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Race, Gender, and Leadership Promotion: The Moderating Effect of Social Dominance Orientation

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Race, Gender, and Leadership Promotion: The Moderating Effect of Social Dominance
Orientation

By
Chelsea Chatham

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
In
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Abstract

The research for the following paper titled, Race, Gender, and Leadership Promotion: the Moderating Effect of Social Dominance Orientation and authored by Chelsea Chatham was conducted at Minnesota State University, Mankato located in Mankato, Minnesota. This study was a requirement of the Industrial/Organizational Psychology Master's Program and was conducted during the 2012-2013 academic school year.

The current study aims to examine the effects that applicant race and gender have on ratings of promotability for a leadership role. The current study will also investigate the role that Social Dominance Orientation, an individual difference variable that reflects attitudes towards intergroup relations being equal or not, plays in attitudes towards a candidate's promotability. 213 participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (candidates' race: Caucasian vs. African-American) \times 2 (candidates' gender: male vs. female) factorial design and asked to assess the promotability of the candidate based on a brief work history and interview responses. Results suggest that candidate gender did not affect promotability ratings, and African-American candidates received significantly higher ratings than Caucasian candidates. No significant interaction of race and gender was found. Additionally, social dominance orientation was not a significant moderator of the effects of race, gender, or the interaction of race and gender.

RACE, GENDER, AND LEADERSHIP PROMOTION

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Race, Gender, and Leadership Promotion: the Moderating Effect of Social Dominance
Orientation

Introduction

Although women account for nearly half of the workforce overall, in Fortune 500 companies, men hold 83.4% of board seats, white women hold 13.4%, and minority women hold only 3.3% (Catalyst, 2012). Based on the disproportion of these numbers, the central thesis of this paper attempts to demonstrate that biases against minorities exists and investigate if attitudes towards intergroup equality results in more or less bias towards minorities. This paper intends to apply theories from leadership and diversity research in order to explain the pervasiveness of race and gender bias and demonstrate that bias effects candidates' promotability. The current study will also investigate the role that Social Dominance Orientation, an individual difference variable that reflects attitudes towards intergroup relations being equal or not, plays in attitudes towards a candidate's promotability. This study adds to the literature in that it intends to empirically challenge the notion of race-neutrality in leadership. In addition, this study aims to contribute to practice by investigating the role that individual differences of the selector play in leadership promotion.

As the overwhelming number of white men leading Fortune 500 companies suggests, intergroup relations are far from equal. Prior research has shown that the lack of minorities and women at high levels of leadership can negatively impact organizations; research has shown that women are effective leaders and having diverse leadership is beneficial. For example, a meta-analysis found that women are slightly more likely to engage in more effective leadership styles than men (Eagly, Johannessen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003). While the differences are small, it

suggests that women are at least as effective as men in leadership positions. Research on diversity at high levels of organizations shows that diverse boards have improved decision making, as they are more likely to consider different perspectives prior to making the decision (Daily & Dalton, 2003). In addition, having a diverse board tends to increase corporate social responsibility ratings, which in turn improve organizations' reputations (Bear, Rahman, & Post, 2010). If diverse leadership is beneficial for organizations, why do we not see more of it? One reason may be that there are still various "isms" (e.g. sexism, racism) at play in the workforce that hinder upward mobility for minorities. Furthermore, individual difference variables such as social dominance orientation, may affect how these "isms" are demonstrated in the workplace.

