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The negative work-related outcomes of perceived ethnic and sex discrimination

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THE NEGATIVE WORK-RELATED OUTCOMES OF

PERCEIVED ETHNIC AND SEX DISCRIMINATION

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Science

by

Corbin C. Wong

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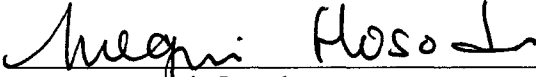ProQuest Information and Learning Company
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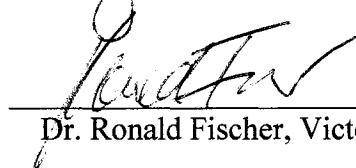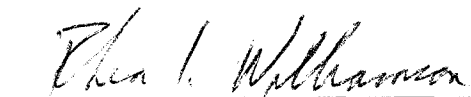APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

THE NEGATIVE WORK-RELATED OUTCOMES OF
PERCEIVED ETHNIC AND SEX DISCRIMINATION

by Corbin C. Wong

This thesis addressed the topic of perceived ethnic and sex discrimination and

examined their relationships with work-related outcomes (i.e., job satisfaction,

organizational commitment, work motivation). It was expected that perceptions of

discrimination held by employees would have a detrimental impact on their job

satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work motivation. In addition, this study

examined whether work locus of control has a moderating effect on the relationship

between perceptions of discrimination and work motivation.

Using a diverse sample of 230 employees from various organizations, the study

found that perceived ethnic discrimination and perceived sex discrimination were

negatively related with job satisfaction and organizational commitment. However, only a

significant negative correlation existed between perceived ethnic discrimination and work

motivation. The moderating effect of work locus of control on perceived discrimination

and work motivation was not found. Implications of these results are discussed.

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To my friends, I am very fortunate to have a great group of individuals who has been there with me through thick and thin. Muhammad Ali once said, "Friendship is the hardest thing in the world to explain. It's not something you learn in school. But if you haven't learned the meaning of friendship, you really haven't learned anything." Thank you all for teaching me the true meaning of friendship and for the continuous support.

Last but not least, to my parents, brother, and two sisters, your support, understanding, and love have given me the strength to continue on with the pursuit of my dreams. I am always aiming to make all of you proud.

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INTRODUCTION

The proliferation of minorities and women in the workplace over the past three decades is a subject that many organizations in the United States have had to acknowledge. Today, 48% of employees are women and 30% are minorities (United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission [US EEOC], n.d.). The White male majority is now a numerical minority (37%), but is still a sociological majority (US EEOC, n.d.). A variety of approaches have been taken by organizations to address the issue of increasing diversity in their respective workplaces. One organization might view the growing number of women and minorities as an advantage, and make attempts to accommodate the diverse employees in their organization (e.g., mentor programs, diversity training, restructuring of employees' career paths) (Murrell & James, 2001). Another organization might fail to embrace diversification in its workplace; thus, this organization might become more susceptible to employees perceiving discrimination in their workplace, which could lead to detrimental effects for both parties involved (Greenhouse, 2004).

Failure to embrace diversification was exemplified in a class action against Abercrombie and Fitch, one of America's leading clothing manufacturers for collegiate and suburbanite young adults. Several Hispanic, Black, and Asian plaintiffs aired grievances regarding the unjust distribution of tasks and duties while working for the organization, which often led to "low-visible" positions other than assisting customers on the sales floor. Although Abercrombie and Fitch negated the plaintiffs' claims, the lawsuit was settled with $40 million payable to at least one thousand minority plaintiffs,

and the company decided to increase their diversity initiative by hiring diversity

recruiters (Greenhouse, 2004).

In another example, Boeing recently found itself in a gender discrimination class

action involving allegations of pay discrepancies, a racially hostile work environment,

racial bias in hiring, and gender and racial bias in promotion practices (Holmes, 2004).

Because this discrimination class action is not Boeing's first, legal experts estimated that

the numerous discrimination claims could eventually cost Boeing one billion dollars.

One could only imagine the emotional and psychological impact on the employees

perceiving and/or experiencing discrimination at Boeing and Abercrombie and Fitch.

These examples illustrate the reason for studying the impact of perceived

discrimination on organizational outcomes. Ensher, Grant-Vallone, and Donaldson (2001)

point out the importance of examining perceived discrimination, as employees' beliefs

have an influence on their behaviors and can relate to various aspects relevant to the

organization, such as employee relations, organizational culture, and human resource

management. Therefore, employees' attitudes towards their organization, for example,

their motivation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment, are likely to be

negatively affected by their perceptions of discrimination against them. Moreover,

Elmslie and Sedo (1996) argued that "a single instance of discrimination in an

environment…may result in helplessness that extends well beyond that single instance"

(p. 471). In their view, helplessness, which goes together with decreased motivation, is

an attitudinal manifestation of discrimination. As a result, the examination of perceived

discrimination and motivation is also important as both employees and employers might be affected.

In addition, it is important not to ignore the impact of individual differences, particularly work locus of control, on the relationship between perceived discrimination and its outcomes, especially work motivation. Individual differences have the potential to influence a person's response to perceptions of discrimination.

Studies that have examined perceived discrimination with work motivation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment have shown that perceived discrimination is negatively correlated with those three particular outcomes (Ensher et al., 2001; Tougas, Joly, Beaton, & St.-Pierre, 1996). Although the relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation has been examined (e.g., Tougas et al.), results did not show a relationship between the two. Perhaps, individual differences (work locus of control) might affect this relationship. Gellatly (1996) pointed out that research examining the linkage between locus of control and motivation has produced inconsistent results. Knowing how work locus of control affects the perceived discrimination-organizational outcome relationship will assist organizations in understanding the need to be aware of individual differences because not all individuals who perceive discrimination might react in the same way.

The purpose of this study is to examine (1) the relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation, job satisfaction, and organizational commitment, and (2) the extent to which work locus of control moderates the relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation. The potential contribution of this study is

on providing employers knowledge of how discrimination might affect employees' organizational behaviors, which ultimately affects an organization's survival. The value of examining perceived discrimination and its outcomes in the workplace is to be able to address and raise awareness of the psychological impact that perceived discrimination could have on employees. Understanding the extent to which individual differences on locus of control impacts the relationship between perceived discrimination and organizational outcomes would help inform human resource practitioners about the issues of discrimination they can influence and those issues which are influenced by the individual.

In an attempt to gather evidence that perceptions of discrimination might have negative consequences on employee outcomes, an examination of the conceptualization of perceived discrimination will be discussed first. Then the antecedents and outcomes of perceived discrimination will be discussed, eventually leading to the hypothesized relationships.

Perceived Discrimination

Discrimination is often defined as "any negative behavior directed toward an individual based on his/her membership in a group" (Nelson, 2002, p. 6). The examination of objective discrimination in the workplace has been prevalent in the field of industrial and organizational (I/O) psychology. Objective discrimination constitutes structural barriers that are measurable events, such as disparities in salaries, lack of promotions/advancement, and biased performance appraisals (Phinney, Madden, & Santos, 1998). Several studies have examined the potential antecedents and

consequences of objective discrimination (e.g., Dewberry, 2001; Murrell & James, 2001). In contrast to objective discrimination, perceived discrimination is defined as "an interpretation of events as discriminatory and may be influenced by psychological variables (i.e., self-esteem, depression/anxiety, mastery) related to one's interpretation of the intentions of others" (Phinney et al., p. 938). Research has often examined perceived sex discrimination and/or perceived racial/ethnic discrimination. In this study, perceived discrimination is operationalized as perceived ethnic or perceived sex discrimination.

