expectations for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Thus, I derived Hypothesis 4:

> Hypothesis 4a: Accountability will reduce the difference in respondent selection proportions for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.
>
> Hypothesis 4b: Accountability will reduce the difference in competence and suitability advantage for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

I test Hypothesis 4 with the Accountability Design of the experiment presented in the following chapter.

Summary

The theories of status characteristics and double standards describe a process, and a mechanism, respectively, by which societal inequalities, under specified conditions, might affect performance expectations and behavior. The theories provide guidelines for scope and initial conditions, as well as the process by which status generalization leads to inequalities in performance expectations, standard setting and behavior. Group power and prestige structures show this inequality, as do performance assessments and selection decisions.

These theories also provide guidance for the development and test of interventions to lessen the undesirable effects of status generalization from race and racial double standards for inferring competence. To that end, I derived four hypotheses that I will test with the experiment described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN AND OPERATIONS

In this chapter, I describe the design and operations used to assess the derivations presented in Chapter 3. By “design” I mean abstract features of a situation that provides data to assess hypotheses. By “operations” I mean concrete ways to create the situation, including ways to create independent variables and to measure dependent variables. I also describe the experimental sequence of the study. However, before I address those concerns, I begin with a brief review of the literature regarding laboratory experimentation. This review will provide a useful context for understanding the role of laboratory experiments in social science research, generally, and in the present study, specifically.

Laboratory Experiments in Sociology

Webster and Kervin (1994; described fully in 1971) argued that misunderstanding of the purposes of this type of research is the basis for much of the criticism of laboratory experiments in sociology. A routine argument against laboratory experimentation is that findings cannot be generalized (Lucas 2003b). Theoretical structure includes systems of assumptions and scope conditions that specify those situations to which the theory should apply (Foschi 1997; Walker and Cohen 1985). Thus, as Webster and Kervin (1971), Lucas (2003) and others explained (e.g., Falk and Heckman 2009), the primary purpose of laboratory experiments is to test theory, rather than make generalizable predictions. In testing theoretical components, the focus is on theoretically relevant variables. For example, experimental limitations are those values assigned by the experimenter to variables which are not a part of the theory but which may also have an effect on the dependent variable (e.g., undergraduate students ages 18-24; Foschi 1980). Therefore, the extent to which scope conditions and theoretically relevant variables occur in a natural setting determines the applicability of theory to that setting. Therefore, this dissertation reports results of theoretical tests where the theoretical scope and initial conditions are instantiated in the design.

Lovaglia (2003) reviewed several experimental social psychological studies that increased understanding of intergroup conflict, coercion-induced behavior, domestic violence and social policy, stereotype threat and women's status attainment. Wilson's (2005) commentary argued for the benefit of exporting the experimental approach, particularly the use of control groups, to address social issues. For example, the author advocated the use of control groups to measure the efficacy of various diversity programs and other interventions. The design of this dissertation research uses a control condition (in this research, the "Baseline Design") to examine effects of double standards on hiring recommendations. I then compare those results to those achieved in the experimental conditions (here, the "Accountability Design"). Thus, I hope to establish differential recommendation patterns and then isolate one process that might decrease those differences.

Once a researcher has determined that a study's focus is theory testing and development and that a laboratory experiment will be used to assess theory and derivations, the experiment requires detailed planning. Rashotte (2007) outlined several important elements in conducting experimental social psychological research. Experimental design requires attention to variables, conditions and manipulations; pretesting (Rashotte, Webster, and Whitmeyer 2005) and pilot testing; and data interpretation including power statistics and experimenter effects. Another important consideration concerns the participants. Decisions regarding participants require determining if participation will be voluntary, the selection criteria and recruitment method (Kalkhoff et al. 2007). Foschi (1980) argued that criticisms of student participants in laboratory experiments are unwarranted to the extent that sample characteristics are not the focus of theoretical study. Nevertheless, the use of undergraduate students in laboratory experiments may affect dependent measures. However, student samples represent an experimental limitation and are often controlled through random assignment.

The theories of status characteristics and double standards predict that, under certain specified conditions, the status characteristics of actors may lead to the use of different standards for assessing similarly evaluated performances. As one consequence, differential standards for assessing performance may result in lowered expectation advantage for individuals with status disadvantage. This dissertation reports results from an experiment examining that, and other consequences, from the use of double standards. Therefore, I have three goals for this chapter. First, I present the design of this experiment that fulfills the theoretical requirements for subsequent hypothesis testing. Second, I present the operations which instantiate the abstract experimental design and provide situations where clear observation and measurement to assess the hypotheses are possible. Third, I describe the experimental sequence that details the order in which I conducted the operations.

As presented in Chapter 3, I derived the following four sets of hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1:

Hypothesis 1a: Respondents will select the applicant with the higher class standing (Applicant 1) more often than they will select the applicant with the lower class standing (Applicant 2).

Hypothesis 1b: Respondents will give higher competence and suitability ratings to the applicant with the higher class standing (Applicant 1) than to the applicant with the lower class standing (Applicant 2).

Hypothesis 2:

Hypothesis 2a: There will be no difference in respondents' selection proportions of Applicant 1 or Applicant 2.

Hypothesis 2b: There will be no difference in respondents' competence and suitability ratings given to either Applicant 1 or Applicant 2.

Hypothesis 3:

Hypothesis 3a: Respondents will select the white applicant with the higher class standing in Condition 1 more often than they will select the black applicant with the higher class standing in Condition 2.

Hypothesis 3b: Competence and suitability advantage will be greater for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 than for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

Hypothesis 4:

Hypothesis 4a: Accountability will reduce the difference in respondent selection proportions for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

Hypothesis 4b: Accountability will reduce the difference in competence and suitability advantage for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

The following sections describe the experimental design and operations used to assess these hypotheses.

Experimental Design

The theoretical foundation for this work is the expectations states research program of which status characteristics theory is a major branch. Status characteristics theory predicts how status generalization, expectation inequality and behavioral inequality occur in task settings meeting the theory’s scope conditions. Foschi (1989) extended status characteristics theory to include ideas from attribution theory whereby standards are used to infer ability or lack of ability for the required task. Initial conditions of situations described in the hypotheses require one person *P* who is not a performer but receives information from an outside source regarding the performances of two others, *o1* and *o2,* differing with respect to one diffuse status characteristic. Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 do not predict status generalization from race. However, I include them since the results of these two tests provide important information regarding participants’ understanding of the task and their focus on doing well at the task—fundamental scope and initial conditions. Hypothesis 3 does predict status generalization from race and, thus requires status-differentiated target applicants by which respondent performance expectations and subsequent task behavior can be measured. Hypothesis 4 predicts effects of one intervention that modifies the initial conditions by providing additional instructions increasing accountability for respondent decisions. The hypothesis predicts that accountability will reduce one negative effect of status generalization, differential standard setting, and thus change respondent behavior.

Therefore, this research consisted of two study designs. I use the Baseline Design as the control study. I use the Accountability Design as the experimental study. The Baseline and Accountability Designs provided measures to assess scope and initial conditions and manipulation checks. The Baseline and Accountability Designs also provided measures to assess Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2. For the Baseline Design, Condition 1 and Condition 2 provided relative outcomes to assess Hypothesis 3. For the Accountability Design, Condition 1 and Condition 2 provided relative outcomes to assess Hypothesis 4.

To meet the initial conditions of the theory of double standards, which extends that of status characteristics, I created a situation in which instructions told study respondents that they would provide student input by assisting in choosing final candidates for several entry-level internships. In order to create task focus, instructions told respondents that the jobs for which the applicants were applying were real. Instructions asked each respondent to review application materials for three pairs of applicants. Instructions asked respondents to assess the task relevant performances of each pair of applicants and to recommend one applicant from each pair of applicants. Applicants were status equals on other characteristics including gender, age and education level.

In the Baseline Design, I measured respondent expectation advantage of the applicants by respondent hiring recommendations and questionnaire responses. Specifically, I conducted *z*-tests and *t*-tests to evaluate the presence and extent of differences in the selection proportions and expectations for each applicant, respectively. I also conducted chi-square tests of association to determine the presence and strength of differences in selection frequencies by race of respondents. I assessed Hypotheses 1-4 through these measures.

To obtain measures to assess Hypotheses 1-4, each participant received three application file folders with a job description, application form, and record of grades for two job applicants. Instruction asked respondents to review the materials and recommend one applicant from each folder.[10] To assess Hypotheses 1, the two applicants were the same race, but had clearly different qualifications. To assess Hypothesis 2, the two applicants were the same race and had similar qualifications. To assess Hypothesis 3, one applicant was white; the other applicant was black. In Condition 1, the white applicant had slightly higher qualifications than did the black applicant. In Condition 2, the black applicant had slightly higher qualifications than did the white applicant. To assess Hypothesis 4, I introduced the accountability manipulation. Applicant composition was the same as that used to assess Hypothesis 3: one applicant was white; the other applicant was black. In Condition 1, the white applicant had slightly higher qualifications than did the black applicant. In Condition 2, the black applicant had slightly higher qualifications than did the white applicant.

A fundamental consideration in the design of this experiment was the consistency of treatment for all participants. Thus the experimental treatment actually began with recruitment and continued until the end of the experiment. The exception is for participants randomly assigned to receive the intervention treatment in the Accountability Design. Therefore, I videotaped task instructions and scripts were used for every contact with potential and actual respondents.

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[10] I describe this process in detail in the next section, Experimental Operations.

Experimental Operations[11]

My role as researcher was to design, develop and manage study-related procedures, documents and activities. A research assistant supported this study by undertaking specific tasks as described below. In this section, I first provide an overview of the background for the design. I then describe the operations used to instantiate design features described in the previous section. I then elaborate those operations. That is, I describe the operations used to instantiate, in the experimental situation, scope and initial conditions, performance expectations, standard setting and hiring recommendation.

For this dissertation, I used an “application files design”, first used by Foschi et al. (1994; described fully in Foschi 2006). In the Foschi et al. (1994) research, respondents reviewed folders containing application materials for pairs of target individuals, applicants for professional jobs, and recommended one of each pair for hire. In the study by Foschi et al. (1994), the critical choice was between a man and a woman with equal (average) qualifications.[12] Qualifications for the job included GPA, individual grades, and instances of relevant skills. The overall prediction was that women would be held to a stricter standard and thus would be less likely to be recommended. Results generally confirmed that. In the present study, the job applicants were the same gender (male) but different races (i.e., black or African American and white or European American).

I created the scope condition of task focus by the nature of the task and the instructions given the respondents. The instructions helped create task focus by telling respondents that they were being asked to provide student input for selecting actual job applicants for actual organizational positions. Further, instructions also told students that their role was an important one that provided student input into selection decisions for students like themselves.

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[11] I thank Martha Foschi for sharing experimental procedures, questionnaires and other research materials.

[12] Foschi et al. (1994:332) found that status generalization using double standards is most likely to occur when qualifications do not clearly predict either task success or failure.

As mentioned previously, I created the initial condition of status-differentiation by creating job applications that clearly instantiated race through applicant name and applicant self-selection of racial category on the job applications. I established the salience of race by instructing respondents to record the race of the applicants on the decision form in each folder. I obtained expectation measures by respondent recommendation and questionnaires completed after the selection task. I also used the questionnaire to assess scope, initial conditions and other aspects of the experimental situation. In the sections that follow, I detail each step of the experimental procedure.

Recruiting

The study required a large pool of racially diverse male and female students. I was particularly interested in undergraduate students in the Business School as they are likely to engage in selection decision in their careers. To obtain this pool of potential respondents, the research assistant used class enrollment records to select large undergraduate business classes from the University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNCC). Once the research assistant obtained permission from the instructor for recruitment, she scheduled dates for the recruitment team to visit the classes.

On the scheduled recruitment day, the research assistant(s) and researcher arrived at the classroom prior to the beginning of the class period. The script used to recruit volunteers informed potential respondents only that the Sociology Department was part of a committee charged with assisting UNCC as part of an industry cooperative project. We also told potential respondents that the project included finding work-related short-term junior positions for recent graduates in engineering. The recruitment script is included as Appendix A.

We asked interested students to complete a recruitment form. This form requested the student's name, age, gender, ethnicity and/or race and telephone number. The form also asked for information about prior participation in similar work-related projects. When scheduling respondents, the research assistant used this information to create mixed gender, mixed race groups of up to 15 participants, ages 18-24. The recruitment form that students completed is included as Appendix B.

Scheduling

To schedule participants, the research assistant and researcher kept forms that identified the student as either male or female, age 18-24. We kept forms for all racial categories. We sorted those forms based on ethnicity or race, creating four groups of potential study respondents. When creating groups to contact for participation, the research assistant randomly chose participants from each category to ensure a mixed-race and mixed-gender group of students for each study session. The research assistant then telephoned students to schedule them for study sessions. The research assistant used a standard scheduling script to ensure consistency. The scheduling script is included as Appendix C.

When scheduling students for study sessions, the research assistant verified the information on the form, including asking potential respondents about prior participation in similar hiring programs for the university. If the student indicated that she had participated in a similar program, the research assistant asked about the nature of that participation. Based on the student’s answer, the research assistant decided whether prior participation would affect initial conditions of the present study including believing information given regarding the task. When it was necessary to exclude a student because of prior participation, the research assistant thanked the student and destroyed the recruitment form. Otherwise, the research assistant scheduled the student for a study session.

The research assistant assigned participants to groups and scheduled participants for study sessions about a week in advance. Once scheduled, the research assistant asked participants to arrive a few minutes before the scheduled session start time. Since the research assistant scheduled several students for a single session, the research assistant reserved a classroom for the study in the Business School or in the Sociology Department. The assistant then recorded the classroom location and any other contact information on the contact form attached as Appendix D.

Once the assistant scheduled and confirmed students for the study, the research assistant recorded each respondent’s name, age, race, and the class from which he or she was recruited on a group summary form. I have attached this form as Appendix E. Through each of these operations, we hoped to ensure that respondents had no suspicions of the actual purpose of the study. Documenting previous study participation and using scripts aided us in this process.

Selection Task

In both the Baseline and Accountability Designs, respondents completed a task in two phases. In phase 1, after respondents received instructions, they reviewed the application materials of three pairs of college-age job applicants. Each pair of applicants was applying for an engineering job. In phase 2, respondents formally documented their hiring recommendations on a response form. As mentioned previously, this task represents a routine organizational practice. Moreover, telling participants that they were assisting in helping select recent college graduates for jobs assisted in instantiating the scope condition of task focus.

The selection task had at least two features important to this research. First, because instructions told respondents that project leaders would consider their recommendations in the final hiring decision, we expected that respondents would view their participation as consequential. One result of this was that the task seemed to be interesting enough that college students, particularly students in business school, would not only remain interested in the task but also actively engage in the task for about one hour. Second, the application materials provided limited information, similar to that which is often provided in the initial screening process in organizational settings. Thus, the application files design of this study instantiated not only key theoretical features but those relevant in natural organizational settings as well.

In each design, participants reviewed three folders. Materials in each folder were similar to those used in Foschi and Valenzuela (2008).[13] The primary difference between the materials is that Foschi's work focused on gender while this research focuses on race. Thus, folders and materials contained within them included:

> Folder 1. Job description (chemical/biological engineering), application forms, and relative class standing for several job relevant courses (Robert, 80%-82% and Ken, 74%-76%). All respondents received this folder.

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[13] Please contact me for additional information on folder materials.

> Folder 2. Job description (geological/civil engineering), application forms, and relative class standing for several job-relevant courses. Respondents were randomly given files with materials pertaining to either two white applicants (Mark and Peter) or two black applicants (Tyrone and Jamal).[14] All four applicants had an average class standing in the 68%-70% range.
>
> Folder 3. Job description (civil/environmental engineering), application forms, and relative class standing for several job-relevant courses. Respondents were randomly given folders containing materials for either Condition 1 (Brad, 74%-76% and Rasheed, 71%-73%), or Condition 2 (Rasheed, 74%-76% and Brad, 71%-73%).