The Impact of Race and Gender on Leadership Promotions

Leadership was traditionally investigated from a model based on studying white males, and only in recent years has research begun to investigate a female model of leadership. Previous research suggests that there are several barriers that prevent women from being selected or promoted into a leadership position. One problem is that leadership characteristics are often associated with males. A meta-analysis by Koenig, Eagly, Mitchel, and Ristikari (2011) showed that leadership stereotypes are more closely related to masculine than feminine traits. Leadership and masculinity is often associated with agentic traits such as assertiveness, competitiveness, ambition, and dominance. Femininity is often associated with communal traits such as compassion, warmth, and being understanding (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchel, & Ristikari, 2011). The masculinity of leadership can have many negative implications for women. Perry, Davis-Blake, and Kulik (1994) found that women were less likely to be selected into positions that activated a male-dominated schema. Male-dominated schemas tend to be activated with jobs that are

primarily held by men and, consequently, lead to a job being seen as masculine. This is particularly relevant for leadership; the statistics at the beginning of the paper and the meta-analysis presented above both suggest that leadership would activate a male-dominated schema. This could result in fewer women being selected into leadership positions due to the masculinity of that position.

Even if women are selected into leadership positions, they may still suffer the consequences of masculine leadership. *Role congruity theory* suggests that women are often punished for acting in ways that are not considered feminine (Eagly & Karou, 2002). This often manifests itself in two ways: women are not considered for positions that are thought of as masculine, and women are not viewed favorably when they act like a male leader. Support for this theory can be found in a series of studies conducted by Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, and Nauts (2011). Over the course of five studies the authors tested the extent to which women suffered backlash when they acted agentically. Overall results showed that while agentic women were more likely to be viewed as men's equals, they were also more likely to suffer from hiring discrimination and seen as less likable if they threatened the status quo by being highly agentic, or if participants were primed with system threat (i.e. reading a news article about the decline of America). In both situations the perceived threat to the system made participants rely more heavily on stereotypes and rate female leaders lower for their role-incongruent behaviors. Further support was demonstrated in a study by Rudman and Glick (2001) in which agentic women suffered from discrimination for a feminized job while androgynous women did not. These biases against women may explain why Elessor and Levers (2011) found that only a small majority of people (54%) reported having no preference of gender for their boss, 33% had a preference for a male boss while only 13% reported a preference for a female boss. These

stereotypes are persistent and resilient. Gill (2004) found that providing information about the candidates behaviors that were job relevant eliminated descriptive stereotypes (i.e. beliefs about characteristics of a group) but not prescriptive stereotypes (i.e. behavioral norms for a group), and ultimately, gender bias still existed. Participants who held highly traditional descriptive stereotypes of men and women rated both men and women equally when presented with two candidates who had equivalent resumes and cover letters; however, participants who held highly traditional prescriptive stereotypes rated women lower, regardless of the equivalence of their qualifications (Gill, 2004). This newer research on women in leadership, however, has been predominantly focused on white middle class women and has failed to include the effect of racial biases (Nkomo, 1992).

Effects of applicant race on selection or promotion have been observed. A study by Powell and Butterfield (1997) found that while there was no direct effect of race on applicant promotion, there was an indirect effect of race through job-relevant variables, such as work experience and mentorship. These variables tended to favor white applicants more than non-white applicants suggesting that subtle biases may exclude minorities from developmental opportunities, which in turn reduces the applicant's promotability. Direct effects of race have also been observed. In a study by Knight, Helb, Foster, & Mannix (2003) black leaders were rated more harshly than white leaders. The study showed that racism still exist and that subordinates often used seemingly minor past mistakes to justify their negative ratings for black leaders.

Because most of these studies cited prior are believed to be race or gender neutral, they fail recognize that gender is depicted differently cross-culturally (Parker, 2005). Evidence seems to suggest that experiences of African-American women in leadership are different from that of

more dominant (white) groups. Specifically, African-American women report facing more frequent questioning of their credibility and lacking institutional support (Catalyst, 2004).