Frieze, Olson, and Good (1990) examined sex differences in perceived discrimination among over 1000 MBA graduates from a Middle Atlantic University. Their findings indicate that women were more likely to perceive discrimination than men. In addition, a noteworthy salary discrepancy existed between sexes. These findings indicate that those women have actually been discriminated against. Although these researchers failed to control for demographic variables such as job status, tenure, and education level, it could be assumed that perceiving discrimination in the workplace is not exclusively based on subjectivity.

Perceived sex or ethnic discrimination at work can have profound implications for individuals' relationships with their organization. Several studies have linked perceived discrimination to job satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, grievances, perceived fairness, and job stress (Ensher et al., 2001; Foley & Kidder, 2002; Mays, Coleman, & Jackson, 1996; Sanchez & Brock, 1996). Within that small group of studies, there are possible problems with the conceptualization of perceived discrimination, as none of these researchers used a similar conceptual

definition. For example, Sanchez and Brock conceptualized perceived discrimination as an individual's perception that he or she is experiencing selective and differential treatment because of his or her ethnic group membership. Mays and her colleagues operationalized perceived discrimination as perceptions of race-based discrimination, which encompasses four discrimination indices: resource and opportunity barriers, racial-ethnic discrimination, general discrimination-system blame, and general discrimination-past and future orientation. It should be noted that there is a relative lack of consistency in the operational definition of perceived discrimination.

Antecedents of Perceived Discrimination

Two studies have explored predictors of two forms of perceived discrimination; perceived ethnic discrimination and perceived sex discrimination. The first study assessed the relationship between self-esteem, mastery, depression/anxiety, intergroup competence, ethnic identity, and demographic variables (age, gender, socioeconomic status, and place of birth) with perceived ethnic discrimination (PED) among a group of adolescents (Phinney et al., 1998). Phinney et al. utilized a perceived discrimination scale that assessed the frequency of being treated unfairly by teachers, peers, and other adults. In addition, their perceived discrimination scale measured adolescents' feelings of being unaccepted in society because of their ethnicity. Results indicated that depression/anxiety positively and intergroup competence negatively correlated with PED. Intergroup competence had a negative relationship with PED, indicating that the easier it was for a person to socialize with people of a dissimilar ethnic background, the less ethnic discrimination he or she perceived. There were no significant differences in PED

due to ethnicity, sex, socioeconomic status, and birthplace, but socioeconomic status and birthplace were found to be indirectly related to PED through intergroup competence. Moreover, Phinney et al. found that mastery (or a sense of control) had a direct association with intergroup competence, but mastery did not correlate with PED. Instead, mastery had an indirect relationship with PED through intergroup competence.

However, Shorey, Cowan, and Sullivan (2002) showed that perceived personal and interpersonal control negatively related with perceptions of personal discrimination among a sample of Hispanic undergraduate students. That is, as one's sense of personal control increased, reports of perceived discrimination decreased. In addition, as one's belief that he or she has control over other people (interpersonal control) increased, perceived discrimination also decreased. In other words, internals reported less personal discrimination. Lanier and Barnett (1996) also found a difference on perceptions of sex discrimination between women who were internals and women who were externals, however, with a higher percentage of internals reporting perceived discrimination than externals. Although Lanier and Barnett did not give reasoning to their findings, they did mention that their findings were in line with previous research that suggested personality characteristics might be relevant indications as to whether individuals perceive organizational actions as discriminatory.

In summary, research has shown that results of the relationship between locus of control and perceived discrimination might be dependent on the type of perceived discrimination being examined. For example, locus of control was found to be indirectly related to perceived ethnic discrimination, but it was also found to be directly related to

perceptions of sex discrimination. The differences in these studies might be due to the diverging conceptualizations of locus of control and perceived discrimination employed by the researchers.

Outcomes of Perceived Discrimination

Research on perceived discrimination documented work-related attitudinal reactions, beliefs, feelings, and behavioral outcomes that result from perceived discrimination. These outcomes include job satisfaction, organizational commitment, organizational citizenship behavior, grievances (e.g., Ensher et al., 2001), job problems/job stressors (e.g., Mays et al., 1996), satisfaction with legal profession, perceived career prospects (e.g., Foley & Kidder, 2002), locus of control (e.g., Valentine, Silver, & Twigg, 1999), feelings of power and prestige on the job, work conflict, job involvement, and intent to turnover (e.g., Gutek, Cohen, & Tsui, 1996).

Foley and Kidder (2002) found that among lawyers, law professors, judges, and law students of Hispanic origin (a) perceptions of ethnic discrimination negatively related with satisfaction with legal profession, (b) perceptions of sex discrimination negatively related with perceived career prospects, and (c) both perceptions of ethnic and sex discrimination were negatively related with perceptions of promotion fairness. Foley and Kidder also found that respondents reporting lower levels of perceived justice were less satisfied with their chosen career and had fewer expectations that they would become a partner in their organization. Similarly, Valentine et al. (1999) found a negative relationship between perceived racial discrimination and job satisfaction and job complexity, and a positive relationship between perceived racial discrimination and locus

of control among a sample of young adults in the United States. In Valentine et al.'s study, individuals who perceived racial discrimination believed they had less control of their lives and those who perceived racial discrimination also perceived less complexity in their job. Mays et al. (1996) also found a positive relationship between perceived racial ethnic discrimination and job problems/job stressors among Black women. More specifically, the greater the perception (1) of racial ethnic discrimination, (2) that society is responsible for predicament in a participant's life, and (3) the greater the respondent's sense of past and future racial ethnic discrimination against Blacks in general, the greater the reports of job stressors.

Ensher et al. (2001) showed that perceived discrimination (due to ethnicity or sex) was negatively correlated with job satisfaction and organizational commitment. Given these findings, it is expected that the following relationships will be found in the present study.

Hypothesis 1a: Perceived sex discrimination will negatively correlate with job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 1b: Perceived sex discrimination will negatively correlate with organizational commitment.

Hypothesis 2a: Perceived ethnic discrimination will negatively correlate with job satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2b: Perceived ethnic discrimination will negatively correlate with organizational commitment.

Perceived Discrimination and Work Motivation

Perceived discrimination in the workplace might also lead to decreased

motivation. Unmotivated employees can have a detrimental effect on the organization, as

they might develop increased turnover intentions, which can ultimately lead to them

leaving the job (Richer, Blanchard, & Vallerand, 2002). Tougas et al. (1996) explored

the relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation. Tougas et al.

speculated that emotional reactions of beneficiaries of affirmative action are contingent

upon their beliefs about the affirmative action program. Therefore, depending on their

beliefs, affirmative action, rather than serving as assistance to helping with the attainment

of equal representation of women and minorities in the workplace, might inflict damage

on the beneficiaries by undermining their self-confidence regarding their performance

capabilities. Tougas et al. also argued that the beneficiaries' self-confidence is debilitated

because affirmative action might falsify their achievements. Tougas and her colleagues

based their argument on findings that ambiguity of whether women's qualifications were

taken into account in the selection process was associated with these women being less

satisfied with their jobs, less motivated, and more negative in evaluations of their own

competence in comparison to men.

Similarly, in a study conducted by Blaine, Crocker, and Major (1995),

participants were instructed to imagine themselves as either an African American or a

woman job applicant. The participants, comprised of European-American, African-

American, and Asian undergraduates, reported lower state self-esteem, lower motivation

for work, more hostility, and more depression when an interviewer suggested that the

hiring decision was based on sympathy for past discrimination against African Americans or women. Blaine et al. contend that these individuals suffer negative consequences because they can no longer take personal credit for their success (i.e., being hired). Tougas et al. (1996) addressed this issue by studying whether perceived group discrimination of an affirmative action program would have a negative impact on the beneficiary's work motivation. However, Tougas et al. did not find any associations between perceived discrimination and reactions of beneficiaries (i.e., work motivation, work satisfaction, evaluations of one's qualifications) among men or women. Nonetheless, it is still hypothesized that

> *Hypothesis 3a*: Perceived ethnic discrimination will correlate negatively
> with work motivation, and

> *Hypothesis 3b*: Perceived sex discrimination will correlate negatively
> with work motivation.