Race Manipulation

Bertrand and Mallainathan (2004) calculated frequency data from birth certificates of babies born in Massachusetts between 1974 and 1979. They used the results to identify names given most frequently and uniquely to white babies and those given most frequently and uniquely to African American babies. They then used this information to conduct a field experiment examining labor market outcomes. This dissertation draws upon this work by including those names most associated with white and African American racial identity. Thus, in order to make applicant race salient, I used a combination of name and applicant-identified racial category on the application forms of the applicants.

Intervention

In the Accountability Design, I modified the scope and initial conditions of Foschi's (1989) theory. I randomly assigned respondents to this design. In this intervention, I created a situation in which instructions told respondents that they would be accountable for their hiring recommendations. Instructions asked respondents to write their name on their response forms. Instructions further informed respondents that some of them would be selected to discuss their recommendations with members of the project team. For convenience, Table 4.1 shows the summary of the research design.

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[14] I discuss the selection of these names to instantiate race in the section "Race Manipulation".

Table 4.1: Summary of research design

Design	Hypothesis	Condition	Folder*
Baseline and Accountability	1		Folder 1 ($W_1 > W_2$)
	2		Folder 2($W_1 \approx W_2$) or ($B_1 \approx B_2$)
Baseline	3	1	Folder 3-Condition 1 (W>B)
		2	Folder 3-Condition 2 (B>W)
Accountability	4	1	Folder 3-Condition 1 (W>B)
		2	Folder 3-Condition 2 (B>W)

*Folder materials are for W = White Applicants; B = Black Applicants. Subscripts refer to folders in which both applicants are the same race (i.e., Folder 1 and Folder 2).

Experimental Sequence

Before scheduling any sessions, I reserved a large classroom for conducting the study. After determining whether a session would be a Baseline or Accountability session, and prior to the scheduled session, I prepared the classroom. Classroom furniture and equipment included desks, a computer, and a large, wall-mounted monitor visible to the respondents. Based on the number of respondents scheduled for a particular session, I, or the research assistant, randomly placed the required number of brown envelopes on desks in the classroom. Folders for the study were organized and placed in one group at the front of the classroom. I, or the research assistant, distributed these to the respondents at the appropriate times during the study session. Once the classroom was set up, the researcher and research assistant waited for respondents to arrive.

As participants arrived, either I, or the research assistant, greeted them, asked their name and checked their name off the list on a clipboard. I, or the research assistant, then gave each participant a number and asked the participant to sit at any desk at which there was a brown envelope. When all participants had arrived, or no later than five minutes after the scheduled start time, I or the research assistant distributed the informed consent forms. I have attached this form as Appendix F.

Once all participants had read and signed the consent form, I began the recorded instructions. A white male delivered scripted instructions via videotape. The instructions were specific to either the Baseline or Accountability Design. That is, instructions for the Baseline Design did not discuss accountability. Instructions for the Accountability Design included information regarding accountability. The instructions first provided background of the hiring initiative. Then the instructions gave an overview of the respondents' role in the initiative. Descriptions of folder documents were given, followed by instructions for selecting an applicant from the pair of applicants in each folder. Once the recorded instructions were complete, I displayed, via an overhead projector, a flowchart of the process. This flowchart is included as part of the Design instructions. I have included the instruction script for the Baseline Design as Appendix G, and the instruction script for the Accountability Design as Appendix H.

Once instructions were completed, I, or the research assistant, gave each respondent the folders, one at a time. Recall that each respondent, regardless of Design, received the same first two folders. For the second folder, respondents randomly received application materials for either two white or two black applicants. For the third folder, respondents were randomly given a folder in which the white applicant had the higher class standing (Condition 1) or a folder in which the black applicant had the higher class standing. Participants first reviewed each folder, one at a time, in the order in which they received them. After review, the respondents completed a response form on which they wrote their recommendation. This form also provided a manipulation check of the respondents' understanding of instructions. After they completed the folders, the respondents were instructed to place all materials, except the note forms, in the brown envelope.

Once respondents completed response forms and placed all materials into the brown envelope, I collected the envelopes while ensuring that participants kept their note forms. I then gave each respondent an opinion questionnaire. The purpose of the opinion questionnaire was to test manipulations, ensure that participants understood instructions and check for suspicion. Once participants completed the opinion questionnaire, those were collected along with the note forms.

Post Experimental Discussion and Debriefing

After collecting all of the data from an experimental session, I discussed the project with the respondents and then debriefed them. The discussion portion between the respondents and me was to determine if scope and initial conditions obtained. The debriefing was to explain the nature of the study, answer any questions respondents might have and to undo any possible negative effects of the experimental situation.

In the post experimental task discussion, I first asked respondents what they thought about the project. At this point, I had not disclosed that the respondents were actually part of a sociological experiment. This discuss was to determine if there were any suspicions regarding the study that may affect the data integrity. Once respondents completed the discussion of the project, I then focused on debriefing the respondents.

During the debriefing session, I told respondents the true purpose of the study. Specifically, I told respondents that the study was interested in the types of information used to make selection decisions in a hiring context. I also told respondents that the study was particularly interested in different assessments of similar performances, such as class standing. I also told respondents how those assessments might be dependent on characteristics of the applicant, such as race. I encouraged respondents to ask any questions about the study, which I answered. I then explained that it was very important that other students, friends and classmates of the respondent not know the details of the experiment, or that they participated in an experiment at all until the study was completed. I asked them to sign a copy of the debriefing script indicating that they would not disclose the nature of the study to their friends, classmates and other students. These were collected. I then thanked respondents, paid them for their participation, and entered their name in the drawing for one of the $50 cash bonuses. I have attached a copy of the debriefing script as Appendix I.

After respondents left the classroom, I reviewed the selection documents and recorded impressions regarding task focus and initial conditions. I noted any participant feedback or behavior during the study that indicated a lack of task focus, such as completing the task quickly. I used these notes as one method to determine if a respondent’s data should be included in the final dataset.

Summary

The experimental design and operations of this research identified and operationalized key features of the theories of status characteristics and double standards, and the hypotheses derived from these theories. I designed situations that met the scope and initial conditions of both theories. I created task focus by emphasizing that the task had important consequences for job opportunities for new graduates. Initial conditions of the theory required that the participants evaluated similar average performances of two applicants differentiated by race. The modification to the initial conditions required the creation of additional information designed to intervene in status generalization from race and in the assessment of the applicants' qualifications. I predicted that this intervention would decrease the use of race as an indicator of task ability by focusing the respondents' attention on accountability for their recommendations.

I assessed the hypotheses derived from the theories of status characteristics and double standards, including the interventions, based on data obtained by the design and operations presented in this chapter. I present those results in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

In this chapter, I present the data and analyses used to assess the experimental situation and the hypotheses. First, I describe manipulation checks and other information used to decide on data inclusion. I then present data used in assessing the design and operationalization of the experiment. Finally, I describe the data and their analyses for assessing the four hypotheses introduced in Chapter 3: Theory and Derivations.

Manipulation Checks and Data Inclusion

A benefit of laboratory experimentation is its usefulness for isolating and incorporating theoretically relevant variables while largely excluding irrelevant or confounding variables (Webster and Sell 2007:5). For this dissertation, I designed and operationalized an experimental situation that met the scope conditions of status characteristics theory as incorporated in the theory of double standards. I also attempted to eliminate or to control variables not of theoretical interest.

Two types of failures result in data exclusion. One type of failure occurs when theoretical scope conditions do not obtain in the experimental setting. In the current study, four primary scope and initial conditions from status characteristics theory (SCT) and the theory of double standards must obtain. First, both theories require two target actors differentiated by a status characteristic, such as gender or race. Second, the two target actors must also possess a known level of a task-related characteristic. Third, from the theory of double standards, the setting must also include another actor (the experimental participants) whose task is to assess or judge the task relevant performances of the two targets. Fourth, the experimental participants must value the task and be motivated to do well at assessing the competence of the target actors. Thus, a situation in which an individual judges the task related performance of two job candidates applying for the same job meets the scope conditions of the theory.

For the present study, respondents judged the objectively rated performances of job applicants. Respondents reviewed application materials for six job applicants--two applicants for each of three jobs. Consistent with SCT, these materials provided respondents with the target applicants' race, a diffuse status characteristic. Consistent with SCT and the theory of double standards, the materials also provided respondents with the target applicants' class standing in job-related coursework, a known level of a task-related characteristic. Materials also included background information on the applicants, as well as standardized application materials to increase the realism of the task. To create task focus and motivation to do the task well, instructions told respondents that their task was an important component of the project. Instructions asked respondents to evaluate the application materials and make hiring recommendations for each of the three jobs. The study questionnaire administered after the hiring recommendation task measured the extent to which I successfully achieved the scope and initial conditions required by the theoretical foundations of this dissertation. The questionnaire assessed respondent understanding of and compliance with task instructions, respondent perceptions of the experimental setting, including respondents' motivation and task focus, and respondent perceptions of the jobs and the applicants. The data from the questionnaire are consistent with the scope conditions of SCT and the theory of double standards. I show those results in Appendix J.

Study Respondents

Ninety-seven undergraduate students participated in this study. Although scope conditions did obtain for all of them, I noted one experimental failure. I excluded one female respondent from the final dataset. I reached this decision based on three considerations. First, during the debrief session, the respondent stated that she had not recommended any applicant for any of the jobs, and that she had rated each applicant equally. In addition, the respondent stated she did not consider the application materials of any of the applicants. When asked why she did not consider class standing or any of the application information, she stated that she did not think the application information and materials, without a face-to-face meeting with the applicants, provided enough job-relevant information to assess accurately any of the applicants’ past job-related performance or likely performance on the job. Second, the experimental documentation (i.e., the decision form, note form and questionnaire) indicated that the respondent actually did not choose either applicant in all three folders. Third, the respondent ranked the applicants as equal on the note and decision forms as well as on her questionnaire. This respondent did not make performance distinctions between any of the applicants. She was the only respondent who failed to distinguish between any of the applicants. The following sections report results from the remaining 96 respondents.

Respondent Demographics

The study questionnaire obtained respondent characteristics for each study design. I conducted *t*-tests and, in the case of sample proportions, *z*-tests, to compare the means between the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Results are shown in Table 5.0.

Table 5.0: Comparison of respondent characteristics.
Baseline and accountability designs

Respondent Characteristics	Baseline (N=43)	Accountability (N=53)	*t*-value
Mean Age in Years (SD)	20.77 (1.925)	20.15 (1.895)	1.583
Mean Year in Academic Program (SD)	2.79 (1.355)	2.32 (1.252)	1.763
			z-value
Proportion Female	.512	.755	2.492*
Proportion White	.442	.415	.263
Proportion Black	.209	.415	2.221*
Proportion Latino	.093	.057	.653
Proportion Asian	.047	.057	.218
Proportion Other	.209	.057	2.157*

**p* < .05 (Two-tailed tests).

Results in Table 5.0 show no difference in the average age and year in the academic program for the respondents. In terms of the respondent proportions between the two designs, the proportion of female, black and other-race respondents differed significantly between the Baseline and Accountability designs. The theoretical foundations used in this dissertation do not predict gender- or race-based differences in behavior. Nevertheless, I analyzed the data for those differences as appropriate. I describe the results of hypotheses tests in the sections below.

Study Instructions

As described in Chapter 4: Experimental Design and Operations, instructions for the Baseline and Accountability Designs asked respondents to do four tasks. First, instructions asked respondents to review the application materials. Second, based on the application materials, instructions asked the respondents to assess each applicant's job-related qualifications. Third, instructions asked respondents to recommend one applicant from each folder for the corresponding job. Fourth, instructions asked respondents to rate each applicant in terms of competence and suitability for the job. The basic instructions were the same for the Accountability Design. However, the instructions also informed respondents that they might be required to justify their hiring recommendations and applicant ratings to the researcher.

Hypothesis Tests

In this section, I describe the results of hypothesis tests. Hypotheses 1 and 2 predicted that respondents would make hiring recommendations and rate the applicants based on class standing in the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Hypothesis 3 predicted that respondents would make hiring recommendations and rate the applicants based on race. Hypothesis 4 introduced respondent accountability. Thus, Hypothesis 4 predicted that respondents would make hiring recommendations and rate the applicants based on class standing.

I describe separately the results for each of the four hypotheses. For each hypothesis, I first describe the theoretical foundation from which I derived the hypothesis. I then state the hypothesis, and describe the materials used to assess it. After this, I describe the expected results. Finally, I show and describe the results of statistical tests I conducted to assess the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 1: One Dimension Status Inequality: Same Race; Unequal Class Standing

Baseline and Accountability Designs

The theoretical foundation from which I derived Hypothesis 1 describes the process by which I predicted that respondents structure expectations for two job applicants who possess different levels of a specific status characteristic. The theory uses three ideas. First, since applicants do not differ on a diffuse status characteristic, status generalization from the diffuse characteristic will not occur. Thus, respondents will use the same ability standard for inferring competence to assess the two applicants. Second, respondents will use the specific characteristic to assess the competence of the two applicants. Third, respondents will form higher expectations for the applicant with the higher level of the specific status characteristic. Thus, Hypothesis 1 predicted different outcomes for the two applicants based on their relative level of the specific status characteristic. Thus, I derived Hypothesis 1:

> Hypothesis 1a: Respondents will select the applicant with the higher class standing (Applicant 1) more often than they will select the applicant with the lower class standing (Applicant 2).
>
> Hypothesis 1b: Respondents will give higher competence and suitability ratings to the applicant with the higher class standing (Applicant 1) than to the applicant with the lower class standing (Applicant 2).

In both the Baseline and Accountability Designs, I used materials in the first folder to collect data to assess Hypothesis 1. The first folder contained application materials for two white job applicants with different class standings. Applicant 1 had an average class standing of 80%-82%. Applicant 2 had an average class standing of 74%-76%. Thus, Applicant 2 has qualifications somewhat below those of Applicant 1. Other information pertaining to the applicants was comparable. Thus, in terms of the theoretical basis for the hypothesis, since applicants differed on class standing, status generalization from class standing would occur. The theory predicts that respondents will use the same standard to assess both applicants' class standing. Respondents will also form higher expectations for Applicant 1, who has higher class standing. Thus, Hypothesis 1a predicted that Applicant 1 would have higher selection proportions than Applicant 2.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that two questionnaire measures of expectations, competence and suitability ratings, to be higher for Applicant 1 than for Applicant 2.

I assessed Hypothesis 1a with a *z*-test comparing the proportions of respondents' recommendations of Applicant 1 and Applicant 2 in the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Data consistent with Hypothesis 1a would show that Applicant 1 was selected more than Applicant 2 in the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Table 5.1a-Panel 1 shows the results for the respondents' selection proportion in the Baseline Design. Table 5.1a-Panel 2 shows the respondents' selection proportions in the Accountability Design.

Table 5.1a-Panel 1: Hypothesis 1a. Baseline design.
Comparison of respondent selection proportions

White Applicants with Unequal Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=43)			
	Applicant 1 (HCS)[a]	Applicant 2 (LCS)[b]	*z*-value
Proportion Selected (SD)	.791 (.421)	.209 (.412)	6.559

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
$p < .01$ (One-tailed test).

Table 5.1a-Panel 2: Hypothesis 1a. Accountability design.
Comparison of respondent selection proportions

White Applicants with Unequal Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=53)			
	Applicant 1 (HCS)[a]	Applicant 2 (LCS)[b]	*z*-value
Proportion Selected (SD)	.811 (.395)	.189 (.395)	8.101

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
$p < .01$ (One-tailed test).

Table 5.1a-Panel 1 and Table 5.1a-Panel 2 indicate that respondents selected Applicant 1 significantly more than they selected Applicant 2 in the Baseline and Accountability Designs. The data show the predicted order of the effect of class standing on selection proportions. Thus, these results are consistent with Hypothesis 1a.

I assessed Hypothesis 1b with *t*-tests comparing respondents' average ratings of competence and suitability for Applicant 1 and Applicant 2. Ratings for each measure ranged from 1-Very Incompetent (Very Unsuitable) to 7-Very Competent (Very Suitable), respectively. Data consistent with the hypothesis would show higher competence and suitability ratings, which together reflect performance expectations, for Applicant 1 than for Applicant 2. Table 5.1b-Panel 1 and Table 5.1b-Panel 2 show results for the Accountability Design.