Taylor (2007) argues that racism is still an issue for African-American women in the workplace; it has simply shifted from overt forms of racism to subtler biases (e.g. a lack of mentoring and questioning of authority). As Taylor (2007) states, “unlike overt acts of bigotry that are punishable by law, subtle bias wends through work-places like an odorless vapor that, when left unchecked, stirs up feelings in Black women that range from frustration to apathy to anger” (p. 165). Including race into the gender and leadership research as more than just a demographic variable is necessary to advance the understanding of how intersectionality affects African-American women. Nkomo (1992) draws the connection between the study of race in leadership and the tale of the emperor’s new clothes:

[T]he emperor is not simply an emperor but the embodiment of the concept of Western knowledge as both universal and superior and white males as the defining group for studying organization. The court suitors are the organizational scholars who continue the traditions of ignoring race and ethnicity in their research and excluding other voices. All have a vested interest in continuing the procession and not calling attention to the omissions. ... Even as ... voices point to the omissions and errors and the need for inclusiveness, the real issue is getting truly heard, rather than simply added on. (pp. 488-489)

Research has started investigated the interaction between race and gender on evaluations of leadership and workplace performance. Some research suggests that black women experience *double jeopardy* and suffer from effects of both racism and sexism (Bell & Nkomo, 2001). A Catalyst 2004 report showed that while white women face a *glass ceiling* while moving up the

corporate ladder, African-American women face a *concrete ceiling*. African-American women reported facing persistent racial stereotypes, frequent questioning of their authority, difficulty fitting in the workplace and being excluded from informal networks. This research suggests that black women seem to be facing the additive effects of race and gender in the workplace.

Other research suggests that minority women may face *intersectional invisibility*. In other words, it appears that minority women experience something different than simply the additive effects of race and gender. Purdie-Vaughn and Eibach coined the term intersectional invisibility in 2008. This theory focuses on how having multiple subordinate group identities can lead to a person being less visible because they do not fit the prototype of any one group. For example, the stereotypes associated with femininity and women are not race-neutral. Most stereotypes associated with women are associated specifically with white women; therefore black women may be less likely to activate a female-dominated schema. The result is that stereotypes for black women may not be as salient and black women are often invisible. Support for this theory can be found in a study done by Sesko and Biernat (2010) which found that black women were least likely to be recognized and their statements in group discussions were least likely to be correctly attributed when compared to white men, white women, and black men.

This “invisibility” of black women may lead to them being buffered from some gender and racial stereotypes. Livingston, Rosette and Washington (2012) investigated how backlash against agentic behaviors varied with race and gender. Participants in the study were shown a picture of a leader, which varied by race and gender and were then given a transcript of meeting in which the leader was addressing an underperforming employee. The leader either responded in a communal (i.e. encouraging and compassionate) or agentic (i.e. demanding and assertive) fashion. Participants were then asked to rate the leader in terms of how efficacious the leader

was, how respectable they were, and what salary they believed the leader should receive. These were combined to create an overall status rating for the leader. Results showed that white women and black men both received lower status ratings when they acted in dominant ways versus communal ways. Black women and white men did not show any significant differences in status when they acted communally versus dominant.

Given these theories and previous empirical support, I propose the following two hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Women will be given less favorable ratings than men for promotion (main effect of gender).

Hypothesis 2: African-Americans will be given less favorable ratings than Caucasians for promotion (main effect of race).

In addition, I will investigate the interaction of race and gender on promotability to determine if black women face the effects of both gender and racial stereotype, or if they are buffered from stereotypes.

Social Dominance Orientation

Social dominance orientation (SDO) can be defined as a “general attitudinal orientation toward intergroup relations, reflecting whether one generally prefers such relations to be equal, versus hierarchical,” (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994, p. 742). Those high in SDO prefer for group relations to be ordered such that some groups have greater resources than others. Those low in SDO have a preference for groups to be equal in terms of resources. SDO is often used to legitimize or justify why certain groups belong on top (Pratto et al, 1994). SDO is comprised of attitudes towards three types of hierarchies: age-based, gender-based and arbitrary-set. In age hierarchies the old are dominant over the young, and in gender hierarchies men are valued over women. Race is considered an arbitrary-set hierarchy where, in our society, whites