Locus of Control as a Moderator of Perceived Discrimination and Work Motivation

Some research has demonstrated a relationship between personality characteristics with perceived discrimination, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction (Phinney et al., 1998; Valentine et al., 1999). However, no study has investigated the moderating influence of work locus of control on the relationship between perceived discrimination and organizational outcomes.

Locus of control is defined as a person's belief that he or she can control the events in his or her life as opposed to having his or her life events controlled by exterior forces such as luck or chance (Spector, 1988). Individuals who believe that their actions

and behaviors control the events in their lives are considered internals. Individuals who attribute their life events to luck, chance, or fate are categorized as externals.

Frost and Wilson (1983) found that individuals scoring low on locus of control (internals) reported higher internal work motivation (i.e., an individual's belief that he or she has internal reasons to want to work) and a higher motivating potential score (i.e., a composite of the five core characteristics of a job: skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback). Furthermore, Haworth, Jarman, and Lee's (1997) study showed that women who were considered internals had more enjoyment, interest, feelings of control, and intrinsic motivation than those identified as the external locus of control group. In this case, intrinsic motivation was considered as wanting to do more things (Haworth et al.).

Spector (1986) conducted a meta-analysis regarding autonomy and participation at work and found that employees with perceptions of high levels of control at work (internals) were more motivated than externals. Broedling (1975) also found internals scored higher on motivation than externals. Spector argued that whether an individual believes he or she can affect the environment has an impact on the individual's perceptions of that environment and his or her reactions to it. Perceiving discrimination in the workplace would likely lead to an individual being less motivated to work, however, this perception might be moderated by certain personality characteristics. Perrewé and Mizerski (1987) proposed that internals are more cognitively alert than externals. In their study, internals were more responsive than externals to environmental cues when the task was complex, but they were not different when the task was simple.

Moreover, Lonergan and Maher (2000) found that employees with an internal locus of control (vs. externals) were less likely to procrastinate when they had more autonomy on the job. However, the relationship between autonomy and procrastination was weaker for externals.

Past research has identified a relationship between locus of control and perceived discrimination (e.g., Valentine et al., 1999), a relationship between locus of control and work motivation (e.g., Haworth et al., 1997; Spector, 1986; Broedling, 1975), and a relationship between work motivation and perceived discrimination (e.g., Tougas et al., 1996). This study goes one step further to propose that locus of control might moderate the relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation. Along the lines of Perrewé and Mizerski's (1987) research, one might identify perceived discrimination as an environmental stressor. Even though external locus of control has been found to be positively associated with perceived discrimination, it is also believed that internal locus of control might act as a more influential variable on an individual's perception of their job based on Perrewé and Mizerski's assertion that internals are more aware of their environment than externals. Thus, for internals, the negative relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation will be stronger in comparison to externals given an internal's greater sensitivity to the environment. Therefore, it is hypothesized that the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and perceived sex discrimination in the workplace on work motivation will be moderated by work locus of control. More specifically,

Hypothesis 4a: A stronger negative relationship will exist between perceived ethnic discrimination and work motivation when the individual is an internal than when the individual is an external.

Hypothesis 4b: A stronger negative relationship will exist between perceived sex discrimination and work motivation when the individual is an internal than when the individual is an external.

METHODS

Participants

Surveys were distributed to 385 individuals. Of these, 240 were returned, giving an initial response rate of 62.33%. However, only 230 surveys were usable because several surveys had missing data. Of the 230 respondents, 56.5% were female and 43.5% were male. Table 1 describes the demographic information of the respondents. As can be seen in the table, the sample is quite diverse in terms of measured ethnicity. It is comprised of respondents from European (39.1%), Asian (33.9%), Hispanic (16.1%), and Black (2.2%) backgrounds. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 62 years ($M = 33.86$, $SD = 13.11$). On average, respondents had worked in their current position for 5.81 years ($SD = 7.01$). The positions held by the respondents were at a variety of organizational levels: process/clerical worker (29.6%), supervisor (15.2%), middle level manager (9.6%), senior manager (2.6%), and CEO/CFO/COO (1.7%). Fifty-three percent of the respondents were employed in the public sector and 42% were employed in the private sector. Of the 230 respondents, 58.3% were full-time employees, 4.8% were part-time employees, and 36.9% did not identify their employment classification.

Procedures

Students in undergraduate psychology and statistic classes were requested to give one or two surveys to someone who has been working for at least one year in the same position. Students who completed the assignment were given extra credit (the amount determined by the professor). A consent form was administered with each questionnaire and had to be returned with the survey in order for the survey to be counted (see

Appendix A). The consent form included information regarding the confidentiality and voluntary nature of the study. Participants were also told that participation in the study was entirely voluntary.

Measures

  Perceived sex discrimination. Perceived sex discrimination was measured with 21 items from the Perceived Discrimination measure developed by Dorr (1992), which consisted of 40 items. Dorr's items originally measured perceived racial discrimination. However, the same scale was used to measure perceived sex discrimination. The 21 items were chosen because the term "discrimination" exemplifies a negative behavior and the items that were not used did not match the definition of discrimination (e.g., "In general, White-Americans believe that African-Americans are not as intelligent as White-Americans," and "In social situations, I sometimes feel like a 'token' because of my race"). Modifications were made so that items were tailored to the workplace, and the word sex replaced race. A sample item in the original scale was "People talk down to me because of my race." In the current study, that item was modified to read, "At work, people talk down to me because of my sex." Using a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from *disagree strongly* (1) to *agree strongly* (5), individuals were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each statement. Higher scores on the scale indicate more perceived sex discrimination. A reliability of .83 for this scale was computed in the present study (see items in section A of Appendix A).

  Perceived ethnic discrimination. Perceived ethnic discrimination was measured with 22 items extracted from Dorr's (1992) 40-item Perceived Discrimination measure

(see items in section B of Appendix A). Only 22 items were utilized to measure perceived ethnic discrimination for this study based on the criterion previously mentioned for selecting perceived sex discrimination items. The exclusion of several items was based on those items' irrelevance to the current study. Some of the items excluded were "Racial discrimination, as it existed prior to 1970, is currently not a problem," "Because of my race, people expect me to do poorly on tasks," and "People make assumptions about my background because of my race." Three additional items (see items 10, 14, and 24 in section B of Appendix A) were developed and added to the perceived discrimination measure for the present study because previous research has indicated that individuals might be ethnically discriminated against based on their accent (e.g., Goto, Gee, & Takeuchi, 2002). Higher scores on the scale indicate more perceived ethnic discrimination. Cronbach coefficient was .92.

Work locus of control. Locus of control was measured with 16 items from the Work Locus of Control Scale (WLCS) developed by Spector (1988) (see items in section C of Appendix A). This scale assesses an individual's generalized control beliefs in work settings. A 6-point Likert-type scale was used for responses, ranging from *disagree very much* (1) to *agree very much* (6). Lower scores indicate that the person has more internal locus of control. Cronbach coefficient alpha for reliability was .83.

Organizational commitment. Organizational commitment was measured with 15 items from the Organizational Commitment Questionnaire (Mowday, Steers, & Porter, 1979) (see items in section D of Appendix A). A 7-point Likert-type rating scale was used with responses ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Higher

scores on the scale indicate a greater level of organizational commitment. Mowday et al.

obtained an internal consistency of .80. In this study an internal consistency of .91 was

found.

Overall job satisfaction. Overall job satisfaction was assessed with three items

from the Michigan Organizational Assessment Questionnaire Satisfaction Subscale

(Cammann, Fichman, Jenkins, & Klesh, 1979, as cited in Spector, 1997) (see items in

section E of Appendix A). Each item had a response choice ranging from *strongly*

disagree (1) to *strongly agree* (7). Higher scores on the scale signify greater job

satisfaction. Reliability for the measure was .77 for Cammann et al. Internal consistency

reliability alpha of .90 was obtained for this study.