Table 5.1b-Panel 1: Hypothesis 1b. Baseline design.
Comparison of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

White Applicants with Unequal Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=43)			
	Applicant 1 (HCS)[a]	Applicant 2 (LCS)[b]	*t*-value
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.44 (.734)	4.84 (.843)	3.520
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.60 (.877)	5.00 (1.024)	2.918

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
$p < .01$ (One-tailed tests).

Table 5.1b-Panel 2: Hypothesis 1b. Accountability design.
Comparison of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

White Applicants with Unequal Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=53)			
	Applicant 1 (HCS)[a]	Applicant 2 (LCS)[b]	*t*-value
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	6.00 (.679)	5.23 (1.012)	4.600
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.74 (.880)	5.08 (1.174)	3.275

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
$p < .01$ (One-tailed tests).

The results of *t*-tests assessing Hypothesis 1b indicate higher respondent expectations, as measured by competence and suitability ratings, for Applicant 1 than for Applicant 2 in both the Baseline and Accountability Designs. The data show the predicted order of the effect of class standing on competence and suitability ratings. These data are consistent with Hypothesis 1b.

Hypothesis 2: Two Dimension Status Equality: Same Race; Equal Class Standing

Baseline and Accountability Designs

The theoretical foundation from which I derived Hypothesis 2 describes the process by which I predicted that respondents structure expectations for two job applicants who have the same diffuse status characteristic and possess similar levels of a specific status characteristic. That is, the two applicants are status equals. In this situation, the theory uses two ideas. First, since status does not differentiate the applicants, respondents will use the same ability standard for inferring competence to assess the two actors. Second, since the two applicants are status equals in terms of both diffuse and specific status characteristics, respondents will form similar performance expectations for both applicants.[15] Thus, Hypothesis 2 predicted no difference in outcomes for the two actors based on their equated status. Thus, I derived Hypothesis 2:

> Hypothesis 2a: There will be no difference in respondents' selection proportions of Applicant 1 or Applicant 2.
>
> Hypothesis 2b: There will be no difference in respondents' competence and suitability ratings given to either Applicant 1 or Applicant 2.

In both the Baseline and Accountability Designs, I used materials in the second folder to collect data to assess Hypothesis 2. The second folder contained application materials for either two white (Applicant 1 and Applicant 2) or two black (Applicant 1 and Applicant 2) job applicants. Each applicant had a class standing of 68% - 70%. Other information pertaining to the applicants was comparable. Thus, in terms of the theoretical basis for the hypothesis, since neither race nor class standing differentiated the applicants, there is no basis for status generalization to occur. Respondents will use the same standard to assess both applicants' class standing. Because both applicants are the same race (either white or black) and have similar class standing, respondents will not form different performance expectations for the applicants. Thus, Hypothesis 2a predicted no difference in selection proportions for Applicant 1 and Applicant 2. Likewise, Hypothesis 2b predicted no difference in competence and suitability ratings for Applicant 1 and Applicant 2.

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[15] Respondents may form differentiated expectations; however, status does not provide the basis for doing so.

I assessed Hypothesis 2a with a *z*-test comparing the respondents' selection proportions of Applicant 1 and Applicant 2 in the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Data consistent with Hypothesis 2a would show no difference in selection proportions between Applicant 1 and Applicant 2 in the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Table 5.2a-Panel 1 and Table 5.2a-Panel 2 show the results for the selection proportion for the white applicants and the black applicants for the Baseline Design. Table 5.2a-Panel 3 and Table 5.2a-Panel 4 show the results for the selection proportion for the white applicants and the black applicants for the Accountability Designs.

Table 5.2a-Panel 1. Hypothesis 2a. Baseline design.
White applicants. Comparison of respondent selection proportions

White Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=22)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)[c]	Applicant 2 (ECS)[c]	*z*-value
Proportion Selected (SD)	.524 (.512)	.333 (.483)	1.275

[c] ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed test.

Table 5.2a-Panel 2. Hypothesis 2a. Baseline design.
Black applicants. Comparison of respondent selection proportions

Black Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=21)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)[c]	Applicant 2 (ECS)[c]	*z*-value
Proportion Selected (SD)	.409 (.503)	.364 (.492)	.293

[c] ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed test.

Table 5.2a-Panel 3. Hypothesis 2a. Accountability design.
White applicants. Comparison of respondent selection proportions

White Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=25)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)[c]	Applicant 2 (ECS)[c]	*z*-value
Proportion Selected (SD)	.400 (.500)	.360 (.490)	.286

[c] ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed test.

Table 5.2a-Panel 4. Hypothesis 2a. Accountability design.
Black applicants. Comparison of respondent selection proportions

Black Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=28)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)[c]	Applicant 2 (ECS)[c]	z-value
Proportion Selected (SD)	.393 (.497)	.429 (.504)	.269

[c] ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed test.

Table 5.2a-Panels 1-4 indicate no statistically significant differences in selection proportions of applicants in either racial category in both the Baseline and Accountability Designs. These results fail to provide evidence to reject a hypothesis of no difference between the selection proportions in either Design. These data are consistent with Hypothesis 2a.

I assessed Hypothesis 2b with *t*-tests comparing respondents' average ratings of competence and suitability for Applicant 1 and Applicant 2. Data consistent with this hypothesis would show no difference in competence and suitability ratings for Applicant 1 and Applicant 2 for both the white and black applicants in both the Baseline and Accountability Designs. Table 5.2b-Panel 1 and Table 5.2b-Panel 2 show the competence and suitability ratings for the white and black applicants for the Baseline Design. Table 5.2b-Panel 3 and Table 5.2b-Panel 4 show the competence and suitability ratings for the white and black applicants for the Accountability Design.

Table 5.2b-Panel 1: Hypothesis 2b. Baseline design. White applicants.
Comparison of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

White Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=22)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)^c	Applicant 2 (ECS)^c	*t*-value
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	4.76 (1.091)	4.62 (1.071)	.043
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	4.86 (1.153)	4.81 (1.078)	.149

^{c} ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

Table 5.2b-Panel 2: Hypothesis 2b. Baseline design. Black applicants.
Comparison of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

Black Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=21)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)^c	Applicant 2 (ECS)^c	*t*-value
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	4.55 (1.299)	4.45 (1.224)	.257
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	4.68 (1.287)	4.45 (1.299)	.576

^{c} ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

Table 5.2b-Panel 3: Hypothesis 2b. Accountability design. White applicants.
Comparison of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

White Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=25)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)^c	Applicant 2 (ECS)^c	*t*-value
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.16 (1.143)	5.20 (1.155)	.123
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.08 (1.382)	5.32 (1.314)	.629

^{c} ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

Table 5.2b-Panel 4: Hypothesis 2b. Accountability design. Black applicants. Comparison of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

Black Applicants with Equal Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=28)			
	Applicant 1 (ECS)[c]	Applicant 2 (ECS)[c]	*t*-value
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.32 (1.020)	5.18 (1.090)	.496
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.29 (1.243)	5.18 (1.307)	.323

[c] ECS = Equal Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

As shown in Tables 5.2b-Panels 1-4, *t*-tests assessing Hypothesis 2b do not show any significant difference in mean respondent expectations, as measured by competence and suitability ratings, for the two applicants in either racial category. These data are consistent with Hypothesis 2b.

Hypothesis 3: One Dimension Status Inequality: Different Race; Equal Class Standing Baseline Design[16]

The theoretical foundation from which I derived Hypothesis 3 describes the process by which I predicted that respondents structure expectations for two job applicants who possess different levels of a specific status characteristic; in this case, class standing. The applicants also differ on a diffuse status characteristic, race. Again, the theory uses two ideas that I have adapted for this dissertation. First, respondents would use different ability standards for inferring competence for the two applicants. Status advantage or disadvantage conferred by the diffuse status characteristic would determine these standards. Second, respondents would form different performance expectations for the applicants. Again, this difference would be determined by the status advantage or disadvantage conferred by the diffuse status characteristic. Thus, Hypothesis 3 predicted two different outcomes, based on status advantage or disadvantage, for the two applicants.

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[16] Prior to assessing Hypothesis 3, I conducted chi-square analyses to determine the relationship between the race of the applicant with higher class standing and respondent hiring recommendations. Results from this experiment provide evidence for rejecting a hypothesis of no relationship between the race of the applicant with higher class standing and the respondent hiring recommendation.

I also conducted chi-square analyses to determine the relationship between respondent sex and race and hiring recommendations of the applicant with higher class standing. Results provide evidence consistent with a hypothesis of no relationship between the sex and race of the respondent and hiring recommendations of the applicant with higher class standing. I show these analyses and results in Appendix K.

First, in Condition 1, I predicted that respondents would use a lenient ability standard for inferring competence for the applicant with status advantage from race and the higher class standing. In Condition 2, I predicted that respondents would use a strict ability standard for inferring competence for the applicant with status disadvantage from race and the higher class standing. Second, in Condition 1, I predicted that respondents would form higher expectations for the applicant with the higher class standing and status advantage from race. I predicted that respondents would form lower expectations for the applicant with the higher class standing and status disadvantage from race. Thus, I derived Hypothesis 3.

> Hypothesis 3a: Respondents will select the white applicant with the higher class standing in Condition 1 more often than they will select the black applicant with the higher class standing in Condition 2.
>
> Hypothesis 3b: Competence and suitability advantage will be greater for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 than for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

For the Baseline Design, I used materials in the third folder to collect data to assess Hypothesis 3. The third folder contained application materials for one white applicant and one black applicant with different class standings. In Condition 1, the white applicant had a slightly higher class standing (i.e., 74%-76%); the black applicant had the lower class standing (i.e., 71%-73%). In Condition 2, the class standings were reversed: the black applicant had the slightly higher class standing (i.e., 74%-76%) and the white applicant had the lower class standing (i.e., 71%-73%). Other information pertaining to the applicants was comparable. Thus, Hypothesis 3a predicted that in the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 would be selected more often than the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

Following the analytic strategy of Foschi et al. (1994), I assessed Hypothesis 3a with a *z*-test comparing the respondents' selection proportions of the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 with respondents' selection proportions of the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Data consistent with Hypothesis 3a would show that respondents selected the white applicant in Condition 1 more often than they selected the black applicant in Condition 2. Table 5.3a-Panel 1shows those results.

Table 5.3a-Panel 1: Hypothesis 3a. Baseline design.
Comparison of selection proportions. Condition 1 and condition 2

Applicants with Higher Class Standing – Baseline Design			
	Condition 1 White Applicant (HCS)[a] (N = 19)	Condition 2 Black Applicant (HCS)[a] (N=24)	*z*-value
Proportion Selected	.737 (.452)	.375 (.495)	2.501

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
$p < .01$ (One-tailed test).

Table 5.3a-Panel 1 shows the results of the *z*-test assessing Hypothesis 3a. Respondents selected the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 significantly more than they selected the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. These results are consistent with the ordered prediction of Hypothesis 3a.

Power and Chi-Square Analyses – Hypothesis 3

I conducted a post hoc power analysis to determine the achieved power for the Baseline Design (Hypothesis 3). Given proportions of .737 for Condition 1 and .375 for

Condition 2, the results of the power analysis using the G*Power computer program (Faul and Erdfelder 1992) indicated an achieved power of .78 with alpha at .05. Although the achieved power of .78 is slightly below the .80 level recommended by Cohen (1992), a post hoc analysis is generally not required for results that obtain statistical significance (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2004). Nevertheless, I report the results here for convenience.

As described above, results reported in Table 5.3a-Panel 1 show a significant difference in selection proportions for the white applicant with higher class standing in Conditions 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Therefore, in addition to those analyses, I conducted a chi-square analysis to determine if respondents of different races made similar hiring recommendations. I show those results in Table 5.3a-Panel 2.

Table 5.3a-Panel 2: Hypothesis 3a. Baseline design. Observed and (expected) frequencies of respondents' selection decisions by race of respondent

All Study Participants			
	Applicant Chosen		
Race of Respondent	Applicant w/HCS	Applicant w/LCS	Total
White	12 (9.5)	7 (9.5)	19
Black	3 (5.5)	8 (5.5)	11
Hispanic, Asian, Other	8 (6.5)	5 (6.5)	13
Total	23	20	43

Chi-Square: 4.09 (df = 2, *p* = .129, two-tailed test).

Results in Table 5.3a-Panel 2 show no significant interaction between the race of the respondent and the race of the applicant selected. I conclude from this that the three racial groups of respondents did not differ in their hiring recommendations. Thus, these results show that respondents from the different racial groups in this study all chose applicants in roughly the same way.

In order to assess Hypothesis 3b, I conducted two preliminary analyses to obtain the data necessary for evaluating the hypothesis. First, I conducted *t*-tests comparing the competence and suitability ratings for the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with lower class standing in Condition 1. I repeated this analysis for the black applicant with higher class standing and the white applicant with lower class standing in Condition 2. Second, I subtracted the expectation measures of the applicant with lower class standing from those of the applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1. I repeated this process for Condition 2. Table 5.3b-Panel 1 shows those results for Condition 1. Table 5.3b-Panel 2 shows those results for Condition 2.

Table 5.3b-Panel 1: Hypothesis 3b. Baseline design. Condition 1. Comparison and net advantage of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

White Applicant with Higher Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=19)				
	White Applicant (HCS)[a]	Black Applicant (LCS)[b]	*t*-value	Net Advantage (SD)
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.47 (.905)	5.00 (.943)	1.568	.474 (.772)
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.26 (1.046)	5.00 (.882)	.828	.263 (.872)

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
One-tailed tests.

Table 5.3b-Panel 2: Hypothesis 3b. Baseline design. Condition 2. Comparison and net advantage of respondent competence and suitability ratings of the applicants

Black Applicant with Higher Class Standing – Baseline Design (N=24)				
	Black Applicant (HCS)[a]	White Applicant (LCS)[b]	*t*-value	Net Advantage (SD)
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.46 (.721)	5.21 (.658)	1.255	.250 (.676)
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.08 (.830)	5.54 (.658)	2.128*	-.458 (1.021)

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
p < .05 (One-tailed tests).

Table 5.3b-Panel 1 shows no significant difference in the competence and suitability ratings for the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with lower class standing.

Table 5.3b-Panel 2 shows no significant difference in the competence rating between the black applicant with higher class standing and the white applicant with lower class standing. However, in terms of suitability ratings, respondents rated the white applicant with lower class standing as being more suitable for the job relative to the black applicant with higher class standing.

To assess Hypothesis 3b, I conducted *t*-tests comparing the average expectation advantage as measured by competence and suitability ratings obtained by the applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and Condition 2. Data consistent with Hypothesis 3b would show the net competence and suitability advantage to be higher for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 than for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Table 5.3b-Panel 3 shows those results.

Table 5.3b-Panel 3: Hypothesis 3b. Baseline design.
Comparison of applicants' expectation advantage

Applicants with Higher Class Standing – Baseline Design			
	Condition 1 White Applicant (HCS)[a] (N = 19)	Condition 2 Black Applicant (HCS)[a] (N=24)	*t*-value
Mean Competence Advantage (SD)	.474 (.772)	.250 (.676)	1.014
Mean Suitability Advantage (SD)	.263 (.872)	- .458 (1.021)	2.450**

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
$p < .01$ (One-tailed tests).

As shown in Table 5.3b-Panel 3, mean competence advantage did not differ for the white applicant in Condition 1 and the black applicant in Condition 2. However, mean suitability advantage was significantly higher for the white applicant in Condition 1 than for the black applicant in Condition 2. Thus, results of the analyses of competence and suitability advantage provide evidence of no difference in competence advantage and a significant difference in suitability advantage for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Thus, these results are partially consistent with Hypothesis 3b.

Hypothesis 4: Effect of Accountability on One Dimension Status Inequality: Different Race; Equal Class Standing

Accountability Design[17]

The theoretical foundation from which I derived Hypothesis 4 is the same as that described for Hypotheses 1-3. However, for Hypothesis 4, I introduce an extension that modifies the initial conditions of the theory. This modification introduces respondent accountability as a mechanism that I predict will intervene in the process of status generalization from race. I predicted that removing the anonymity of respondents' choices would result in increased attention to job-relevant information rather than race when assessing job applicants.