are the dominant group. One key feature of arbitrary-set hierarchies is that they are the result of men competing for resources and, as such, men from dominant groups suppress men from subordinate groups more than women from subordinate groups. Because those high in social dominance view men as more dominant than women, men from other groups are seen as more threatening than women. The result is that those high in SDO often oppress men from other groups more than women from other groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). People high in SDO are often opposed to equality enhancement and rely on stereotypes to help legitimize their belief that the dominant group should stay on top (Whitley, 1999). This is supported by a study done by Cokley et al. (2010). SDO was the strongest predictor of student cognitive attitudes toward racial diversity (i.e. beliefs one holds about other races). Specifically, the higher the participant's score on SDO, the more negative cognitive attitudes the student held toward racial diversity. SDO also predicted student attitudes towards gender diversity and resulted in more negative attitudes toward gender diversity, though it was not the strongest predictor (Cokley et al, 2010). Taken together, research suggests that people who are high in SDO are more likely to support hierarchical relationships and the systems that keep them in place. However, at this time, no research has explored the influence of SDO on biases in selection contexts. Hence, I propose the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3: There will be a moderating effect of social dominance on gender and ratings of promotability, such that people with high levels of social dominance will be more likely to promote men than women (interaction effect of social dominance and gender).

Hypothesis 4: There will be a moderating effect of social dominance on race and ratings of promotability, such that people with high levels of social dominance will be more

likely to promote Caucasians than African-Americans (interaction effect of social dominance and race).

Hypothesis 5: There will be a moderating effect of social dominance on the interaction of race and gender on ratings of promotability, such that people with high level of social dominance will promote African-American men least (three way interaction effect of social dominance, gender, and race, see Figure 1 appendix B).

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 250 undergraduate students at a mid-size Midwestern university enrolled in psychology courses. Thirty-seven participants were removed for either incomplete data or failing the manipulation check resulting in a final sample of 213. Participation in the research was voluntary and all participants will receive extra-credit points to be used towards their course grade. Participants reflected the student population and ranged in age from 18-36 with the mean age being 20.71 ($SD = 2.31$). Participants were predominantly Caucasian (188 Caucasians, 25 Minorities) and predominantly female (173 females, 40 males).

Research Design

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2 (candidates' race: White vs. African-American) \times 2 (candidates' gender: male vs. female) factorial design. Each participant was asked to evaluate a candidate who is applying for promotion into a leadership role. Participants were given a photo of the candidate, summary of their work history, as well as

the candidate's responses to three interview questions. After reading the interview responses, participants completed a promotability measure that assessed how likely they would be to promote the candidate. Participants then completed a social dominance orientation scale.

Materials

The job description for the promotion was based on tasks found on onetonline.org for first-line supervisors of retail sales workers. Five photos each of black women, white women, black men, and white men were collected and were displayed prior to the candidate's work history and interview responses. Photos were similar in terms of age and dress. A pilot study of 17 participants was conducted to ensure that the candidates in the photos were equally attractive. Participants rated each candidate's attractiveness on a five-point scale. Five photos from each group were selected based on the similarity of their attractiveness ratings. Of the photos used, attractiveness ranged from 3.41 to 4.43. The mean attractiveness ratings for each group were highly similar and ranged from 4.06 to 3.91 (see Table 1 in Appendix B). Work history summaries and interview responses were created for the purpose of this study. Both the work histories and the interview responses were designed to be marginally good so that there would be more variability in scores. They were also designed to be race and gender neutral so that they would not elicit any stereotypes. All of these materials can be found in appendix A.

Measures

Promotability

The promotability measure is an adapted version of the hireability scale developed by Medera, Hebl, and Martin (2009) and can be found in Appendix A. Participants were asked to respond to four items regarding the candidate's promotability on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from not at all to very much. Total promotability scores were calculated by averaging the

individual items, such that high scores related to higher level of promotability. The scale demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .91$)

Social Dominance Scale

Finally, participants were asked to complete the social dominance orientation scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Participants were asked to rate their feelings toward fourteen items measured on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from very negative to very positive. Eight items were reverse coded. An example of a positively worded item is, "It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and others are at the bottom." An example of a negatively worded item is, "We should strive for increased social equality." After reverse-coding, total scores were computed by averaging the items, such that high scores related to higher level of social dominance orientation. The scale demonstrated good reliability ($\alpha = .89$), but some restriction of range (1, 4.88). The average score was dichotomized with a median split. As a result those who scored between 1 and 2.56 were categorized as having low SDO and those who scores between 2.57 and 4.88 were categorized as having high SDO.