Work motivation. Work motivation was measured with the adult version of Work

Preference Inventory (WPI) (Amabile, Hill, Hennessey, & Tighe, 1994). The WPI

consisted of 30 items that were developed to capture the two dimensions of work

motivation (intrinsic motivation and extrinsic motivation) (see items in section F of

Appendix A). Each of the two dimensions of work motivation was assessed with 15

items. Individuals were asked to indicate the extent to what each item describes them

with a 4-point Likert-type scale ranging from *never or almost never true of me* (1) to

always or almost always true of me (4). According to Amabile et al., coefficient alphas

for the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation scales were .82 and .76, respectively. Because

Amabile et al. stated that the Work Preference Inventory could be utilized to measure

overall work motivation, the intrinsic and extrinsic scales were collapsed into an overall

work motivation scale. In the present sample, Cronbach's alpha for the overall work

motivation scale was an acceptable .70. Higher scores on the WPI indicate higher

motivation.

RESULTS

Descriptive statistics (means, standard deviations, and alpha reliability

coefficients) and intercorrelations among the measured variables are reported in Table 2.

Total scale scores were computed for perceived sex discrimination, perceived ethnic

discrimination, work locus of control, and job satisfaction because Dorr (1992), Spector

(1986), and Cammann et al. (1979) utilized the sum of their respective scales in their data

analyses. Remaining true to Mowday et al.'s (1979) method of data analysis, average

total scores were computed for organizational commitment. The method of data analysis

used by Amabile et al. (1994) was replicated as average total scores were computed for

work motivation. The midpoint value for the perceived sex discrimination and perceived

ethnic discrimination scales were 52.5 and 62.5, respectively. Scores for perceived sex

discrimination and perceived ethnic discrimination showed that the average reported

score is below the midpoint on both respective scales, thus indicating that on average,

respondents did not seem to perceive sex or ethnic discrimination at work (see Table 2).

Preliminary Analyses

Prior to testing the hypotheses, in order to determine if any groups (sex or

ethnicity) need to be held constant, a one-way between-group analysis of variance

(ANOVAs) and independent-samples *t*-tests were conducted. If there were significant

mean differences between males and females or among ethnic groups on perceived sex

discrimination and/or perceived ethnic discrimination, then these variables would have to

be held constant. No significant mean differences were found between males and

females on perceived sex discrimination $t(228) = -1.30, p = .08$ and on perceived ethnic

discrimination $t(228) = 1.80$, $p = .11$. A one-way between-groups ANOVA was performed to examine if there were significant mean differences among those of European, Hispanic, and Asian backgrounds on the perceived ethnic discrimination variable. Blacks and Native Americans were excluded from the analysis due to their small cell size. Results showed a significant difference in perceived ethnic discrimination scores for the three ethnic groups, $F(2, 202) = 5.65$, $p = .004$; $\eta^2 = .25$. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the White/European American group ($M = 42.90$, $SD = 13.97$) was significantly different from the Latino/Latina group ($M = 52.00$, $SD = 16.74$) and the Asian-Pacific Islander/Asian American/Asian group ($M = 49.82$, $SD = 18.77$), which did not differ from each other. Because the post-hoc comparisons indicated a significant difference between the White/European group and the other two groups, a new variable was created that consisted of a sociological majority group (White/European American) and a sociological minority group consisting of the other six ethnic groups reported in this study.

A one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted in order to investigate ethnic differences (collapsed into sociological majority and sociological minority groups) in the six dependent variables: perceived sex discrimination, perceived ethnic discrimination, work locus of control, organizational commitment, overall job satisfaction, and work motivation (see Table 3). The results of the MANOVA indicated a statistically significant difference between sociological majorities and sociological minorities on the combined dependent variables: $F(6, 223) = 4.34$, $p < .001$, Wilks' $\Lambda = .90$, $\eta^2 = .10$. When the results for the dependent variables were

considered separately, the only difference to reach statistical significance using a

Bonferroni adjusted Type I error rate of .008 was perceived ethnic discrimination: $F(1,$

$228) = 11.86, p = .001, \eta^2 = .05$. An examination of the mean scores between the two

groups indicated that sociological minorities ($M = 50.82, SD = 18.72$) reported higher

levels of perceived ethnic discrimination than the sociological majority group ($M = 42.90,$

$SD = 13.97$).

Because statistically significant differences in mean scores were found between

sociological minorities and sociological majorities on perceived ethnic discrimination,

this dichotomous variable was analyzed as a moderator of the relationship between

perceived ethnic discrimination and work motivation, perceived ethnic discrimination and

organizational commitment, and perceived discrimination and job satisfaction. Therefore,

a hierarchical multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to determine whether

an ethnicity (collapsed into two groups) x perceived ethnic discrimination interaction

term would account for additional variance in work motivation above and beyond the

main effects of perceived ethnic discrimination and ethnicity (see Table 4). With work

motivation as the dependent variable, ethnicity and perceived ethnic discrimination were

entered in Step 1. The ethnicity x perceived ethnic discrimination interaction term was

entered in Step 2. A moderating effect was indicated by the significant change in R^2.

The change in R^2 for the interaction term was non significant for work motivation R^2

$= .03, \Delta R^2 = .00, F_{cha}(1, 226) = .14$. Results indicated that the relationship between

perceived ethnic discrimination and work motivation was not moderated by ethnicity.

Using the same procedures, results of the hierarchical regression analyses showed that (a)

ethnicity did not moderate the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and organizational commitment $R^2 = .14$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F_{cha}(1, 226) = .25$ (see Table 5), and (b) ethnicity did not moderate the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and job satisfaction $R^2 = .11$, $\Delta R^2 = .00$, $F_{cha}(1, 226) = .72$ (see Table 6).

Because combining Hispanics and Asians can be problematic as Asians tend to be seen as model minorities in the workplace and therefore generally experience less discrimination than Hispanics, ethnicity was also tested as a moderator consisting of the White/European American group and the Latino/Latina group only. Results from the analysis indicated that despite the removal of the other sociological minority groups, ethnicity did not moderate the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and work motivation, perceived ethic discrimination and organizational commitment, and perceived ethnic discrimination and job satisfaction. Because ethnicity did not significantly moderate the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and the organizational outcomes, it was not held constant in subsequent analyses.

Tests of Hypotheses

Hypotheses 1a and 1b and 2a and 2b were tested using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. Hypothesis 1a stated that employees perceiving sex discrimination would report lower levels of job satisfaction and Hypothesis 1b posited that employees perceiving sex discrimination would express feelings of less organizational commitment. According to Cohen's (1988) guidelines for determining the strength of the relationship, there was a close to moderate and negative correlation between perceived sex discrimination and job satisfaction ($r = -.29$, $p < .001$); those who

perceived more sex discrimination reported lower levels of overall job satisfaction. The relationship between perceived sex discrimination and organizational commitment was moderate ($r = -.30$, $p < .001$), with higher levels of perceived sex discrimination associated with lower levels of organizational commitment. These results support Hypotheses 1a and 1b.

Hypothesis 2a, stating that higher levels of perceived ethnic discrimination would be associated with lower levels of job satisfaction, and Hypothesis 2b, stating that perceived ethnic discrimination would negatively correlate with organizational commitment, were also supported. Perceived ethnic discrimination negatively correlated with job satisfaction ($r = -33$, $p < .001$) and with organizational commitment ($r = -.35$, $p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3a examined whether perceived ethnic discrimination would correlate negatively with work motivation. A small, but significant negative correlation between the two variables was found ($r = -.16$, $p < .05$). Thus, the more employees perceived ethnic discrimination, the less they were motivated. When calculating the coefficient of determination for these two variables, they only shared 3% of variance. Hypothesis 3b examined whether perceived sex discrimination would correlate negatively with work motivation. A negative correlation ($r = -.12$, ns) was found between perceived sex discrimination and work motivation. However, the correlation was not statistically significant, thus Hypothesis 3b was not supported.