In the Accountability Design, I instructed the respondents that they might be questioned regarding their hiring choices. Theoretically, I expected this modification to the initial conditions to have two outcomes. First, there will be a reduction in respondents' use of racial double standards to assess the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Second, respondents will form similar expectations for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Simply stated, I predicted a reduction in different selection proportions and expectation measures for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Thus, I derived Hypothesis 4:

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[17] Prior to assessing Hypothesis 4, I conducted chi-square analyses to determine the relationship between the race of the applicant with higher class standing and respondent recommendations. Results provide evidence of no relationship between the race of the applicant with higher class standing and respondent recommendations. I show these results in Appendix L. Based on those results, I did not conduct further chi-square analyses separating respondents by sex and race.

> Hypothesis 4a: Accountability will reduce the difference in respondent selection proportions for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.
>
> Hypothesis 4b: Accountability will reduce the difference in competence and suitability advantage for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

For the Accountability Design, I used materials in the third folder to collect data to assess Hypothesis 4. The third folder contained application materials for one white applicant and one black applicant with different class standings. In Condition 1, the white applicant had a slightly higher class standing (i.e., 74%-76%); the black applicant had the lower class standing (i.e., 71%-73%). In Condition 2, the class standings were reversed: the black applicant had the slightly higher class standing (i.e., 74%-76%) and the white applicant had the lower class standing (i.e., 71%-73%). Other information pertaining to the applicants was comparable. However, in the Accountability Design, instructions told respondents that they might have to explain their selection recommendations, thereby increasing accountability for their decisions. Thus, for Hypothesis 4a, I predicted a reduction in the difference in respondent selection proportions between the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

I assessed Hypothesis 4a with a *z*-test comparing respondent selection proportions for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 with the selection proportions for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Data consistent with Hypothesis 4a would show a reduction in the difference in selection proportions of the white applicant in Condition 1 and the selection proportion of the black applicant in Condition 2.Table 5.4a shows those results.

Table 5.4a: Hypothesis 4a. Accountability design.
Comparison of selection proportions

Applicants with Higher Class Standing – Accountability Design			
	Condition 1 White Applicant (HCS)[a] (N = 22)	Condition 2 Black Applicant (HCS)[a] (N=31)	*z*-value
Proportion Selected	.545 (.510)	.548 (.506)	.021

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
Two-tailed test.

Table 5.4a shows a reduction in the difference in the selection proportion for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and that for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Additionally, results in Table 5.4a also show an absolute reduction in selection proportions from accountability for the white applicant in Condition 1 compared to selection proportions for the white applicant in Condition 1 in the Baseline Design as shown above in Table 5.3a. These results provide evidence consistent with the prediction of a reduction in the difference in selection proportions of the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. These data are consistent with Hypothesis 4a.

In order to assess Hypothesis 4b, I conducted two preliminary analyses to obtain the data necessary for evaluating the hypothesis. First, I conducted *t*-tests comparing the competence and suitability ratings for the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with lower class standing in Condition 1. I repeated this analysis comparing the black applicant with higher class standing and the white applicant with lower class standing in Condition 2. Second, I subtracted the expectation measures of the applicant with lower class standing from those of the applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1. I repeated this process for Condition 2. Table 5.4b-Panel 1 shows those results for Condition 1. Table 5.4b-Panel 2 shows those results for Condition 2.

Table 5.4b-Panel 1: Hypothesis 4b. Accountability design. Condition 1. Comparison and net advantage of respondent expectation measures

White Applicant with Higher Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=22)				
	White Applicant (HCS)[a]	Black Applicant (LCS)[b]	*t*-value	Net Advantage (SD)
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.55 (.912)	5.41 (1.008)	.483	.136 (.640)
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.45 (1.011)	5.41(1.098)	.126	.046 (1.046)

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

Table 5.4b-Panel 2: Hypothesis 4b. Accountability design. Condition 2. Comparison and net advantage of respondent expectation measures

Black Applicant with Higher Class Standing – Accountability Design (N=31)				
	Black Applicant (HCS)[a]	White Applicant (LCS)[b]	*t*-value	Net Advantage (SD)
Mean Competence Rating (SD)	5.90 (.746)	5.65 (.755)	1.311	.258 (.855)
Mean Suitability Rating (SD)	5.77 (.845)	5.87 (.718)	.502	-.097 (1.021)

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
[b] LCS = Lower Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

Table 5.4b-Panel 1 shows no statistically significant difference in the competence and suitability ratings for the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with lower class standing. Similarly, Table 5.4b-Panel 2 shows no statistically significant difference in the competence rating between the black applicant with higher class standing and the white applicant with lower class standing.

To assess Hypothesis 4b, I conducted *t*-tests comparing the average expectation advantage (disadvantage) of competence and suitability ratings obtained by the applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and Condition 2. Data consistent with Hypothesis 4b will show a reduction in the difference in the net competence and suitability advantage for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and that for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Table 5.4b-Panel 3 shows those results.

Table 5.4b-Panel 3: Hypothesis 4b. Accountability design.
Comparison of applicants' mean expectation advantage

Applicants with Higher Class Standing – Accountability Design			
	Condition 1 White Applicant (HCS)[a] (N = 22)	Condition 2 Black Applicant (HCS)[a] (N=31)	*t*-value
Mean Competence Advantage (SD)	.136 (.640)	.258 (.855)	.566
Mean Suitability Advantage (SD)	.046 (1.046)	-.097 (1.021)	.497

[a] HCS = Higher Class Standing
Two-tailed tests.

Table 5.4b-Panel 3 indicates a reduction in the difference in expectation advantage, as measured by competence and suitability ratings, for the white applicant in Condition 1 and for the black applicant in Condition 2. Additionally, results in Table 5.4b-Panel 3 also show an absolute reduction in competence and suitability advantage (disadvantage) from accountability for the white applicant in Condition 1 compared to competence and suitability advantage (disadvantage) for the white applicant in Condition 1 in the Baseline Design as shown above in Table 5.3b-Panel 3. These results provide evidence consistent with a reduction in the difference in expectation measures between the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Thus, these results are consistent with Hypothesis 4b.

Summary

This chapter shows the data used and analyses conducted to assess Hypotheses 1-4. As indicated and described in the chapter, results are consistent with all four hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 predicted that since both applicants are white, status generalization from race would not occur. Therefore, respondents would use the same standard to assess both applicants' class standing. Respondents would form higher expectations for the applicant with higher class standing; higher expectations would result in higher selection proportions; and questionnaire measures of expectations would be higher for that applicant.

Hypothesis 2 predicted no difference in outcomes when both applicants are black as when both are white and have similar class standing. In this case, status generalization from race would not occur. Thus, both applicants would be assessed with the same standard. As a result, respondent expectations for both applicants would not differ. Therefore, respondent expectations would result in no difference in selection proportions; and questionnaire measures of expectations would not differ between the two applicants.

Hypothesis 3 predicted differences in outcomes based on the race of the applicant with higher class standing. The hypothesis predicted that status generalization from race would result in the use of a double standard for inferring competence. Thus, respondents would assess the white applicant with a more lenient standard and the black applicant with a stricter standard. As a result, respondent expectations for the applicants would be higher for the white applicant with higher class standing than for the black applicant with higher class standing. Thus, selection proportions would be higher for the white applicant than for the black applicant and questionnaire measures of expectations would differ correspondingly. In addition, chi-square analysis showed no racial differences in respondent hiring recommendations.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that introducing respondent accountability for their selection recommendations would result in a reduction in the differences in outcomes between the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with higher class standing. The hypothesis predicted that Accountability would decrease the use of racial double standards for inferring ability. Thus, respondents would form similar performance expectations for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and for the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2. Hypothesis 4 predicted a reduction in the difference in selection proportions of the white applicant in Condition 1 and the black applicant in Condition 2. Hypothesis 4 also predicted that questionnaire measures of expectation advantage would also show a reduction in the difference in expectation advantage for the white applicant in Condition 1 than for the black applicant in Condition 2.

In the next chapter, I discuss these findings in terms of theoretical context. I also discuss how these findings add to current knowledge regarding double standards. I include a discussion of the limitations of this research. I conclude the chapter with suggestions for further research that could build on these results. I also discuss practical implications for organizational applications.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

I had three primary goals in conducting this research. First, I wanted to investigate racial inequality within the framework of the theory of status characteristics and a theoretical extension, the theory of multiple, or double standards. Second, I wanted to investigate status processes that result in racial inequality using a routine organizational practice, applicant selection. Third, I wanted to test one intervention that might lessen effects of status processes when they are undesirable. Thus, this dissertation seeks to advance theoretical knowledge, increase organizational understanding of non-conscious status processes and suggest an intervention that might decrease detrimental racial inequality in selection.

I derived four hypotheses assessed by results obtained in an experiment. The first two hypotheses tested respondents' understanding of the task and served as distracters to the critical tests predicted in the third and fourth hypotheses. Specifically, the third hypothesis predicted status effects from race; the fourth hypothesis predicted the attenuation of race effects by increasing respondent accountability.

I adapted the experiment for this study from the design used by Foschi et al. (1994; 1995; a review is available in Foschi 2006). With this design, results indicated that I was able to create a realistic setting and an engaging task in which to obtain data to evaluate the hypotheses. As I will discuss in this chapter, I was able to investigate outcomes from a routine organizational task—the selection or recommendation of job applicants. The design enabled, first, the isolation and assessment of status generalization processes from race; then, the assessment of effects from an intervention to reduce undesirable consequences of status generalization from race.

Multiple goals such as the scientific and applied goals of this study can sometimes work against each other. However, in this experiment that does not appear to be the case. The goal of scientific validity meant that I eliminated, so far as possible, many naturally occurring features of the selection process, such as interviews and group discussion. Although respondents reviewed application materials in groups ranging from two to over ten respondents, instructions did not permit discussion or interaction until the end of the selection task.

In this chapter, I discuss the findings of this study from a theoretical and operational perspective. I first review results of hypothesis tests in terms of the implications for understanding status processes and the use of double standards. I discuss contradictory findings between selection proportions and measures of competence. I then review the results in terms of the implications for organizations, particularly as they relate to the design and test of possible interventions in a natural, organizational setting. I then discuss the limitations of this work and discuss possibilities for future research that can build on this dissertation in terms of both theory and application.

Discussion and Implications for Theory

From status characteristics theory (SCT) and the theory of double standards, a required scope condition for both the Baseline and Accountability Designs included task focus. Task focus for this study required that respondents took the task seriously. I achieved task focus by using a cover story that research by Foschi (2006) demonstrated was engaging to college students. Videotaped instructions informed the students that their role was an important one. Instructions also reminded students of the $15 or $20 they would be paid for their participation, as well as the drawing for $50 in which they would be entered. Results from the opinion questionnaire indicated that the respondents were task focused. I relied on questionnaire responses asking, for instance, “My role in the selection procedures was an important one”. Moreover, respondents reported, both on the questionnaire and in the debrief session, that they thought the project was worthwhile and should be continued.

I excluded the data of one participant because she did not follow instructions. This participant made no distinction between any of the applicants. When questioned about her selections during the debrief session, she responded that she did not select any applicant because she did not believe enough information was provided to recommend any of the applicants. Thus, 96 individuals met the scope conditions of this study and provided results reported in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

Baseline and Accountability Designs – Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 1

For both the Baseline and Accountability Designs, Hypothesis 1a predicted that for two same race applicants with clearly different class standings, status generalization from class standing would result in a higher selection proportion for the applicant with the higher class standing. Results were consistent with this hypothesis. The selection proportion for the applicant with higher class standing was .791 and .811 in the Baseline and Accountability Designs, respectively.

Hypothesis 1b predicted that respondents would give higher competence and suitability ratings to the applicant with higher class standing. The mean competence rating for the applicant with higher class standing was 5.44 and 6.00 for the Baseline and Accountability Designs, respectively. The mean suitability rating for the applicant with higher class standing was 5.60 and 5.74 for the Baseline and Accountability Designs, respectively. These results were also consistent with Hypothesis 1b.

Results from assessment of Hypothesis 1a and Hypothesis 1b have implications for both SCT and the theory of double standards. First, the results from tests assessing Hypothesis 1a indicate that respondents attended to the relative qualifications of the two applicants. Because both applicants were the same race, respondents used similar ability standards to assess the applicants' task-relevant performances. As a result, respondents formed higher performance expectations for the applicant with higher class standing (i.e., 80% - 82%). Based on those expectations, respondents selected the applicant with higher class standing significantly more than they selected the applicant with lower class standing (i.e., 74% - 76%).

Second, results from assessment of Hypothesis 1b indicate that respondents also used relative class standing to rate the applicants in terms of competence and suitability. Again, based on respondents' higher expectations for the applicant with higher class standing, respondents gave higher competence and suitability ratings to the applicant with higher class standing than they gave to the applicant with lower class standing.

These findings show that when two individuals are equated in terms of a diffuse status characteristic such as race, but are differentiated by a specific status characteristic, the specific characteristic becomes salient. Thus, status generalization from the diffuse characteristic does not occur. Because both applicants were status equals in terms of race, respondents used the same ability standard to assess applicants' task-relevant performances. Thus, respondents first formed differential performance expectations based on class standing. Then those expectations resulted in differential behavior evidenced by significantly higher selection proportions and competence and suitability ratings for the applicant with the higher class standing. Findings from assessments of Hypothesis 1a and Hypothesis 1b are thus theoretically consistent.

Hypothesis 2

For both the Baseline and Accountability Designs, Hypothesis 2a predicted that for two same race applicants (i.e., either two white applicants or two black applicants) with the same class standing, neither status generalization from race or from class standing would occur. That is, both applicants are status equals; thus, expectations that respondents form based on these characteristics should not differ. However, expectations might be based on some characteristic other than status. The hypotheses thus predicted that equal class standing would result in no difference in selection proportions for the two applicants. Results were consistent with this hypothesis. The selection proportions for the white applicants with equal class standing were .524 and .333 for the Baseline Design. For the Accountability Design the selection proportions for the white applicants with equal class standing were .400 and .360. The selection proportions for the black applicants with equal class standing were .409 and .364 for the Baseline Design. For the Accountability Design, the selection proportions for the black applicants with equal class standing were .393 and .429.

Hypothesis 2b predicted no difference in the competence and suitability ratings respondents gave to either applicant. The mean competence rating for the white applicant with equal class standing was 4.76 and 4.62 for the Baseline Design. The mean competence rating for the white applicant with equal class standing was 5.16 and 5.20 for the Accountability Design. The mean competence rating for the black applicant with equal class standing was 4.55 and 4.45 for the Baseline Design. The mean competence rating for the black applicant with equal class standing was 5.32 and 5.18 for the Accountability Design. The mean suitability rating for the white applicant with equal class standing was 4.86 and 4.81 for the Baseline Design. The mean suitability rating for the white applicant with equal class standing was 5.08 and 5.32 for the Accountability Design. The mean suitability rating for the black applicant with equal class standing was 4.68 and 4.45 for the Baseline Design. The mean suitability rating for the black applicant with equal class standing was 5.29 and 5.18 for the Accountability Design. Results were consistent with Hypothesis 2b.

Results from assessment of Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 2b have implications for both SCT and the theory of double standards. First, the assessment of Hypothesis 2a indicates that respondents again attended to the relative qualifications of the two applicants. Because both applicants were the same race, respondents used similar ability standards to assess the applicants’ task-relevant performances. However, applicants were also status equals in terms of task-relevant ability (i.e., class standing of 68% - 70%). Therefore, expectations respondents formed for either applicant did not significantly differ. Based on those expectations, there was no difference in respondents’ selection proportions. Results were consistent with Hypothesis 2a.

Second, results from assessment of Hypothesis 2b indicate that respondents also used relative class standing to rate the applicants in terms of competence and suitability. Again, based on no difference in respondents' expectations for either applicant, respondents did not differ in the competence and suitability ratings given either applicant.