Procedure

The participants completed the study online over the course of a half hour. First, participants were given a prompt detailing the leadership position that the candidate was applying for. They were instructed to read the interview responses carefully because they would be required to recall and synthesize information presented, and ultimately, decide whether or not they would recommend this person for the position. Second, participants were presented with a photo of the candidate and a short summary of their work history, followed by their response to three interview questions. Photos of candidates varied by race and gender, but work history and interview responses were the same for all candidates. As an added control, all "candidates" were

of a similar age, dressed in a similar style of clothing, and were rated similarly on attractiveness. Participants were then asked to provide judgments about the candidate's promotability. Finally, participants completed the social dominance scale.

Results

A 2 x 2 x 2 between subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to test for the effects of race, gender, and social dominance orientation on promotability. No significant effect of gender was found ($F(1,205) = .07, \eta^2=.00, p > .05$). This fails to support hypothesis 1 and suggests males and females score similarly ($M = 5.15, SE = .10$ and $M = 5.19, SE = .09$, respectively). A significant effect of race was found ($F(1,205) = 5.01, \eta^2=.03, p < .05$). However, this fails to support hypothesis 2 as black candidates ($M=5.32, SE=.10$) scored higher than white candidates ($M=5.02, SE=.10$). In addition, no significant interaction effects were found between race and gender on promotability scores ($F(1,205) = .23, \eta^2=.00, p > .05$). The interaction of gender and SDO was not significant ($F(1,205) = 1.02, \eta^2=.01, p > .05$). This fails to support hypothesis 3 and suggest that SDO does not moderate the relationship between gender and promotability (Figure 2). The interaction between race and SDO is also not significant ($F(1,205) = .20, \eta^2=.00, p > .05$), which fails to support hypothesis 4 and suggests that SDO does not moderate the relationship between race and promotability (Figure 3). Finally, the interaction between race, gender, and SDO was not significant ($F(1,205) = .01, \eta^2=.00, p > .05$). Thus hypothesis 5 was not supported (Figure 4). ANOVA results and means can be found in tables 3 and table 4 in appendix B.

Discussion

The results of this study have several interesting implications. The underlying assumption of the study was that the incongruence of the stereotype of the job and stereotype of the candidate would result in lower scores for the candidate; however, this is not what the results suggest. There are many possible drivers of these results. Perhaps the stereotype of the job was not strong enough. Though leadership roles have been found to have masculine stereotypes, it is possible that the job position used in the study was not high enough in status to be viewed as a leadership role. Alternatively, perhaps the job tasks participants read were not viewed as highly agentic behaviors (Koenig, Eagly, Mitchel, & Ristikari, 2011). In other words, it is likely that lower level jobs are not status-incongruent enough to result in any backlash. This could help to explain why minorities are more likely to be present in lower-level leadership but not higher-level leadership. Perhaps this suggests some social progress and that for lower level managers stereotypes are not as salient. There is a need for more leadership research at lower levels in the organization to determine how these positions differ from those higher up.

Another possibility is that the incongruence of the role matters less than the incongruence of behaviors and stereotypes. This is in line with the series of studies cited earlier by Rudman, Moss-Racusin, Phelan, and Nauts (2011) that suggested that women were given poorer ratings only when they behaved in agentic ways that challenged the status quo. It is likely that the interview responses were not dominant or agentic enough to challenge the stereotypes for each group. Without the stereotypes being challenged, it may be less likely for minority candidates to be perceived as threatening the status quo. This put minority candidates in an interesting bind where they must not be incongruent with the stereotype of the role, but also must not behave

incongruent with the stereotype associated with their group. Future research could investigate whether or not role or behavioral incongruences matter more and how these two interact.