Hypothesis 4a stated that work locus of control would moderate the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and work motivation. Results of a hierarchical

regression analysis are presented in Table 7. In step 1, work locus of control and perceived ethnic discrimination were entered but only accounted for a small proportion of work motivation $R^2 = .03$, $F(2, 229) = 2.99$, $p = .052$. It should also be noted that only perceived ethnic discrimination predicted work motivation. In step 2, the interaction term for work locus of control and perceived ethnic discrimination was entered $R^2 = .04$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$, $F_{cha} (1, 226) = 2.61$. Results did not support the hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4b stated that a stronger negative relationship between perceived sex discrimination and work motivation would exist when the individual is considered an internal as opposed to an external. Standardized coefficients (βs) associated with each individual step are presented in Table 8. The last step of the regression indicated that the incremental variance accounted for by the work locus of control x perceived sex discrimination interaction term was not significant, $R^2 = .02$, $\Delta R^2 = .001$, $F_{cha} (1, 226) = .17$. Thus, Hypothesis 4b was not supported.

Although work locus of control did not moderate the relationship between perceived ethnic discrimination and work motivation, and perceived sex discrimination and work motivation, it was significantly positively correlated with both types of perceived discrimination (see Table 2).

DISCUSSION

This study examined the potential impact of perceived sex discrimination and perceived ethnic discrimination on work motivation, organizational commitment, and job satisfaction. Perceived discrimination is a relatively new construct. Because of this, there is the lack of consensus on the conceptualization of the construct as well as an agreed-upon consistent measure of it. Although a new perceived discrimination measure was not developed, this study attempted to address the importance of studying perceptions of discrimination in the workplace and the various detrimental effects they could have on several organizational outcomes.

Results of the study are consistent with previous findings by Ensher et al. (2001), and Sanchez and Brock (1996), suggesting that perceptions of discrimination in the workplace correlate with decreases in job satisfaction and organizational commitment. As hypothesized, employees who perceived sex discrimination and ethnic discrimination in the workplace were more likely to report lower levels of job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Results of Hypotheses 3a and 3b in this study also shed new light on a relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation. Specifically, this study hypothesized that (1) perceived ethnic discrimination would correlate negatively with work motivation and (2) perceived sex discrimination would correlate negatively with work motivation. Results of the correlational analyses suggest that employees perceiving more ethnic discrimination feel less motivated at work. This finding might suggest that employees perceiving discrimination in the workplace might view the

discrimination as a deterrent to how much they are able to achieve at work. Consequently, the employees' level of work motivation declines.

Interestingly, perceptions of sex discrimination did not correlate significantly with employees' work motivation levels, but the direction of the correlation was consistent with the hypothesis. The weaker correlations between both types of perceived discrimination and work motivation in comparison to those between both types of perceived discrimination and organizational commitment and job satisfaction, indicate that perceived discrimination might be more related to work attitudes than to work motivation. Future research should be directed at the differential predictive validity of perceived discrimination.

This study also revealed two interesting findings: 1) consistent with Ensher et al. (2001), no mean differences exist between males and females in terms of perceived sex discrimination, and 2) Latinos/Latinas and Asians perceived significantly more ethnic discrimination than those of European backgrounds. Given that many of the respondents are in lower or middle level job positions in the present study, it is possible that males and females did not perceive sex discrimination differently. The lack of mean differences between males and females perceiving sex discrimination in the workplace might also be an indication that the sex discrepancy in the workplace is diminishing. An article published by the New York Times (2003) reported that although women's pay is still incomparable to men's, the influx of service sector jobs in the past several years have aided women by helping to narrow the wage gap (Leonhardt, 2003). In contrast, layoffs and paycuts have harmed the male dominated industries, such as manufacturing and

technology. Perhaps the narrowing wage gap provides a glimpse of future equality between men and women in the United States workforce.

The results of this study did not show that work locus of control moderates the relationship between perceived discrimination and work motivation, but instead, it was found to be directly related to perceived sex discrimination and perceived ethnic discrimination. The more external individuals were, the more they perceived sex discrimination and ethnic discrimination. These findings are consistent with past research indicating that as individuals believed they have less control in their lives (i.e., externals), they also perceived more racial discrimination (e.g., Valentine et al., 1999). Although Shorey et al. (2002) theorized that individuals who perceive themselves to be victims of discrimination may lead them to perceive that they have less control over their own outcomes, the causal direction of the relationship between perceived discrimination and work locus of control is not known in this study because neither variable was manipulated.

Results of this study also showed that the average perceived sex discrimination and perceived ethnic discrimination scores were relatively low. These results might indicate that the participants in the current study did not perceive discrimination, or they were unwilling to report discrimination, which is consistent with past research (e.g., Crosby, 1984). A study conducted by Crosby, examining 400 residents of a Boston suburb, indicated that although sex discrimination was present, both women and men averaged similarly on measures of job dissatisfaction and job grievances. Crosby speculated that the women in her study were in denial of personal discrimination because

they might have blamed themselves for the discrimination. She also argued that response to personal discrimination and group discrimination differ in the sense that those who report personal discrimination tend to be questioned by others as if they (the victims) should be blamed for the discrimination they are experiencing. Nevertheless, people react differently to group discrimination by assuming that another driving force other than the victim is responsible when discrimination against a group of people is reported. Therefore, Crosby stated that the women denied personal discrimination in her study because they wanted to avoid 'individual villains,' who would blame them when they report personal discrimination.

Thus, in this study too, relative lack of perceived discrimination reports might be due to participants' conscious awareness of the negative assumptions people have of those who make discrimination claims. Kaiser and Miller (2001) argued that there are social costs of making attributions to discrimination. For example, they showed that regardless of how much discrimination a stigmatized person faces, those who are not part of the stigmatized group are willing to identify that person as a complainer, more hypersensitive, trouble making, emotional, and argumentative. Disturbingly, findings from Kaiser and Miller's study also revealed that individuals still negatively view a stigmatized person who makes a discrimination claim *even* in situations where actual discrimination occurs.

This study also found that European Americans and Latinos/Latinas, and Asian Americans differed significantly on perceived ethnic discrimination. These findings are consistent with past findings (e.g., Bell, Harrison, & McLaughlin, 1997). Asian

Americans reported significantly more workplace discrimination than Whites and about the same degree of discrimination as Hispanics.

Although Asian Americans are often stereotyped as a model minority group, mainly due to their high educational attainment, high median family income, high occupational status, and low crime rates (e.g., Cheng, 1997; Kim & Lewis, 1994), Asian Americans (a) receive significantly lower returns on their educational investments than Whites (e.g., Bell et al, 1997; Cheng), are (b) underemployed, occupying positions lower than would be predicted by their education attainment and training (e.g., Kim & Lewis), and (c) underrepresented in the upper management positions in organizations.

Furthermore, Shorey and his colleagues (2002) found that Hispanics, in general, were more likely to perceive personal discrimination and group discrimination in comparison to Anglos. In addition, Hispanics reported greater collectivism than Anglos, and collectivism positively correlated with perceived personal discrimination. Shorey et al. stated that collectivistic cultures in the United States are characterized by their lower social economic status and lower social status, which makes individuals from those collectivistic cultures more likely to perceive discrimination. In addition, Latinos/Latinas are proportionally to other ethnic groups in the California Bay Area working more menial jobs and less white collar jobs than others (O'Brien, 2005). Thus, higher perceived ethnic discrimination levels reported by Latinos/Latinas and Asian Americans, relative to Anglo Americans, might reflect both perceived discrimination as well as actual discrimination.