As demonstrated by results from Hypothesis 2a and Hypothesis 2b, these findings show that when two individuals are equated in terms of both a diffuse and specific status characteristic, status generalization from those characteristics does not occur. Status generalization from characteristics other than class standing may have contributed to these findings. However, both SCT and the theory of double standards predict that for status equals, standards used to assess performance, performance expectations, and behavior based on those expectations will not differ between the applicants. Thus, when evaluating application materials of status equals, respondents used the same ability standard, and formed similar performance expectations for both applicants. As a result, selection proportions and competence and suitability ratings reflected that respondents assessed the applicants as status equals. Results obtained from these hypotheses show that respondents did not form differential performance expectations, nor use double standards to assess the applicants. These findings show instances in which the theories do not explicitly predict status generalization from status characteristics. Thus, these results are also consisted with the theoretical framework used in this study.

Summary

Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 represent cases for which SCT does not predict status generalization from race, and in the case of Hypothesis 2, from race or similar class standing. Similarly, because the applicants are equated in terms of race in each case, the theory of double standards does not predict that respondents will use different standards for assessing task related performance. Thus, results discussed in the previous section provide evidence consistent with both theories. However, the primary purpose of the research for this dissertation is to apply both theories to predict status generalization and the use of double standards in cases in which race rather than class standing differentiates the applicants. I discuss those findings in the following section.

Baseline Design – Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3

For the Baseline Design, Hypothesis 3a predicted that for two applicants differentiated by race, and with slightly different class standings, status generalization from race would result in a higher selection proportion for the white applicant with the higher class standing (Condition 1) relative to the black applicant with higher class standing (Condition 2). Results were consistent with this hypothesis. The selection proportion for the white applicant in Condition 1 was .737; the selection proportion for the black applicant in Condition 2 was .375. I also conducted additional analyses to determine if selection pattern differed depending on the race of the respondent. These analyses show a similar pattern of selection regardless of the race of the respondent, also as predicted by the theory.

Hypothesis 3b predicted that expectation advantage, measured by competence and suitability ratings, would be higher for the white applicant with higher class standing (Condition 1) relative to the expectation advantage of the black applicant with higher class standing (Condition 2). Results were partially consistent with Hypothesis 3b. The expectation advantage based on the mean competence rating of the white applicant in

Condition 1 was .474; the expectation advantage based on the mean competence rating of the black applicant in Condition 2 was .250. These results were not statistically different. However, in terms of expectation advantage based on the mean suitability rating, results were partially consistent with the hypothesis. The expectation advantage based on the mean suitability rating of the white applicant in Condition 1 was .263; the expectation advantage based on the mean suitability rating of the black applicant in Condition 2 was -.458.

Results from assessment of Hypothesis 3a and Hypothesis 3b have implications for both SCT and the theory of double standards. First, the results from tests assessing Hypothesis 3a indicate that respondents did use a racial double standard in assessing similar performances of job applicants differentiated by race. As described above and in Chapter 5, the white applicant with higher class standing received 74% of respondent recommendations. The black applicant with higher class standing received 38% of respondent recommendations. Further analysis showed that the respondent recommendations did not differ by respondent gender or race. Thus, as predicted by SCT and the theory of double standards, respondents used different standards based on race to assess the applicants' task-relevant performances. Respondents used a lenient standard to assess the performance of the white applicant and used a stricter standard to assess the similar performance of the black applicant. As a result, respondents formed higher performance expectations for the white applicant with higher class standing (i.e., 74% - 76% compared to 71% - 73% for the applicant with lower class standing) than for the black applicant with higher class standing (i.e., 74% - 76% compared to 71% - 73% for the applicant with lower class standing). Respondents selected the white applicant with higher class standing significantly more than they selected the black applicant with higher class standing.

This finding also shows that race is a diffuse status characteristic as defined by SCT and the theory of double standards. Thus, as results in this study indicate, both white and black respondents chose applicants similarly. Both white and black respondents selected the white applicant in similar proportions. Thus, as predicted by SCT and the theory of double standards, race is a diffuse status characteristic. As shown in this research, status advantage positively affected the outcome of the white applicant. Respondents used a lenient standard to assess the qualifications of the white applicant and, as a result, selected him more often for the job regardless of his qualifications. Conversely, status disadvantage negatively affected the outcome of the black applicant. Respondents used a stricter standard to assess the qualifications of the black applicant and, as a result, selected him less often for the job regardless of his qualifications.

Second, results from assessment of Hypothesis 3b indicate that respondents also used racial double standards to rate the applicants with higher class standing in terms of competence and suitability. However, these results were only partially consistent with the hypothesis. The hypothesis predicted higher expectation advantage in competence *and* suitability ratings for the white applicant in Condition 1 (i.e., the white applicant had the higher class standing relative to the black applicant) than for the black applicant in Condition 2 (i.e., the black applicant had the higher class standing relative to the white applicant). Results were not consistent with the hypothesis in terms of competence; the expectation advantage of the white applicant in Condition 1 did not differ from that of the black applicant in Condition 2. However, results were consistent with the hypothesis in terms of suitability for the job. The expectation advantage for the white applicant's suitability for the job in Condition 1 did differ significantly from that of the black applicant in Condition 2.

In terms of competence ratings and competence advantage, respondents' expectations of the applicants did provide evidence that respondents considered both the white and black applicants with higher class standing status equals in terms of task relevant performances. That is, the race of the applicants did not affect respondent ratings of competence. I interpret this finding to mean that respondents formed equal expectations of task ability for both the white and black applicants. In terms of suitability, however, results consistent with Hypothesis 3b obtained. As predicted by SCT and the theory of double standards, respondents gave the white applicant significantly higher ratings than they gave the black applicant in terms of suitability for the job.

The pattern of results obtained for Hypothesis 3b reflects social psychological processes not explained or predicted by SCT. SCT is a theory of behavior. Both SCT and the theory of double standards posit that behavior results from the formation of a hierarchy of expectations determined by certain diffuse and specific status characteristics. In this study, I used competence and suitability ratings as measures of expectations. Thus, I predicted that both expectation measures would correspond to the behavior. However, respondents' competence ratings of the white and black applicant with higher class standing show that race did not affect respondents' ratings of objective applicant competence as those theories predict. Two processes might explain this finding. First, as described by Dovidio and Gaertner (2000), inconsistent findings such as those obtained between competence and suitability ratings likely result from subtle bias easily rationalized by respondents. By acknowledging the relative competence of the black applicant, while giving lower ratings in terms of his suitability, respondents may be attempting to compensate for what they perceive as an inherent lack of subjectively identified skills not captured by class standing, but still necessary for success in the job.

Research shows that persistent stereotypes regarding the cognitive inferiority of black men affect perceptions and ratings of their job suitability and leadership skills (Carton and Rosette 2011; Hosoda, Stone and Stone-Romero 2003). The authors found this to be especially the case for jobs requiring a high level of cognitive ability. In this dissertation, respondents selected applicants for various engineering jobs. In the Baseline Design, 81% of the respondents indicated that intelligence is an important applicant characteristic for the job. In addition, respondents' mean rating of job difficulty was 4.63 on a scale ranging from 1 (easy) to 6 (difficult). [18] Thus, in cases where relative competence is average, and not clearly distinguishable as excellent or poor, stereotypes of cognitive inferiority may be activated and affect overall performance expectations and behavioral outcomes. Thus one explanation for the results obtained here is that stereotypical beliefs in the intellectual inferiority of black men, in addition to status effects, lead to discrepant findings between competence and suitability ratings.

A second explanation is that respondents differentially weighted competence and suitability between similarly qualified white and black applicants. If this is the case, expectation formation might be the result of expectations of suitability rather than of competence. In terms of behavior, the outcome remains the same. However, as the mechanism driving the behavior, expectations of applicant suitability might provide a one-dimensional measure that indicates expectation formation and predicts resulting behavior. The findings for Hypothesis 3 show that assessors used racial double standards to evaluate objectively rated performance of individuals differentiated by race. The findings reported here, and those of the extensive gender double standards work conducted by Foschi and her colleagues, provide a clear theoretical explanation for a common experience of individuals with status disadvantage. The theory used for this dissertation specifies the conditions under which assessors will use double standards for performance assessment. Where Foschi’s work examined gender effects, this dissertation has focused on race effects. Thus, this work contributes additional evidence consistent with the scope and propositions of the theory of double standards.

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[18] I provide these results in Appendix J: Results of Study Setting Measures.

Future research could build on the findings reported here by examining whether and the extent to which assessors use double standards to infer competence from performances of individuals who differ on other common characteristics. For example, SCT research has found that older individuals enjoy higher performance expectations than their younger peers. Future research could determine if age is another characteristic that activates the use of double standings for inferring competence.

Another area that could benefit from future theory-based work on standards is concerned with prestige effects of certain characteristics. For example, research could determine whether there is a difference in standards used to assess the performance of a graduate of Princeton University relative to that used to assess the performance of a graduate of North Carolina State University. The assessment of the performances of individuals who differ on any of these, as well as other characteristics, would contribute to our understanding of the scope and effect of standards use relative to multiple characteristics.

Accountability Design – Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4

For the Accountability Design, Hypothesis 4a predicted that for two applicants differentiated by race, and with slightly different class standings, adding respondent accountability for selection decisions would decrease the effect of status generalization from race. Results were consistent with this hypothesis. The selection proportion for the white applicant in Condition 1 was .545; the selection proportion for the black applicant in Condition 2 was .548.There was no difference in selection proportions for the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with higher class standing.

Hypothesis 4b predicted that increasing respondent accountability would result in a decrease in expectation advantage for the white applicant with higher class standing relative to the black applicant with higher class standing. Results were consistent with Hypothesis 4b. The expectation advantage based on the mean competence rating of the white applicant in Condition 1 was .136; the expectation advantage based on the mean competence rating of the black applicant in Condition 2 was .258. These results were not statistically different.

The expectation advantage based on the mean suitability rating of the white applicant in Condition 1 was .096; the expectation advantage based on the mean suitability rating of the black applicant in Condition 2 was -.097. These results were not statistically different.

Results from assessment of Hypothesis 4a and Hypothesis 4b have implications for interventions designed to lessen the effect of status generalization and double standards when their use is undesirable. First, the results from tests assessing Hypothesis

4a indicate that respondents did not use a racial double standard in assessing similar performances of race-differentiated job applicants. As described above and in Chapter 5, both the white applicant and black applicant with higher class standing received 55% of respondent recommendations. Thus, increasing respondent accountability decreased the affect of applicant race on respondent selection decisions. There was no difference in performance expectations formed for either the white applicant with higher class standing or the black applicant with higher class standing.

However, these results also indicate that in the Accountability Design, respondents selected the applicant with lower class standing approximately 45% of the time. That is, respondents selected the less qualified applicant when the applicant with lower class standing was black and when the applicant with lower class standing was white. These findings indicate that increasing accountability without providing specific guidance regarding the respondent behavior that would be evaluated diluted the effect of the intervention. It is likely that simply telling respondents they would be accountable for their hiring selection increased their focus on other, non task-related activities and characteristics of either the white or the black applicant with lower class standing. As a result, respondents found reasons to recommend the applicants with lower class standing almost as frequently as they recommended the applicants with higher class standing.

Second, results from assessment of Hypothesis 4b indicate that respondents did not use racial double standards to rate the applicants with higher class standing in terms of competence and suitability. These results were also consistent with the hypothesis. The hypothesis predicted no difference in expectation advantage as measured by competence and suitability ratings for the white applicant with higher class standing in Condition 1 and the black applicant with higher class standing in Condition 2.

In terms of competence and suitability ratings, and the corresponding expectation advantage measures, results did reflect that respondents considered both the white and black applicants with higher class standing as status equals in terms of task relevant performances. That is, the race of the applicants did not affect respondent ratings of competence. This finding is consistent with my prediction that accountability would result in respondents forming equal expectations of task ability for both the white and black applicants.

However, in terms of suitability advantage, for the black applicant with higher class standing, accountability was not enough to attain an actual advantage over the white applicant with lower class standing. Although the data were consistent with my hypothesis that suitability advantage would not differ significantly between the white and black applicants with higher class standing in the Accountability Design, the black applicant still had a *negative* suitability "advantage". As described earlier regarding results for Hypothesis 3b, this finding indicates that despite requiring accountability, respondents found it difficult to rate the black applicant as suitable for the job relative to the white applicant, regardless of the applicants' respective class standing.

The pattern of results obtained for Hypothesis 4a and Hypothesis 4b demonstrates that requiring respondent accountability does intervene in status generalization processes and limits the use of racial double standards. Research has shown that respondents pay more attention to relevant information when they expect to be held accountable for their decisions than when they are not (Foschi 1996). Accountability also minimizes the use of racial stereotypes for inferring competence and job suitability by requiring respondents to be prepared to explain their decision making process and the criteria used to reach a decision (Reskin 2003; Bielby 2000). In the present study, simply telling respondents that they *might* have to provide an explanation for their decisions was enough to alter the use of double standards. However, in terms of suitability, accountability did decrease the difference in suitability advantage between the white and black applicants with higher class standing. Nevertheless, the black applicant with higher class standing still obtained ratings indicating suitability *disadvantage*.

Summary

Hypothesis 3 represents the case for which SCT does predict status generalization from race. Moreover, because the applicants are status equals in terms of class standing, the theory of double standards predicts that respondents will use different standards based on race for assessing task related performance. Specifically, respondents will use a lenient standard to assess the task-relevant performance of the white applicant and a stricter standard for assessing the task-relevant performance of the black applicant. One important implication of these findings is that they extend the theory of double standards to instances in which the targets are differentiated by race. Thus, results discussed in the previous section provide evidence consistent with both theories. I interpreted the result of no difference in competence ratings to racial stereotyping, particularly in situations in which the intellectual ability of the target is average.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that accountability would decrease effects of status generalization and the use of racial double standards. Results were consistent with the hypothesis. I interpreted the findings as demonstrating that accountability increased the attention respondents gave to relevant information. Thus, accountability intervened in the status generalization process and reduced the use of double standards in assessing similar performances by the white and black applicants.

Findings obtained in this dissertation have implications in terms of the efficacy of current forms organizational diversity programs as well as the design of future interventions. I discuss those implications in the next sections.

Discussion and Implications for Organizations

The findings from this dissertation have at least two types of implications for organizations. The first type is concerned with one process by which racial inequality persists in hiring practices. The second type is concerned with one intervention for lessening the effects of status generalization and racial double standards. I discuss each in the following sections.

Implications of Racial Double Standards on Hiring Decisions for Organizations

The results obtained in this dissertation show that non-conscious status processes affect behavioral outcomes. This research also demonstrates that assessors use double standards in evaluating similar performances of applicants differentiated by race. For organizations, these findings show that discrimination in hiring is not necessarily intentional, but rather result from widely held cultural beliefs regarding ability. Thus for SHRM efforts to be successful, attention should be given to non-conscious processes that affect hiring practices and outcomes.

As shown in the critical test of this research, even though there was no difference in respondents’ competence ratings of the white and black applicants with higher class standing, the black applicant was selected for the job significantly less often than the equally qualified white applicant. Other research has had similar findings (e.g., Bertrand

and Mallainathan 2004). Moreover, compliance with legal requirements has not resulted in equality in hiring, promotion and other workplace outcomes (Pager and Shepherd 2008; Pager, Western and Bonikowski 2009). To the extent that SHRM seeks to leverage human resources to create competitive advantage, discriminatory practices, regardless of intent, undermine those goals. Thus, SHRM practices that include the design, test and implementation of theoretically derived interventions provide organizations an opportunity and means by which competitive advantage through hiring might be accomplished.

An area of increasing organizational focus in terms of hiring is on the concept of "soft skills". Moss and Tilly (1996:253) define soft skills as "…skills, abilities, and traits that pertain to personality, attitude and behavior". Their research, as well as that conducted by Roscigno, Williams and Byron (2011) found that employers reported an increasing need for these skills and that black workers were often deficient in these skills. Results from this dissertation show that a perception that the black applicant lacked required soft skills might be yet another mechanism driving respondents' competence and suitability ratings. Respondents rated both the white and black applicant with higher class standing as competent for the job; yet, only rated the white applicant with higher class standing as suitable for the job. Thus, if interventions aimed at increasing diversity are to be successful, organizations must recognize the potential for racial bias in hiring and other personnel selection decisions resulting from subjectively identified and assessed soft skills reflected in suitability ratings in this work.