The results of this study suggest that the incongruence of role and behavior (interview questions) was not enough to cause lower ratings of promotability. In the absence of incongruence, results suggest that African Americans are scoring significantly higher on promotability, though the small effect size and similarity of the means suggest this may not be a practically meaningful difference. One theory that can help explain these results is aversive racism. Aversive racism is characterized by the conflict of one's desire to be non-prejudiced and the discomfort of being around other races. The discomfort is typically a result of experiencing racist traditions and the competition of social groups for resources (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). This discomfort is only expressed in particular situations. Studies show that aversive racism results in indirect prejudice only when race and discrimination are not salient. When race and discrimination are salient, aversive racism often results in racial minorities fairsing better than whites (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003). This could help explain why the present study, in which race and discrimination were salient, resulted in African Americans receiving higher promotability ratings. Along similar lines, the justification-suppression model suggests that prejudices are suppressed unless there is significant justification to express them (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). It is possible that this study did not provide enough justification (e.g. activation of group stereotypes) for participants to express prejudice.

Finally, the study has a number of limitations. The sample consisted of predominantly white, female, college-aged participants. This sample is not ideal for this study as they probably have little experience making decisions about promotability. There were also floor effects for scores on social dominance orientation. This restricted range makes it difficult to interpret the

moderation analyses. It is possible that SDO does moderate the relation but only at very high levels. With the current data, it is impossible to draw conclusions about what happens at the high end of the scale. Another limitation of this study is that it is a lab study and has reduced generalizability. The added control of having all equal qualifications and responses for all candidates is not realistic. The last limitation is that within subject data was not collected. This was done to mask the manipulation of race and gender among candidates, but within subject data could provide some valuable insights in the future.

In conclusion, none of the hypotheses for this study were supported, and the only significant result was in the direction opposite of what was hypothesized. However, given the realities of the workplace, sexism and racism still appear to keep minorities out of the upper echelons of organizations. Future research should focus on understanding when stereotype incongruence occurs and what its effects are in the workplace. Specifically, does role-incongruence matter more or less than behavioral incongruence and how do these two interact? Understanding which stereotypes are more salient is an important piece of this puzzle. Finally, more research could be done with social dominance orientation and its effect on promoting minorities. The current study was unable to find effects due to range-restriction, but if it is the case that higher levels of SDO relate to lower levels of minority promotion this could have many interesting implications.

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Appendix A: Materials and Measures

Job Description

Below is a list of duties that the candidate will be responsible for if they receive the promotion.

Please read the list carefully.

Responsibilities for Retail Manager

- Provide customer service by greeting and assisting customers, and responding to customer inquiries and complaints.
- Direct and supervise employees engaged in sales, inventory-taking, reconciling cash receipts, or in performing services for customers.
- Monitor sales activities to ensure that customers receive satisfactory service and quality goods.
- Inventory stock and reorder when inventory drops to a specified level.
- Instruct staff on how to handle difficult and complicated sales.
- Hire, train, and evaluate personnel in sales or marketing establishments, promoting or firing workers when appropriate.

Work History

Chris is a (Caucasian/ African American) (male /female) who has worked at the company as a sales associate for two years and is applying for the promotion to retail manager. S/He has been a consistent performer over the past two years. Although s/he initially had trouble resolving customer complaints, s/he has shown improvement in this area.

Interview Responses

Below is a transcript of the candidate's responses to 3 interview questions. Please read the responses carefully.

1) What is your biggest weakness?

Response: I think my biggest weakness is that I often take on too much. I am quite ambitious and I enjoy working which sometimes leads to me having several things on my plate at once. While I enjoy all the work I do, I sometimes get in over my head.

2) Tell me about a time when you had to deal with a difficult customer.