Limitations and Future Research

In this study, that the data were collected from multiple organizations and various occupations could be a strength of the study. However, the study is not without limitations. One limitation is the cross-sectional nature of this study in the sense that causality cannot be attributed to any of the observed relationships between perceived discrimination and its outcomes. Due to a convenient sample of employees, the uneven distribution of the ethnic backgrounds makes it difficult to generalize the findings. Future studies should replicate this research by utilizing a sample that consists of a more even ethnic distribution of respondents. In addition, the single source data collection used in this study is a limitation because only one person reported about his or her own perceived discrimination without validation from another source.

The survey methodology used in this study might also not accurately evaluate the magnitude of an individual's perception of discrimination when the presence of discrimination is not pervasive. For example, an individual might not be cognitively aware that he or she was discriminated against because of one instance of discrimination. However, persistent discriminatory events probably would have more of an influential effect on the individual's attitudinal reactions. Unfortunately, the survey utilized in this study does not measure the frequency of acts of discrimination in the workplace. It is possible that individuals might have chosen to ignore acts of discrimination from the past. An experiment should be implemented when conducting future studies where individuals' levels of organizational commitment, job satisfaction, and work motivation are assessed right after encountering acts of discrimination. This would enable the

researcher to capture the impact of the respondents' perceptions of discrimination, as it occurs. Moreover, that perceived discrimination correlated significantly with organizational outcomes, future studies should employ mediated analyses and determine if locus of control influences perceived discrimination, which influences organizational outcomes or if perceived discrimination influences locus of control, which influences organizational outcomes.

The fact that response bias or social desirability was not controlled for constitutes another limitation. Social desirability is defined as "the need of subjects to obtain approval by responding in a culturally appropriate and acceptable manner" (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960, p. 353). Because a personality assessment was utilized in this study (i.e., work locus of control scale), there is a possibility that individuals might have been biased in their responses as Crowne and Marlowe state that "personality test scores are influenced by non-test-relevant response determinants" (p. 349). Those determinants are outside elements that might affect how individuals respond to a personality test.

Practical Implications

Results of this study suggest that employers should pay attention to their employees' perceptions of the way the organization treats them, as it provides insight about the organization's culture and climate. The idea guiding this research is that perceptions of discrimination contribute to employees' dissatisfaction with their job, lower levels of organizational commitment, and to a small extent, work motivation. Organizational practices and procedures, such as diversity management, mentoring programs, and consistent promotion criteria might prevent employees from feeling less

job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and work motivation when they perceive discrimination at work. Consequently, in order to reduce perceptions of discrimination in the workplace, organizational practices and procedures that would instill a positive effect on employees' psychological processes should be identified.

Managing diversity is a common practice initiated by organizations today in order to meet the needs of the rapid diversification of the workforce. Cleveland, Stockdale, and Murphy (2000) define managing diversity as "a term used to describe policies and actions designed to maximize the benefits and minimize the costs of workforce diversification" (p. 382). Although diversity management has been found to have negative effects, such as a devaluation of employees and increased discrimination because of mistakes made by diversity trainers, the positive effects of managing diversity can still overshadow its negative aspects (Bergen, Soper, & Foster, 2002). For example, diversity management can lead to enhanced personal effectiveness, a climate of justice, reduction of litigation expenses, increased job satisfaction, and greater productivity and organizational commitment among employees (Bergen et al.). Consequently, the transformation of the organization's climate and culture to a positive work environment for all employees should help organizations consider converting to a pluralistic organization. A pluralistic organization as opposed to a monolithic organization is one that is willing to acknowledge and adapt to all differences in the workplace with the realization that there is not one answer for all problems (Cleveland et al.). For that reason, organizations need to make diversity training available.

There are several preventative steps that organizations should employ when managing diversity and perceptions of discrimination. A diagnosis of the organization's work environment through employee opinion surveys, focus groups, exit interviews, and an analysis of the patterns of employee absences and grievances would enable the organization to be aware of how employees feel about their workplace and whether those employees sense the presence of discrimination. Moreover, an organization may reduce those perceptions of discrimination by putting an emphasis on the organization's intolerance of injustice during the new employee orientation process.

Another strategy for managing diversity is implementing mentoring programs (Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lenz, & Lima, 2004). Positive effects of mentoring has been found to be associated with objective outcomes, such as greater compensation and promotions and subjective outcomes, such as increased levels of job satisfaction and greater intentions to stay with the company (Allen et al.). Therefore, these positive effects of mentoring might help organizations reduce the perception of discrimination among their employees.

Organizations should also consider the application of consistent promotion criteria in their workplace. By applying consistent promotion criteria and treating employees with respect, the organization is endorsing a fair workplace. It is quite possible that employees would perceive less discrimination if they believe their work environment is fair. Future research should examine this notion of procedural justice and interpersonal justice in relation to perceptions of discrimination (Liao & Rupp, 2005). Procedural justice is the perception that decision making processes are fair and

interpersonal justice represents individuals' perception that they are being treated with sincerity and respect (Judge & Colquitt, 2004; Liao & Rupp).

Results from this study indicate that a positive association exists between perceived ethnic and sex discrimination and work locus of control. It could be interpreted that as individuals perceive they have less control over their own outcomes, they also tend to perceive more sex and ethnic discrimination in the workplace or vice versa. Hence, organizations that involve employees' inputs into decision-making could foster a belief among employees that they do control their own outcomes. Therefore, the more control employees perceive they have of their own outcomes, the less they perceive discrimination at work.

Overall, this study brings attention to the importance of studying organizational consequences of perceived sex discrimination and perceived ethnic discrimination. Organizations need to be aware of the impact that interpersonal interactions within their workplace might have on their employees' perceptions of discrimination as their employees could have differing opinions about the way they believe the organization is treating them.

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Appendix A

Survey

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Informed Consent for Survey Questionnaire

We would like to invite you to participate in this survey about employees' perceptions in the workplace. This research project investigates how employees' perceptions of the way they are treated in the company can be related to their attitudes, such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to provide a better understanding of the attitudinal outcomes of the perceptions of the way employees are treated in the workplace. It is believed that employees' perceptions of the way they are being treated in the workplace and the outcomes related to those perceptions lack sufficient research. This study will also help us understand the concept of work locus of control relation to employees' perceptions of the way they are treated and work motivation. We would appreciate your cooperation and comments.

Before you start, feel free to ask any questions. **Completion of the survey is entirely voluntary.** You may withdraw at any time. Choosing not to participate in completion of this survey will not affect your relations with San Jose State University. Questions in this survey are not expected to cause harm or discomfort to any participant. It will take about 30 minutes to fill out the questionnaire. Your answers are completely anonymous and only investigators directly involved in the project will have access to the data. Overall results of this study may be published; however, you will never be personally identified in this research project or in any presentation or publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only.

Your time and effort is much appreciated.

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PLEASE RETURN WITH SURVEY

We would like to invite you to participate in this survey about employees' perceptions in the workplace. This research project investigates how employees' perceptions of the way they are treated in the company can be related to their attitudes, such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

The purpose of this questionnaire is to provide a better understanding of the attitudinal outcomes of the perceptions of the way employees are treated in the workplace. It is believed that employees' perceptions of the way they are being treated in the workplace and the outcomes related to those perceptions lack sufficient research. This study will also help us understand the concept of work locus of control relation to employees' perceptions of the way they are treated and work motivation. We would appreciate your cooperation and comments.

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I AGREE TO THE TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF THIS STUDY.

_____   _____
Participant's Printed Name   *Date*

_____
Participant's Signature

_____
Student's Printed Name

_____   _____
Class   *Section*

SURVEY/QUESTIONNAIRE

DIRECTIONS

[STUDENTS] Please hand this survey to someone for completion who meets the following criteria:

1. At least 18 years of age
2. Has been working in the same job for at least **1** year
3. Is currently a **full-time** employee

Please return a copy of the consent form along with the completed survey to your professor in the envelope provided.