Next, I discuss the organizational implications of the intervention tested in this dissertation.

Implications of Accountability for Hiring Decisions for Organizations

Most definitions of accountability focus on two themes (Frink and Klimoski 2004). One theme focuses on who and what behavior is involved in the situation in which accountability is required. The second theme is concerned with the evaluation and feedback of the behavior for which an individual is to be accountable. In this dissertation, I conceptualized and operationalized accountability in terms of the first theme only. Hiring decisions were the behavior for which study respondents were told they would be accountable. I did not operationalize the second theme by providing guidance or any other information. I only told the study respondents that they might have to explain their hiring decisions. As discussed previously in this chapter, telling the respondents that they might be asked to justify their decisions was enough to intervene in the status generalization process and decrease the use of racial double standards in the assessment of applicant performance. However, telling respondents that they would be accountable, without indicating feedback processes, was not enough to focus their behavior only on job-relevant class standing. Thus, in terms of behavior, accountability created a situation in which respondents chose the applicant with the higher class standing regardless of the applicants' race. However, as demonstrated by the proportion of less qualified applicants selected, within an organizational setting, management would want to establish and adhere to methods of evaluation and feedback (Lerner and Shonk 2006; Frink and Klimoski 2004). Nevertheless, results obtained in this study clearly demonstrate the efficacy of accountability on changing at least one aspect (i.e., racial double standards) of undesirable behavior.

Organizations devote much time, energy, and money to the development and implementation of diversity programs. These practices demonstrate their commitment to decreasing inequality in the workplace. However, diversity programs often fail because they tend to focus on changing prejudicial attitudes rather than foster responsibility for diversity outcomes (Kalev et al. 2006). Thus, another implication of the present research is concerned with the affect of establishing a system of ongoing accountability for hiring and other personnel practices. Requiring accountability for hiring and other personnel decisions that affect racial composition and power in the workplace will have at least two outcomes. First, as shown in this dissertation, requiring accountability based on objective factors is likely to decrease the use of differential standards for assessing competence. Thus, in an organizational setting, requiring that assessors focus on qualifications is likely to increase hiring of qualified racial and other political minorities. Over time, the increase of qualified minority representation can positively affect work related outcomes such as profits and market share (Herring 2009), organizational resiliency (Lengnick-Hall et al. 2011) and the overall effectiveness of diversity programs (Kalev et al. 2006). In terms of social outcomes, increases in qualified minority workers will lead to advances in promotion, salary, retention and other important employer and employee outcomes.

Second, requiring accountability will increase organizational stability and consistency in terms of expectations of behavior for those making hiring, promotion, salary and similar types of personnel decisions. Over time, systems of accountability will help to erode systemic racial and other types of socially prescribed disadvantage in organizations by increasing the negotiating power of workers historically denied such power (Acker 2006; Sturm 2009). Thus, accountability systems provide one method that can intervene in non-conscious racial bias.

A broader implication of the present research concerns practical issues of intervention design, test and implementation. Previous work by Cohen and Lotan (1995; 1997) demonstrated that theoretically derived interventions could be successfully tested and implemented in an actual organizational setting. In applied research conducted by Cohen and Lotan (1995), status treatments given students in an elementary school consisted of teachers describing tasks that required multiple abilities or assigning competence to students with status disadvantage. In both cases, participation rates for students with status disadvantage increased. Goar and Sell (2005) used similar ideas in their experimental examination of the effect of task definition on racial inequality in task groups. By redefining the task as being complex and requiring multiple abilities for successful completion, behavioral inequality in the group decreased. Similar practices could be successfully implemented in organizational task groups. Referencing team members' expertise and/or describing the task as requiring multiple, or diverse, abilities would likely result in increased interaction and influence for members with status disadvantage.

A test of the design of the present study, undertaken on a small scale in an organizational setting, would likely yield informative results on hiring and other personnel practices that often obscure bias. For example, to examine whether double standards are activated within an organizational setting, experimental applicant screening processes could be created and the results analyzed. With this information, management could then design specific interventions to affect behavior and foster desired outcomes.

Moreover, organizations could implement and conduct routine audits that examine actual selection, promotion, and wage-setting outcomes. Results from these audits, could help determine if double standards for inference of competence are used. The use of audits would increase awareness of the non-conscious aspect of bias. An increase in awareness would aid in recognizing the necessity of addressing inequality of outcomes through interventions focused on decreasing that inequality. To that end, the process I used in this dissertation, described in Chapter 4: Experimental Design and Operations, is one example of an intervention that could be adapted for application in organizational settings.

Study Limitations

I was fortunate to have prior research materials from research conducted by Foschi and Valenzuela (2008). These materials had been pretested for that study, so I was confident that they were useful for this dissertation. In order to operationalize race rather than gender, I did change the names of the applicants. In addition, to increase realism for the respondents at UNCC, I changed applicant addresses and schools to be from the Raleigh area of North Carolina. Nevertheless, all research has limitations. I address those in the following sections.

Operational Issues

There were no major operational issues in this research. The videotaped instructions, however, were not as professional as they could have been. Many respondents remarked that the videotaped instructions, and their delivery, could have been more engaging. However, none of the respondents said that they did not understand the instructions, nor did questionnaire responses indicate that the instructions were unclear.

A white male delivered the videotaped instructions. The race of the spokesperson could have inadvertently affected results obtained in the Baseline Design. In that design, respondents selected the white applicant with higher class standing more than they selected the black applicant with higher class standing. It is possible that having a white man deliver instructions legitimated the selection of the white applicant over a better qualified black applicant.

Another operational issue resulted from a lack of regular assistance from research assistants. Both research assistants were undergraduate students. Although they offered much assistance in terms of scheduling and preparing documents, neither could remain for an entire study session. I conducted all of the debriefing and discussion sessions of the study with the respondents. I was thus unable to separate larger groups of respondents into smaller groups for debriefing. Though I have no evidence to support any negative effect of not having regular research support, a lack of support could have affected responses to questions regarding suspicion of the task and other aspects of the study setting.

Finally, I attempted to control for participant characteristics that might affect results by screening and discarding recruitment forms for students that did not meet inclusion criteria. However, it is possible that other participant characteristics not included on the recruitment forms could affect results obtained in this research. In order to account for that possibility, respondents were randomly assigned to the two Designs and to the two conditions within each Design.

Overall, the use of pretested application materials minimized operational and other issues that might have affected results obtained in this study. In addition, the first two groups served as pilot tests of the study instructions, manipulations and procedures as recommended by Rashotte et al. (2005). Thus, I am confident that the results obtained and reported in this dissertation include appropriate consideration of possible operational and other issues and consequently reflect successful instantiation of the theories.

Future Research

Several areas for future research might prove fruitful in the study of status processes and the use of double standards. Foschi (2009) tested the effect of explicit standards on the use of gender-based double standards. Future research could examine the effect of providing explicit standards for the inference of competence on the use of racial double standards.

Another area of research could investigate the effect of group assessment of qualifications on the use of double standards. This type of research would incorporate group processes as well as status processes in explaining and predicting expectation formation. Since many organizations use several individuals to screen applicants, participate in panel interviews and committee discussions of job applicants, double standards research using groups would be relevant and informative. Data from groups with members of the same race and groups with members who differ in terms of race could be useful in determining whether and to what extent group composition affects the activation of double standards and subsequent hiring recommendations.

As I alluded to in the previous section on the limitations of this research, future research could vary the delivery of instructions by either a white male or a black male. It may be that the race of the organization’s representative may have a legitimating effect on selection decisions. In addition to varying the race of the representative delivering the instructions, another change to the initial conditions would be to include language in the instructions that refers to the organizations' positive or neutral stance toward diversity. This change to instructions might provide data to assess the effect of stated diversity culture on hiring recommendations. Another change to initial conditions that might affect findings is to include information in the instructions that leads respondents to believe that they will meet the candidates after they have made their selection decisions. Any of these modifications to the instructions may affect selection decisions as well.

Understanding the types of justifications assessors use in making their hiring decisions would aid organizations in ensuring that their diversity messages are clear and have the desired effect in terms of hiring processes. To obtain this information, future research could include open-ended items on the post-selection questionnaire to obtain this information. These justifications could be content analyzed for insights concerning assessors' conscious reasoning for expectation formation.

Research similar to that conducted for this dissertation, as well as that identified in the previous paragraphs could focus on other personnel decisions including promotion, salary setting, retention recommendation and other similar selection tasks. Thus, based on the future research possibilities suggested here, the continued examination of status processes and the use of racial double standards is feasible in terms of theory development, but also in terms of reducing non-conscious bias in personnel practices of organizations.

Conclusions

As encouraged by a conference sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline in February 2008, this dissertation continues research examining the effect of race on social psychological processes. Although findings from research conducted by Foschi and Valenzuela (2008) show that gender double standards do affect selection and other outcomes, research examining race and double standards is limited. Thus, this study provides one of the few tests of the effects of race on the use of double standards.

In the Baseline Design, results obtained in this study supported the hypotheses regarding status generalization and the use of racial double standards for inferring competence. In the Accountability Design, results obtained showed that the intervention decreased status generalization from race and decreased the use of racial double standards. Results from measures of performance expectations were generally consistent with hypotheses. However, in the Baseline Design there was no difference in the competence rating between the white applicant with higher class standing and the black applicant with higher class standing. This finding was not consistent with the hypothesis that predicted higher competence ratings for the white applicant with higher class standing. Nevertheless, overall results from this study have increased the theoretical understanding of status generalization and racial double standards.

Results from this dissertation also have at least two important implications for organizations. First, these results demonstrate that non-conscious bias creates differential performance expectations for applicants who differ only in terms of race. These differential expectations can have negative consequences in terms of hiring recommendations. Thus, in an organizational setting, the use of racial double standards can undermine the strategic human resource goals of an organization. Second, and perhaps more important, this dissertation shows that increasing accountability for hiring recommendations can lessen the degree to which race affects expectations and the use of double standards. Moreover, this intervention is one that management could readily implement in an organizational setting.

This dissertation uses the theoretical understanding of status generalization to extend the theory of double standards to race. Understanding status processes and racial double standards provides opportunities for social scientists and organizational practitioners to design, test, and implement theoretically derived interventions. Such interventions would extend theory. However, more importantly, the successful implementation and outcomes of these types of interventions would have important implications for workplace inequality, the careers of qualified workers with status disadvantage and the organizations that would garner strategic gains from their knowledge, skills and abilities.

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APPENDIX A: RECRUITING SCRIPT

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am ________________________from the Department of Sociology here at UNC Charlotte. I am here today representing a consortium of several organizations to interest you in participating in an ongoing project.

This spring, the Sociology Department along with the consortium, is working on a hiring decision project for which we need the help of students like you. We hope that about 200 students, like you will participate in this project. Though we do not have time to discuss details of the project now, if you agree to participate, you will learn about the project from an organizational representative.

Also, you might want to know that we pay you for your time; about $10.00 an hour. This is not a permanent job, however; it will be for one time only. Projects this spring last an hour and a half to two hours, for which you will be paid $15.00 or $20.00. In addition, for every 50 participants, a drawing will be held, the winner of which will receive $50. So, four students will earn an additional $50. The phase of the project that you will participate in is conducted right here on campus.

What I would like to do now is hand out these short forms for your name and phone number so we can get in touch with you. Filling out this form does not obligate you to help us. Also, it is possible that 200 students will have participated before we can contact you, in which case we will destroy these forms. It is more likely, though, that we will get in touch with you later to see if you are still interested. If you are too busy then or are no longer interested, we will take your name off our scheduling list, and that will be it. However, we cannot even get in touch with you if we do not have your phone number, so I encourage everyone to fill out a form.

One more thing: this project has nothing to do with coursework. Your professor in this course will not know whether you decide to participate, and participation cannot affect your grade in this course.

Do you have any questions I can answer while you’re filling these out? (Distribute the forms).

(BE SURE TO THANK THE STUDENTS AND THE PROFESSOR)

APPENDIX B: RECRUITMENT FORM
FOR UNCC-INDUSTRY PROJECTS

We’d like to obtain some information so we can contact you about participating in our project. Please complete this form even if you don’t think you’re interested now. We will not be able to contact you without this information.

Your Name: _________________

Your Gender (please circle correct response): M F Your Age: _______

Your Major: _________________

How would you classify your ethnic background (please check one):

_____ Caucasian/White
_____ African American/Black
_____Asian American
_____Hispanic/Latino
_____Other

Phone Number (please provide the phone number where you can be reached. We **cannot** contact you via email:

____

Thank you for completing this information sheet.

APPENDIX C: SCHEDULING SCRIPT

UNCC-INDUSTRY STUDY
Revised: November 28, 2011

Hello, may I speak with [first and last name] please?

Hello, __________________. My name is _________________________, and I am calling from the Department of Sociology here at UNC Charlotte. A while ago, you indicated an interest in participating in our paid projects. I am calling to find out if you are still interested.

IF NO: Say: "We will remove your name from the list and destroy your recruitment form. Thank you"

IF CONFUSED OR DOES NOT REMEMBER: Say: "Remember you filled out a form in class."

IF INTERESTED: Good. I need a little more information for our files. Your age is _______[from the recruiting form], right? And what is your major? Did you attend UNC Charlotte in the [Fall, Spring]?

OK, we have an opening on _____________at ______________for about 1 ½ hours. The project pays $10 per hour for your participation.

IF that date/time isn't convenient,: Then, how about _________________at _________________?

IF that date/time isn't convenient: Well, what times are best for you? [As soon as you find an appropriate time, stop and place him/her in it.]

Now, let me tell you how to get here. Do you have a pencil? [Wait while he/she gets one.]

We are on the fourth floor of the Fretwell Building. This is the building behind the Friday Business building near the large faculty/student parking deck. We will be in room ____________.

Is that clear? [Wait while he/she repeats the directions. If he/she makes any errors, repeat the directions.]

Fine. Then we will see you on ______________at ______________.

Thank you. Good bye.

APPENDIX D: CONTACT FORM

UNCC-INDUSTRY PROJECT

Revised: November 4, 2011

Name____

Age____________ Major__________________

Gender__________ Phone #_________________

Race ___________ Previous Studies __________

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

____

APPENDIX E: GROUP SUMMARY FORM

UNCC-Industry Project

Revised – November 2011

Date:____________________ Group #:_________________

Time:____________________ Condition#: ______________

Completed by:___________________________

Participant Name	Participant Age	Participant Race	Recruiting Class

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT

Consent for Participation

UNCC-Industry Selection Project

Project Title and Purpose

This is a project entitled "UNCC-Industry Selection Project". In this project, you will help us make selection decisions and examine hiring selection processes. The investigators/leaders of this project are Dr. Murray Webster, a Sociology professor at UNCC and Sharon Doerer, an Organizational Science student at UNCC.

Overall Description of Participation

You will be one of approximately 100 students who will participate in this project. You will review application materials for six applicants applying for three internships. You will recommend up to three applicants for three engineering internship jobs. Your participation in this project will be for one session lasting about 60 minutes. You will be reimbursed $10 per hour as compensation for your time. So, you will likely earn $15 or $20. In addition, for every 50 students who participate in this project, a drawing will be held for $50. At least four participants will be selected in this drawing.

Your participation in this project has no foreseeable risks to you. Though unlikely, this project may involve risks that are currently unforeseeable.

A benefit of your participation in this project is that you will experience one way in which hiring decisions are made and be part of an ongoing project of student participation in hiring decisions.

You may participate in this project if you are at least 18 years old and currently a UNC Charlotte undergraduate student.

Your decision to participate in this project is completely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, and if you agree to participate you can end your participation at any time during the project session. If you refuse to participate or choose to stop, you will not lose any benefits to which you are entitled.

All information about your participation, including your identity, is completely confidential. Your name will not be included on computer files with your final selection decisions and any other information you provide. Your name will not appear in any reports or publications resulting from your participation in this project. Original documents (such as this form and the receipt you will receive for your payment) with your name will be kept locked in the Fretwell Building (Sociology Department). Information regarding this project will be stored on a non-networked computer in a locked office in the Fretwell Building (Sociology Department).