Response: One time I had a customer try to return an item that they bought two months prior. Our return policy only gives people 30 days to return items so I wasn't able to take it. The customer became very irate about that and started getting upset. I tried to calmly explain that this was simply company policy that I had to follow and nothing personal. I stood my ground and after a few minutes the customer left.

3) Tell me about a time when you had to work with someone who had a different work style than you.

Response: Once while working on a marketing presentation for our boss I discovered that my coworker and I had very different work styles and schedules, so we decided it would be easiest to both build half of the presentation and then combine them for the final project. Our boss seemed very pleased with the final project.

Promotability Scale

Please respond to the following statements on a 1 to 7 scale, where 1 = not at all and 7 = very much

- 1) How likely would you be willing to promote this candidate?
- 2) To what extent is this a “top-notch” candidate?
- 3) Is it likely that this candidate will make an effective manager?
- 4) How “excellent” is this candidate based on this interview?

Social Dominance Orientation Scale

Which of the following statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards?

Beside each statement, indicate the degree of your positive or negative feeling.

1. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.*
2. Group equality should be our ideal.*
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
5. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.*
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and others are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. We would have fewer problems if groups were treated more equally.*
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.*
10. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.*
12. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

13. We should strive for increased social equality.*
14. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
15. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
16. No one group should dominate in society.*

* Reverse-scored items

Appendix B: Tables and Figures

Figure 1. Predicted Moderating Effect of SDO on the Interaction of Race and Gender

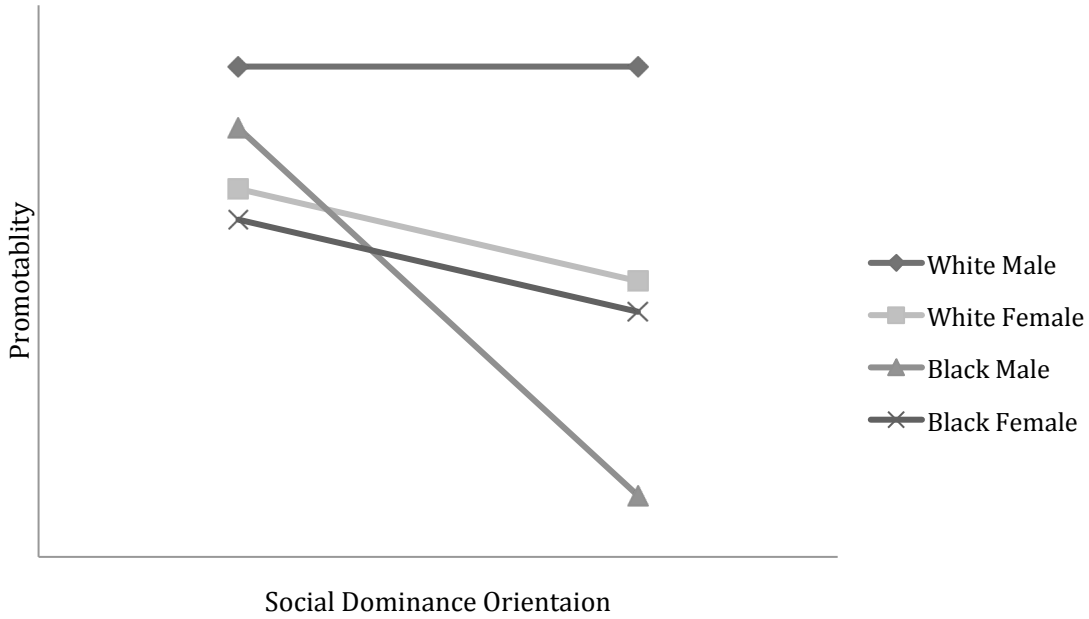


Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations for Attractiveness Rating in Photo Pilot Study

Group	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
White Male Candidates	3.98	.38
White Female Candidates	4.06	.41
Black Male Candidate	3.91	.37
Black Female Candidates	3.94	.38