You can also return the survey to the Department of Psychology located in *Dudley Moorehead Hall* [**DMH**] **157**.

THANK YOU!

A.

The following statements are concerned with the way members of different sex groups are treated in different situations. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement by the circling the corresponding number.					
	DISAGREE STRONGLY	DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	AGREE SOMEWHAT	AGREE STRONGLY
At work, I feel that my opinion is not valued because of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
People treat me as though I don't know as much as other people in my position because of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people talk down to me because of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, I am sometimes given compliments that have more than one meaning because of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
Because of my sex, the things that I do often stand out at work.	1	2	3	4	5
Because of my sex, my opinions are often ignored at work.	1	2	3	4	5
In many work settings, I notice an absence of people of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
Most of the people at work meetings are not the same sex as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, my presence is sometimes not acknowledged because of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5
I am usually the only person of my sex at work meetings.	1	2	3	4	5
Supervisors treat me differently than people of the opposite sex.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my sex are given less important tasks than people of the opposite sex.	1	2	3	4	5
It is as easy for someone of my sex to get the job or position of their choice as it is for the opposite sex.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, I have not witnessed someone denied fairness because of their sex.	1	2	3	4	5
It is not unusual for people of my sex to be the only person of my sex in a supervisory position.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my sex are given the same level of responsibility in work settings as people of the opposite sex.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people of my sex must work harder than people of the opposite sex with equal ability in order to receive the same recognition.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my sex are typically given less demanding work assignments than people of the opposite sex with equal ability.	1	2	3	4	5
Supervisors are likely to engage in conversation with people of my sex as with people of the opposite sex.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people of my sex are sometimes told they will be unable to achieve their career goals.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people sometimes treat me as though I am less than human because of my sex.	1	2	3	4	5

B.

The following statements are concerned with the way members of different ethnic groups are treated in different situations. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement.					
	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
At work, I feel that my opinion is not valued because of my ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
People treat me as though I don't know as much as other people in my position because of my ethnic identity.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people talk down to me because of my ethnic identity.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, I am sometimes given compliments that have more than one meaning because of my ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
Because of my ethnicity, the things that I do often stand out at work.	1	2	3	4	5
Because of my ethnicity, my opinions are often ignored at work.	1	2	3	4	5
In many work settings, I notice an absence of people of my ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
Most of the people at work meetings are not the same ethnicity as I am.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, my presence is sometimes not acknowledged because of my ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people talk down to me because of my accent.	1	2	3	4	5
I am usually the only person of my ethnicity at work meetings.	1	2	3	4	5
Supervisors treat me differently than people of other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
Because of my ethnicity, I am rarely treated as "one of the boys/girls."	1	2	3	4	5
At work, I feel that my opinion is not valued because of my accent.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my ethnicity are given less important tasks than people of other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
It is as easy for someone of my ethnicity to get the job or position of their choice as it is for other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, I have not witnessed someone denied fairness because of their ethnic identity.	1	2	3	4	5
It is not unusual for people of my ethnicity to be the only person of my ethnicity in a supervisory position.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my ethnicity are given the same level of responsibility in work settings as people of other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people of my ethnicity must work harder than people of other ethnic groups with equal ability in order to receive the same recognition.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my ethnicity are typically given less demanding work assignments than people of other ethnic groups with equal ability.	1	2	3	4	5

	DISAGREE VERY MUCH	DISAGREE MODERATELY	NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE	AGREE MODERATELY	AGREE VERY MUCH
Supervisors are likely to engage in conversation with people of my ethnicity as with people of other ethnic groups.	1	2	3	4	5
People of my ethnicity are sometimes told they will be unable to achieve their career goals.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel I am being discriminated against because of my accent.	1	2	3	4	5
At work, people sometimes treat me as though I am less than human because of my ethnicity.	1	2	3	4	5

The following statements are concerned with expectancies toward obtaining rewards. Please indicate your level of agreement with each statement by circling the corresponding number.

C.

	DISAGREE VERY MUCH	DISAGREE MODERATELY	DISAGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE SLIGHTLY	AGREE VERY MUCH
A job is what you make of it.	1	2	3	4	5
On most jobs, people can pretty much accomplish whatever they set out to accomplish.	1	2	3	4	5
If you know what you want out of a job, you can find a job that gives it to you.	1	2	3	4	5
If employees are unhappy with a decision made by their boss, they should do something about it.	1	2	3	4	5
Getting the job you want is mostly a matter of luck.	1	2	3	4	5
Making money is primarily a matter of good fortune.	1	2	3	4	5
Most people are capable of doing their jobs well if they make the effort.	1	2	3	4	5
In order to get a really good job you need to have family members or friends in high places.	1	2	3	4	5
Promotions are usually a matter of good fortune.	1	2	3	4	5
When it comes to landing a really good job, who you know is more important than what you know.	1	2	3	4	5
Promotions are given to employees who perform well on the job.	1	2	3	4	5
To make a lot of money you have to know the right people.	1	2	3	4	5
It takes a lot of luck to be an outstanding employee on most jobs.	1	2	3	4	5
People who perform their jobs well generally get rewarded for it.	1	2	3	4	5
Most employees have more influence on their supervisors than they think they do.	1	2	3	4	5
The main difference between people who make a lot of money and people who make a little money is luck.	1	2	3	4	5

Listed Below are a series of statements that represent possible feelings that individuals might have about the company or organization for which they work. With respect to your own feelings about the particular organization for which you are now working please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling one of the seven alternatives corresponding to each statement.

D.

	Strongly Disagree	Moderately Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Moderately Agree	Strongly Agree
I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected in order to help this organization be successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I talk up this organization to my friends as a great organization to work for.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I feel very little loyalty to this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would accept almost any type of job assignment in order to keep working for this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I find that my values and the organization's values are very similar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am proud to tell others that I am part of this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I could just as well be working for a different organization as long as the type of work was similar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This organization really inspires the very best in me in the way of job performance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It would take very little change in my present circumstances to cause me to leave this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I am extremely glad that I chose this organization to work for over others I was considering at the time I joined.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There's not too much to be gained by sticking with this organization indefinitely.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Often, I find it difficult to agree with this organization's policies on important matters relating to its employees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I really care about the fate of this organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
For me this is the best of all possible organizations for which to work.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Deciding to work for this organization was a definite mistake on my part.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

E.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neither Disagree Nor Agree	Slightly Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
All in all I am satisfied with my job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, I don't like my job.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, I like working here.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

F.

The following statements refer to your motivational orientation toward work. Please indicate how true each statement is of you by circling the corresponding number.			
	Never or almost never true of you	Sometimes true of you	Often true of you	Always or almost always true of you
I am not that concerned about what other people think of my work.	1	2	3	4
I prefer having someone set clear goals for me in my work.	1	2	3	4
The more difficult the problem, the more I enjoy trying to solve it.	1	2	3	4
I am keenly aware of the income goals I have for myself.	1	2	3	4
I want my work to provide me with opportunities for increasing my knowledge and skills.	1	2	3	4
To me, success means doing better than other people.	1	2	3	4
I prefer to figure things out for myself.	1	2	3	4
No matter what the outcome of a project, I am satisfied if I feel I gained a new experience.	1	2	3	4
I enjoy relatively simple, straightforward tasks.	1	2	3	4
I am keenly aware of the promotion goals I have for myself.	1	2	3	4
Curiosity is the driving force behind much of what I do.	1	2	3	4
I am less concerned with what work I do than what I get for it.	1	2	3	4
I enjoy tackling problems that are completely new to me.	1	2	3	4
I prefer work I know I can do well over work that stretches my abilities.	1	2	3	4
I am concerned about how other people are going to react to my ideas.	1	2	3	4
I seldom think about salary and promotions.	1	2	3	4
I am more comfortable when I can set my own goals.	1	2	3	4
I believe that there is no point in doing a good job if nobody else knows about it.	1	2	3	4
I am strongly motivated by the money I can earn.	1	2	3	4
It is important for me to be able to do what I most enjoy.	1	2	3	4
I prefer working on projects with clearly specified procedures.	1	2	3	4
As long as I can do what I enjoy, I am not that concerned about exactly what I am paid.	1	2	3	4
I enjoy doing work that is so absorbing that I forget about everything else.	1	2	3	4
I am strongly motivated by the recognition I can earn from other people.	1	2	3	4
I have to feel that I'm earning something for what I do.	1	2	3	4

Continued from the Previous Page.