If you have any questions about the project, you may contact Sharon Doerer or Murray Webster at 704-687-2252.

UNC Charlotte wants to make sure that you are treated in a fair and respectful manner. Contact the University's Compliance Office (704-687-3309) if you have questions about how you were treated as a project participant.

This form was approved for use on ______________________ for one year.

I have read the information in this consent form. I have had the chance to ask questions about this project, and those questions were answered to my satisfaction. I am at least 18 years old, and I agree to participate in this project. I understand that I can receive a copy of this form after it has been signed by me and the principal project investigator.

____ ________________

Participant Name (PRINT) Date

____

Participant Signature

____ ______________

Investigator Signature Date

APPENDIX G: PARTICIPANT INSTRUCTIONS-BASELINE

[Participants are greeted as they arrive to the entrance of the lab/class room. Each is given a slip of paper with a number on it. That number is also written beside the person's name on the day's list. When all the participants have arrived, they are led into the lab/class room and asked to sit at any computer with a large, empty brown envelope.]

I think we are ready to start. This is ___________________ and I am Sharon Doerer. We are students in Sociology working with Dr. Murray Webster. We are also part of a committee involved in the UNCC - Belk College Employee Selection Project. This project includes, among other initiatives, a program to find work-related short-term junior positions for recent graduates in Engineering. All of these jobs may lead to longer-term employment. Essentially, the program aims to prepare students for a competitive job market and to provide them with financial support. The program, which involves innovative hiring practices, is supported by a consortium of US companies with projects in environmental engineering. Because of the common belief that the allocation of such jobs by professional administrators does not always take all aspects of the hiring decision into account, this program is directed at incorporating the input of a variety of people. Thus, we are seeking the input of undergraduate and graduate students in different fields and at various stages of their degrees. We are also seeking input from UNCC faculty and staff. We want input from a number of people with various levels of familiarity with the fields in question. Your role today is to provide student input for the selection of suitable job candidates.

UNCC and the companies making up this consortium have contributed a combined amount of two thousand and seven hundred dollars to the UNCC – Industry Cooperative Project. Your participation will require approximately two hours. UNCC and the consortium will pay each participant $10 per hour, so you could earn $15 or $20, as a token of appreciation for your time and input. Also, for every 50 participants, there will be an automatic entry into a drawing for a $50 cash prize, so you have pretty good odds.

Before I explain the procedures to you, there are a few things I would like to point out. I would like to assure you that the information you give us will be kept confidential and will not ever be associated with you as an individual. This is why you have been given a number—we are only interested in the summarized or averaged answers from the many people who will participate over several sessions such as this one.

There are two main parts to today's session. The first main part has to do with the final selection of candidates from a pool of applicants deemed eligible for the program. The second part is a questionnaire in which we would like to ask you about your impressions of the program. Do not worry if this is not yet completely clear to you yet; I will clarify things as we go along. In addition, a diagram of the process is on the screen for you to refer to.

To begin with, then, you will be helping us decide from among a few candidates who are being considered for positions in this program. The project is a joint effort by universities and industry to produce engineers with skills corresponding to the needs of the job market. Various companies have agreed to take part, and have opened positions within their organizations for recent graduates selected through this process. You will each receive three folders, each of which pertains to one of several of these positions. Inside each folder there will be a job description submitted by a company, followed by a standard application form completed by two of the candidates for the position. Finally, there will be a list of classes with the corresponding candidates' class standing in that course, and a form on which you will be asked to indicate your decision. Please read these materials in the order in which they are presented to you.

The job descriptions that are included in each folder pertain to positions in different areas of environmental engineering. For the selection process, they have been standardized in language and format, so you will find that they are similar in various respects. They have also been edited to keep technical language to a minimum. For confidentiality, the last names of the job applicants have been blacked out. Read each description carefully to make sure that you understand – as well as you can – what is being described. Do not worry if you do not understand all technical terms. Note also that the lists of grades are not transcripts. Rather, for each applicant, you will find their average class standing for the last two years of the degree. For example, an average score of 75% means that the student scored better than 75% of the students who took that class. Sometimes there are different program options for the same degree. Core courses as well as electives have been recorded on the grade lists. The number of credits per year may vary from one year to the next and also across degrees. Similarly, there are program variations in the level of the courses required.

The candidates you will assess have been pre-selected from the larger original pool of candidates by other groups of students like yourselves; you are essentially part of the final phase of the process that will determine who gets the job in each case. Applications were submitted in the Fall and results will be announced in May. You will receive three folders with job files assigned to you at random. It is possible that two or more of you might get the same folder or a folder with one candidate in common, since there are more than two semi-finalists per position and since we will assess the suitability of candidates based on the decisions that a number of you will have made. As I said a moment ago, in each of the three folders there will be application information about two individuals who have been deemed eligible for the position. Your task is to choose the person who, in each pair, you would like to recommend as the better candidate. We are looking for the most promising students and recent graduates to fill these positions, so make your decisions carefully. The option of not choosing either candidate is also left open in case you believe that neither would perform adequately at the job. You should not feel pressured to make a decision if you are not sure; remember that someone will get the job in the end. Applicants will be offered jobs in the order in which they are ranked when the input from all those involved has been averaged. You will not be asked to explain your decisions, and it is perfectly acceptable to follow your instincts and first impressions.

[For Baseline]: You will not be asked to explain your decisions, and it is perfectly acceptable to follow your instincts and first impressions.

There are several other items on the decision form for you to complete. It is very important that you complete everything for your selections to be of help to us, and that you work quickly as there are quite a few materials to cover. You have approximately 30 minutes to work with the three folders, that is, about 10 minutes per folder – so budget your time accordingly. Please write down now, on top of the brown envelope in front of you, the number that you were assigned at the beginning [**Pause … participants should be writing that number on the folder now**]. Also, as you work on each folder, write that same number in the space provided on the decision form. If you did not receive a number, please raise your hand and we will assign one to you.

Near the end of today's session, you will be asked to complete an opinion questionnaire regarding your impressions of this program. To help you with your answers to this questionnaire, you should write down, as you work through the files, the names of the candidates, their class ranking scores and whom you chose for each job, along with any other information that you think is important. Writing this down will be useful to you, as you will no longer have the files to refer to as you complete the questionnaire. To write those things down, we have provided a separate, brief form for you to make your notes. These forms are on the tables **[point to them]**. **Please return these note forms in the envelope with your questionnaire. Please do not put your name on this form.]**

We will hand out the files now, and you may start as soon as you receive the materials. I would like to ask you all not to speak from this point on since we want your decisions to be made individually. Also, it is very important that you work on the folders one at a time, in the order in which you have received them. This will help to keep things organized. As well, do not start the second folder until I indicate that everyone should be starting to work on it; the same goes for the third folder.

Please concentrate on what you have to do and do not check up on how your neighbor is doing. If by chance one of the applicants is someone you know, please raise your hand and tell me so. If this is the case, it would probably be best if you did not make a decision on that folder. Finally, please do not mark on any of the materials except the note forms, and response forms, as other people will be looking at the applications. Also, do not forget to take notes of any important information regarding the candidates, and to KEEP THOSE forms SEPARATE from the folders, as the folders will be collected before you complete the opinion questionnaire. It would also be helpful if you would label the information on the forms by folder. [Show participants an example of a marked form].

[Distribute files and decision forms.]

Before you begin, please write your number in the space provided on each your decision-forms as well as on the brown envelope. [For Study 1: Do not write your name on the decision form or on the note form.] As you finish with each folder, place it, along with the completed decision form in the brown envelope so that things are kept organized. REMEMBER TO TURN IN YOUR NOTE FORM, BUT DON'T INCLUDE YOUR NAME.

Do not go back to a folder once you have completed it. If you have any questions, please raise your hand and one of us will come and speak to you. [Pause.] Please start with the first folder, as labeled. You may start now.

[**As participants work through the folders, alert them when 8 minutes per folder have elapsed. Also, make sure that they are taking notes!]**

Have you all finished? If you have not already done so, please finish up now. If you have finished, please put all your materials, except your note forms, into the brown envelopes and pass that envelop forward. [Collect envelopes.]

In a moment, we will be passing out a questionnaire. Please answer the questions carefully and make sure you answer all of the questions. The scales range from 1 to 6, please answer each question by circling a number. How you felt about your participation in this project is important to us, and this is the way you can let us know. Before you start, do not forget to write your number on the questionnaire. When you have completed it, place it inside this white envelope and remain in your seat until everyone else has finished. You may begin as soon as you receive a questionnaire. [**Second person passes out questionnaires; participants work on them.]**

Now I will describe what we are going to do next. You have completed your work with us for today. We will now divide you into two groups, so we can discuss the project in more detail with you. The discussion will take only a few minutes of your time, and there are some important things that we have to go over. Once we have had this discussion, we will pay you for your participation and will also enter your name into the drawing.

[**Participants gather. Research assistant takes the materials from the brown envelopes and keeps them together by participant, with a double clip, placing the envelope at the bottom. She then checks the responses to make sure that there are no missing answers, and examines the last page of the questionnaire for indications of suspicion.]**

Okay, everyone on this side of the room **[indicate]** can stay here; I would like the rest of you to go with **[second person]**.

[Half of the participants are led to Room _____ by the second person.]

I think it would be best if everyone gathered around [one table, in a circle]. **[Participants gather. Talk to them and ask them about their impressions of the project, using the Protocol for Debriefing. Assess if any had any suspicions regarding the task and the project in general.]**

Good. I am going to pass out a memo that I will read to you now and that I will ask you to sign. It is not too long.

[Read the Memo to Participants. Participants read and sign agreement not to discuss with classmates and friends on campus.]

Has everyone finished? Does anyone have any questions about what I just read, or about the activity you participated in today? I am sure you must have some questions. Anyone?

[**Answer questions, and try to encourage discussion. Ask if anyone would like to discuss any aspect of the session in private, and be prepared to do so. Finally, remember to:**

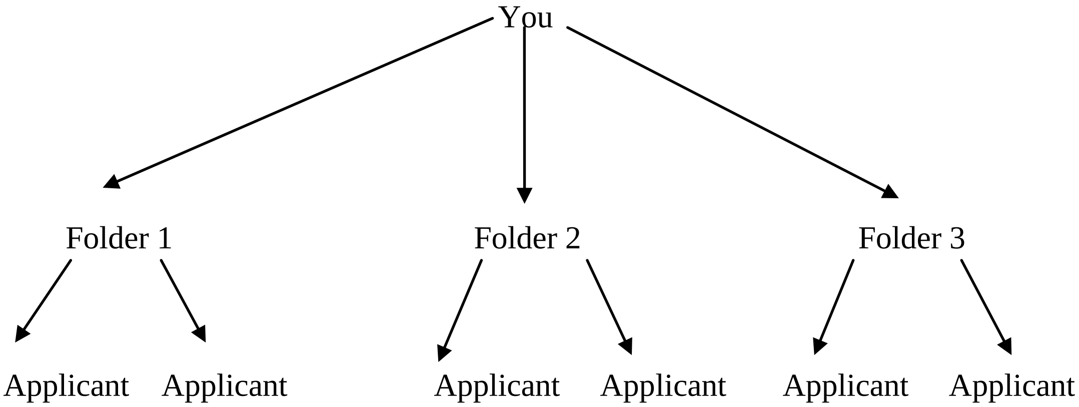
Pay each participant and ask him to sign receipt

Distribute the drawing forms, have each person fill one out and place it inside the glass jar; announce the date of the drawing. Confirm that winners will be contacted by phone.]

UNCC – INDUSTRY COOPERATIVE PROJECT
Employment Opportunity Program

Part I: Employee Recommendation

1. Review Folder


You
Folder 1
Folder 2
Folder 3
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant

2. Complete Decision Form and Note Form in each Folder
3. Place Decision Form in brown envelope WITH Folder
4. Keep Note Form
5. Complete Opinion Questionnaire (use Note Form for reference)
6. Place Opinion Questionnaire and Note Forms in White Envelope

APPENDIX H: PARTICIPANT INSTRUCTIONS-ACCOUNTABILITY

[Participants are greeted as they arrive to the entrance of the lab/class room. Each is given a slip of paper with a number on it. That number is also written beside the person's name on the day's list. When all the participants have arrived, they are led into the lab/class room and asked to sit at any computer with a large, empty brown envelope.]

I think we are ready to start. This is ___________________ and I am Sharon Doerer. We are students in Sociology working with Dr. Murray Webster. We are also part of a committee involved in the UNCC - Belk College Employee Selection Project. This project includes, among other initiatives, a program to find work-related short-term junior positions for recent graduates in Engineering. All of these jobs may lead to longer-term employment. Essentially, the program aims to prepare students for a competitive job market and to provide them with financial support. The program, which involves innovative hiring practices, is supported by a consortium of US companies with projects in environmental engineering. Because of the common belief that the allocation of such jobs by professional administrators does not always take all aspects of the hiring decision into account, this program is directed at incorporating the input of a variety of people. Thus, we are seeking the input of undergraduate and graduate students in different fields and at various stages of their degrees. We are also seeking input from UNCC faculty and staff. We want input from a number of people with various levels of familiarity with the fields in question. Your role today is to provide student input for the selection of suitable job candidates.

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Before I explain the procedures to you, there are a few things I would like to point out. I would like to assure you that the information you give us will be kept confidential and will not ever be associated with you as an individual. This is why you have been given a number—we are only interested in the summarized or averaged answers from the many people who will participate over several sessions such as this one.

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The candidates you will assess have been pre-selected from the larger original pool of candidates by other groups of students like yourselves; you are essentially part of the final phase of the process that will determine who gets the job in each case. Applications were submitted in the Fall and results will be announced in May. You will receive three folders with job files assigned to you at random. It is possible that two or more of you might get the same folder or a folder with one candidate in common, since there are more than two semi-finalists per position and since we will assess the suitability of candidates based on the decisions that a number of you will have made. As I said a moment ago, in each of the three folders there will be application information about two individuals who have been deemed eligible for the position. Your task is to choose the person who, in each pair, you would like to recommend as the better candidate. We are looking for the most promising students and recent graduates to fill these positions, so make your decisions carefully. The option of not choosing either candidate is also left open in case you believe that neither would perform adequately at the job. You should not feel pressured to make a decision if you are not sure; remember that someone will get the job in the end. Applicants will be offered jobs in the order in which they are ranked when the input from all those involved has been averaged. You may be asked to explain your decisions, though it is perfectly acceptable to follow your instincts and first impressions.

[For Accountability]: Although all information you provide will be kept confidential, we ask that you write your name on the decision form in each folder. We ask for your name so that we can select some of you for individual interviews in which we will ask for your reasons for the selections you make. That is, you may be asked to briefly explain why you chose particular candidates. We ask you this to get an understanding of what you found important in terms of your selections.

There are several other items on the decision form for you to complete. It is very important that you complete everything for your selections to be of help to us, and that you work quickly as there are quite a few materials to cover. You will be given approximately 30 minutes to work with the three folders, that is, about 10 minutes per folder – so budget your time accordingly. Please write down now, on top of the brown envelope in front of you, the number that you were assigned at the beginning [**Pause … participants should be writing that number on the folder now**]. Also, as you work on each folder, write that same number in the space provided on the decision form. If you did not receive a number, please raise your hand and we will assign one to you.

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We will hand out the files now, and you may start as soon as you receive the materials. I would like to ask you all not to speak from this point on since we want your decisions to be made individually. Also, it is very important that you work on the folders one at a time, in the order in which you have received them. This will help to keep things organized. As well, do not start the second folder until I indicate that everyone should be starting to work on it; the same goes for the third folder.

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[Distribute files and decision forms.]

Before you begin, please write your number in the space provided on each your decision-forms as well as on the brown envelope. [For Study 2: Please write your name on both the decision form and the note form.] As you finish with each folder, place it, along with the completed decision form in the brown envelope so that things are kept organized. REMEMBER BE SURE TO WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE NOTE FORM.

Do not go back to a folder once you have completed it. If you have any questions, please raise your hand and one of us will come and speak to you. [Pause.] Please start with the first folder, as labeled. You may start now.

[**As participants work through the folders, alert them when 8 minutes per folder have elapsed. Also, make sure that they are taking notes!]**

Have you all finished? If you have not already done so, please finish up now. If you have finished, please put all your materials, except your note forms, into the brown envelopes and pass that envelop forward. [Collect envelopes.]

In a moment, we will be passing out a questionnaire. Please answer the questions carefully and make sure you answer all of the questions. The scales range from 1 to 6, please answer each question by circling a number. How you felt about your participation in this project is important to us, and this is the way you can let us know. Before you start, do not forget to write your number on the questionnaire. When you have completed it, place it inside this white envelope and remain in your seat until everyone else has finished. You may begin as soon as you receive a questionnaire. [**Second person passes out questionnaires; participants work on them.]**

Now I will describe what we are going to do next. You have completed your work with us for today. We will now divide you into two groups, so we can discuss the project in more detail with you. The discussion will take only a few minutes of your time, and there are some important things that we have to go over. Once we have had this discussion, we will pay you for your participation and will also enter your name into the drawing.

[**Participants gather. Research assistant takes the materials from the brown envelopes and keeps them together by participant, with a double clip, placing the envelope at the bottom. She then checks the responses to make sure that there are no missing answers, and examines the last page of the questionnaire for indications of suspicion.]**

Okay, everyone on this side of the room **[indicate]** can stay here; I would like the rest of you to go with **[second person]**.

[Half of the participants are led to Room _____ by the second person.]

I think it would be best if everyone gathered around [one table, in a circle]. **[Participants gather. Talk to them and ask them about their impressions of the project, using the Protocol for Debriefing. Assess if any had any suspicions regarding the task and the project in general.]**

Good. I am going to pass out a memo that I will read to you now and that I will ask you to sign. It is not too long.

[Read the Memo to Participants, one copy per person. Participants read and sign agreement not to discuss with classmates and friends on campus.]

Has everyone finished? Does anyone have any questions about what I just read, or about the activity you participated in today? I am sure you must have some questions. Anyone?

Ask if anyone would like to discuss any aspect of the session in private, and be prepared to do so. Finally, remember to:

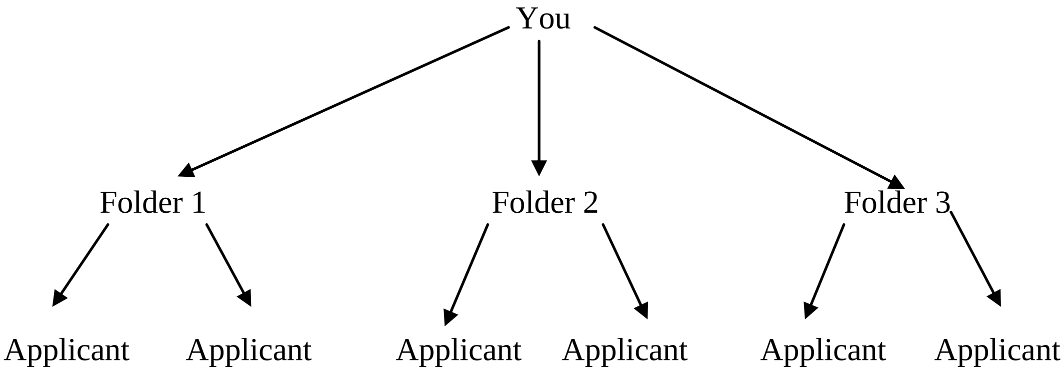
Pay each participant and ask him to sign receipt

Distribute the drawing forms, have each person fill one out and place it inside the glass jar; announce the date of the drawing. Confirm that winners will be contacted by phone.]

UNCC – INDUSTRY COOPERATIVE PROJECT
Employment Opportunity Program

Part I: Employee Recommendation

1. Review Folder


You
Folder 1
Folder 2
Folder 3
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant
Applicant

2. Complete Decision Form and Note Form in each Folder (be sure to write your name on BOTH the Decision Form and Note Form)
3. Place Decision Form in brown envelope WITH Folder
4. Keep Note Form
5. Complete Opinion Questionnaire (use Note Form for Reference)
6. Meet with Project Leaders to Discuss Recommendations

APPENDIX I: DEBRIEFING MEMO TO PARTICIPANTS

Now that the decision-making part of today's session is over, we would like to tell you about the project you just participated in, and answer any questions you may have. The materials you have been working with are part of a sociological study in how people make decisions based on limited information, and not part of an internship selection project as you were told. When no other information is provided, it is common for people to make judgments on the basis of personal characteristics such as gender or race, and we want to understand more about the mechanisms by which this occurs and ways to help people make better hiring decisions. A lot of effort was put into making the situation seem as realistic as possible. Under the circumstances we created, it is normal for people to believe the information given. We wanted to know how you would behave in an actual situation, rather than how you think you would behave in an imaginary one. If you had known from the start that the individuals and the team task were fictional, you probably would not have taken the task as seriously as you did.

Everyone who takes part in this study receives variations of the same files, along with an amount of incomplete information. It is common practice to withhold information in social science experimental research because information must be strictly controlled. If this were not done, many factors could be responsible for responses and behaviors. Only your selection decisions and questionnaire responses will be input into the data file. No identifying information about you will be included on any of the computer data files.

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask them at this time. If you have questions you would like to discuss in private, please let us know. We'll be glad to talk more with you. We hope you have found this to be an interesting experience and we thank you for your participation.

Now that you understand the nature of this study, we must ask that you not tell others about the study as we are continuing to run sessions just like this one. We're sure you understand that if other participants were to find out about the study before participating, this might affect their behavior and negatively impact our results. So we're asking that you sign this document indicating that you agree NOT to share the details of this study with your friends here on campus.

I agree not to share details about this study with other UNCC students, classmates and friends.

____________________________________ ________________________

Please sign your name here Date

APPENDIX J: RESULTS OF STUDY SETTING MEASURES

Clarity of study materials. Comparison of means.
Baseline and accountability designs

Instruction Type	Baseline (SD)	Accountability (SD)	*t*-value
Video	4.98 (1.144)	5.08 (1.053)	.439
Materials	5.58 (.663)	5.74 (.593)	1.203

Baseline (N=43); Accountability (N=53). Scales range from 1 (Very Confusing) to 6 (Very Clear).

These results show that both written and video instructions were clear. No statistically significant difference was found in clarity across designs.

Study participants feelings regarding study setting. Comparison of means.
Baseline and accountability designs[a]

Participant Feeling	Baseline (SD)	Accountability (SD)	*t*-value
Relaxed	2.77 (1.306)	3.08 (1.517)	1.052
Interested	2.33 (1.248)	2.30 (1.280)	.091
Motivated	2.70 (1.124)	2.60 (1.276)	.378
Concerned	2.91 (1.411)	2.96 (1.372)	.194
Involved	2.23 (1.250)	2.32 (1.384)	.324

[a] Baseline (N=43); Accountability (N=53). Scales range from 1 (i.e., Relaxed, Interested, Motivated, Concerned, Involved) to 6 (i.e., Pressured, Uninterested, Unmotivated, Indifferent, Uninvolved).

These results indicate two important aspects of the study situation. First, that the participants were task focused and motivated. Second, that there was not statistically significant difference in the levels of task focus and motivation across the two study designs.

Study participants attitudes toward applicants. Comparison of means.
Baseline and accountability designs

Participant Attitudes[a]	Baseline (SD)	Accountability (SD)	*t*-value
People Like Me	3.21 (1.582)	3.49 (1.793)	.805
Obligated to be Fair	1.28 (.854)	1.53 (1.187)	1.194
Fellow Students	2.30 (1.166)	2.72 (1.459)	1.158

Baseline (N=43); Accountability (N=53). Scales range from 1 (i.e., Strongly Agree) to 6 (i.e., Strongly Disagree).

[a] Questions: “The job applicants were people just like me.”; “I felt an obligation to the applicants to be fair in my evaluations; and “After reviewing the application folders, I was able to think of the applicants as fellow students”.

These results show that study participants regarded the job applicants as similar to themselves. Importantly, the results indicate that participants felt an obligation to be fair to job applicants.

Study participants attitudes toward program. Comparison of means.
Baseline and accountability designs

Participant Attitudes[a]	Baseline (SD)	Accountability (SD)	*t*-value
Input Taken Seriously	2.42 (1.401)	2.47 (1.514)	.177
Decision Difficulty	3.12 (1.313)	3.11 (1.437)	.011
Responsibility to Program	1.67 (.919)	1.60 (.968)	.364
Role is Important	2.23 (1.192)	2.11 (1.281)	.468
Program is Valuable	1.84 (.974)	1.81 (1.039)	.125

Baseline (N=43); Accountability (N=53). Scales range from 1 (i.e., Strongly Agree) to 6 (i.e., Strongly Disagree).

[a] Questions: “I feel that my input will be taken seriously by the administrators of this project.”; “I had a hard time making a decision.; “My role in the selection procedures was an important one.”; “This project is a valuable one, and should continue to be funded by the UNCC – Industry Cooperative Program.”

Results from this section of the questionnaire provides support that the cover story was successfully communicated and accepted by the study participants.

Study Participants' Perceptions of Job Characteristics

Rankings of job characteristics for Job #3. Comparison of baseline and accountability designs

Job Characteristic	Mean (SD) - Baseline	Mean (SD) - Accountability	*t*-value
Difficult	4.63 (.846)	5.09 (.766)	2.831**
Creative	4.23 (1.109)	4.53 (1.187)	1.250
Import	5.35 (.686)	5.40 (.689)	.336
Valuable	5.30 (.638)	5.32 (.779)	.125
Analytical	5.05 (.872)	5.04 (.876)	.049
Technical	5.12 (.905)	5.09 (.815)	.125

Baseline (N = 43); Accountability (N = 53). Scales range from 1 ('easy', 'routine', 'unimportant', 'not valuable', 'not analytical' and 'not technical') to 6 ('difficult', 'creative', 'important', 'valuable', 'analytical' and 'technical').
**p < .01 (Two-tailed test).

The results of this comparison of job characteristics for Job #3 shows that participants perceive the job as equally creative, important, valuable, analytical and technical across the study designs. The job was seen as more difficult in the Accountability Design.

Participant impressions of applicant attributes – Job #3. Comparison of white (Brad) and black (Rasheed) applicant attributes - baseline and accountability designs

Baseline Design (N=43)			
Applicant Attribute[a]	White Applicant Mean (SD)	Black Applicant Mean (SD)	*t*-value
Concrete	4.72 (.766)	4.56 (.700)	1.480
Skilled	4.72 (.797)	4.60 (.728)	.797
Believable	5.16 (.814)	5.12 (.879)	.703
Confident	4.81 (.852)	4.77 (.751)	.404
Active	4.81 (.824)	4.84 (.814)	.198
Likeable	4.95 (.688)	4.98 (.771)	.198
Accountability Design (N=53)			
Applicant Attribute	White Applicant Mean (SD)	Black Applicant Mean (SD)	*t*-value
Concrete	4.72 (.928)	4.68 (.936)	.362
Skilled	4.81 (.921)	4.74 (.880)	.663
Believable	5.13 (.810)	5.30 (.822)	2.897**
Confident	4.98 (.693)	5.00 (.734)	.227
Active	4.98 (.820)	5.11 (.800)	1.264
Likeable	5.09 (.766)	5.19 (.735)	1.399

[a] The questions asked participants to rank each applicant's attributes on a scale from 1 (Vague, Unskilled, Not Believable, Unconfident, Passive, Not Likeable) to 6 (Concrete, Skilled, Believable, Confident, Active, Likeable).

**p < .01 (Two-tailed test).

The previous table reports participant impressions of applicant attributes for Folder #3. In the Baseline design, participants reported similar impressions for both the white and black applicant. In the Accountability design, participants again reported similar impressions for the white and black applicants in the attributes of concreteness, skill, confidence, activity and likeability. In terms of believability, participants ranked the black applicant significantly higher than the white applicant.

Participant selections of important applicant characteristics – Folder #3. Comparison of proportions for baseline and accountability designs

Applicant Characteristic	Baseline (SD)	Accountability (SD)	*t*-value
Ability to Work with Others	.814 (.394)	.962 (.192)	2.261*
Intelligence	.814 (.394)	.868 (.342)	.719
Education Level	.767 (.427)	.774 (.423)	.070
Reasoning Ability	.767 (.427)	.849 (.361)	.996
Mechanical Skill	.744 (.441)	.811 (.395)	.786
Organizational Skill	.628 (.489)	.755 (.434)	1.328
Math Skill	.605 (.495)	.774 (.423)	1.775
Life Experience	.465 (.505)	.453 (.503)	.119
Age	.000	.170 (.379)	2.935**
Gender	.000	.075 (.267)	2.060*
Race	.000	.057 (.233)	1.766
Other	.000	.038 (.192)	1.428

Baseline (N = 43); Accountability (N = 53).
*. $p < .05$ (Two-tailed test).
**. $p < .01$ (Two-tailed test).

Results in the previous table show applicant characteristics participants selected as important for success at the job in Folder #3. All of the characteristics were selected approximately equally between the Baseline and Accountability designs. “Ability to work with others” was selected more in the Accountability design, as was age and gender.

APPENDIX K: HYPOTHESIS 3: CHI-SQUARE TABLES

Association between Race of Applicant and Race of Applicant Chosen

Hypothesis 3a. Baseline design.

Observed and (expected) frequencies of respondents' choices

All Respondents

	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing		
Respondent Recommendation	Condition #1 White Applicant	Condition #2 Black Applicant	Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	14 (11.5)	9 (11.5)	23
Applicant with Lower Class Standing (or Neither)	5 (10)	15 (10)	20
Total	19	24	43

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: 4.221 (df = 1, p = .04, two-tailed test).

Hypothesis 3a. Baseline design.

Observed and (expected) frequencies of respondents' choices by sex of respondent.

Male Respondents

	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing		
Respondent Recommendation	White Applicant	Black Applicant	Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	7 (5.5)	4 (5.5)	11
Applicant with Lower Class Standing (or Neither)	8 (5)	2 (5)	10
Total	15	6	21

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: .119 (df = 1, p = .730, two-tailed test).

Female Respondents

	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing		
Respondent Recommendation	White Applicant	Black Applicant	Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	7 (6)	5 (6)	12
Applicant with Lower Class Standing (or Neither)	7 (5)	3 (5)	10
Total	14	8	22

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: .015 (df = 1, p = .903, two-tailed test).

Hypothesis 3a. Baseline design.

Observed and (expected) frequencies of respondents' choices by race of respondent.

White Respondents

Respondent Recommendation	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing White Applicant	 Black Applicant	 Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	6 (6)	6 (6)	12
Applicant with Lower Class Standing (or Neither)	6 (3.5)	1 (3.5)	7
Total	12	7	19

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: 1.132 (df = 1, p = .287, two-tailed test).

Black Respondents

Respondent Recommendation	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing White Applicant	 Black Applicant	 Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	2 (1.5)	1 (1.5)	3
Applicant with Lower Class Standing (or Neither)	5 (4)	3 (4)	8
Total	7	4	11

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: .016 (df = 1, p = .898, two-tailed test).

Hispanic, Asian, Other Race Respondents

Respondent Recommendation	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing White Applicant	 Black Applicant	 Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	6 (4)	2 (4)	8
Applicant with Lower Class Standing (or Neither)	4 (2.5)	1 (2.5)	5
Total	10	3	13

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: .043 (df = 1, p = .835, two-tailed test).

APPENDIX L: HYPOTHESIS 4: CHI-SQUARE TABLE

Association between Race of Applicant and Race of Applicant Chosen

Observed and (expected) frequencies of respondents' choices.
Accountability design

All Respondents

	Race of Applicant with Higher Class Standing		
Respondent Recommendation	Condition #1 White Applicant	Condition #2 Black Applicant	Total
Applicant with Higher Class Standing	12 (14.5)	17 (14.5)	29
Applicant with Lower Class Standing or Neither	10 (12)	14 (12)	24
Total	22	31	53

Yates' Corrected Chi-Square: .000 (df = 1, p=.983, two-tailed test).