	NEVER OR ALMOST NEVER TRUE OF ME	OCCASIONALLY TRUE OF ME	USUALLY TRUE OF ME	ALWAYS OR ALMOST ALWAYS TRUE OF ME
I enjoy trying to solve complex problems.	1	2	3	4
It is important for me to have an outlet for self-expression.	1	2	3	4
I want to find out how good I really can be at my work.	1	2	3	4
I want other people to find out how good I really can be at my work.	1	2	3	4
What matters most to me is enjoying what I do.	1	2	3	4

We would like to ask you some questions about yourself. You will NEVER be personally identified in this research project or in any publication. The information you provide will be coded by number only. However, the personal information we obtain will be used FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

What is your age? _____ years

Are you ☐ male or ☐ female? [Please Check One]

In which country were you born? _____

If you were not born in the US, how long have you lived in the US cumulatively? _____ years

How would you describe your ethnic identity?

☐ White/European American

☐ Latino/Latina

☐ African American/Black

☐ Asian-Pacific Islander/Asian American/Asian

☐ Native American

☐ Multi-Racial [Please Specify] _____

How long have you been working for your current employer? _____ years _____ months

Is your organization mainly a ☐ public sector or ☐ private sector? [Please Check One]

What is your personal organizational level? [Please Check One]

☐ CEO/CFO/COO   ☐ Supervisor

☐ Senior Manager   ☐ Process/Clerical Worker

☐ Middle Level Manager   ☐ Other [Please Specify] _____

What is your employment classification?

☐ Full-Time   ☐ Part-Time   ☐ Temporary

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Appendix B

Tables

Table 1

Frequencies and Percentages of Demographic Variables in the Sample

Demographic Variable	*n*	*%*
Sex		
Female	130	56.5
Male	100	43.5
Ethnicity		
White/European American	90	39.1
Asian-Pacific Islander/Asian American/Asian	78	33.9
Latino/Latina	37	16.1
Multi-Racial	15	6.5
African American/Black	5	2.2
Native American	1	0.4
Other	4	1.7
Organizational Sector		
Public	121	52.6
Private	97	42.2
Organizational Level		
CEO/CFO/COO	4	1.70
Senior Manager	6	2.6
Middle Level Manager	22	9.6
Supervisor	35	15.2
Process/Clerical Worker	68	29.6
Other	94	40.9
Employment Classification		
Full-time	134	58.3
Part-time	11	4.8
Temporary	1	0.4

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, Coefficient Alphas, and Pearson Product-Moment Correlations for the Measured Variables

Variables	Mean	SD	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Sex	--	--	--	--								
2. Ethnicity	--	--	--	.03	--							
3. Perceived sex discrimination	39.34	11.56	.83	.09	.01	--						
4. Perceived ethnic discrimination	47.72	17.42	.92	-.12	.22**	.59**	--					
5. Work locus of control	43.29	9.04	.83	-.13*	.15*	.43**	.50**	--				
6. Organizational commitment	4.64	1.18	.91	.07	.04	-.30**	-.35**	-.41**	--			
7. Job satisfaction	16.10	4.47	.90	-.07	-.05	-.29**	-.33**	-.38**	.76**	--		
8. Work motivation	2.77	.28	.70	-.03	-.08	-.12	-.16*	-.11	.11	.18**	--	
9. Age	33.86	13.11	--	-.05	-.18**	-.03	.01	-.12	.18**	.10	-.13*	--
10. Total # of years in position	5.81	7.01	--	-.04	-.18**	-.07	-.10	-.20**	.19**	.14*	-.04	.57**

Note. Ethnicity was coded as two groups, 1 = sociological majority and 2 = sociological minorities

*p < .05

**p < .001

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and ANOVA Results for Perceived Sex Discrimination, Perceived Ethnic Discrimination,

Work Locus of Control, Organizational Commitment, Overall Job Satisfaction, and Work Motivation as a Function of Two

Sociological Groups

Variable	n	Perceived Sex Discrimination		Perceived Ethnic Discrimination		Work Locus of Control	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Sociological majority	90	39.14	11.31	42.90	13.97	41.64	7.98
Sociological minorities	130	39.46	11.76	50.82	18.72	44.35	9.54
F		.04		11.86**		5.00*	

$*p < .05$

$**p < .01$

Table 3

Continued

Variable	n	Organizational Commitment		Overall Job Satisfaction		Work Motivation	
		M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Sociological majority	90	4.59	1.36	16.40	4.60	2.80	.27
Sociological minorities	130	4.68	1.05	15.91	4.39	2.75	.29
F		.31		.65		1.66	

*p < .05
**p < .01

Table 4

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Interaction between Ethnicity

and Perceived Ethnic Discrimination on Work Motivation (N = 230)

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β
Step 1			
Ethnicity	-.03	.04	-.05
Perceived ethnic discrimination	.00	.00	-.15*
Step 2			
Ethnicity	-.07	.12	-.13
Perceived ethnic discrimination	.00	.00	-.25
Race x perceived ethnic discrimination	.00	.00	.14

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .00 for Step 2.

*p < .05

Table 5

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Interaction between Ethnicity

and Perceived Ethnic Discrimination on Organizational Commitment (N = 230)

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β
Step 1			
Ethnicity	.29	.15	.12
Perceived ethnic discrimination	-.03	.00	-.38**
Step 2			
Ethnicity	-.22	.46	-.09
Perceived ethnic discrimination	-.05	.02	-.67*
Ethnicity x perceived ethnic discrimination	.01	.01	.40

Note. $R^2 = .14$ for Step 1; $\Delta R^2 = .00$ for Step 2.

*$p < .05$

**$p < .01$

Table 6

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Interaction between Ethnicity

and Perceived Ethnic Discrimination on Job Satisfaction (N = 230)

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β
Step 1			
Ethnicity	.19	.59	.02
Perceived ethnic discrimination	-.09	.02	-.33**
Step 2			
Ethnicity	.81	1.79	.09
Perceived ethnic discrimination	-.06	.07	-.24
Ethnicity x perceived ethnic discrimination	-.01	.04	-.13

Note. R^2 = .11 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .00 for Step 2.

*p < .05

**p < .01

Table 7

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Interaction between Work Locus of Control and Perceived Ethnic Discrimination on Work Motivation (N = 230)

Variable	B	$SE\ B$	β
Step 1			
Work locus of control	-.00	.00	-.04
Perceived ethnic discrimination	-.00	.00	-.14
Step 2			
Work locus of control	-.01	.01	-.31
Perceived ethnic discrimination	-.01	.01	-.64*
Work locus of control x perceived ethnic discrimination	.00	.00	.68

Note. R^2 = .03 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .01 for Step 2.

*p < .05

Table 8

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of the Interaction between Work Locus

of Control and Perceived Sex Discrimination on Work Motivation (N = 230)

Variable	B	SE B	β
Step 1			
Work locus of control	-.00	.00	-.07
Perceived sex discrimination	-.00	.00	-.09
Step 2			
Work locus of control	.00	.01	.02
Perceived sex discrimination	.00	.01	.04
Work locus of control x perceived sex discrimination	.00	.00	-.16

Note. R^2 = .02 for Step 1; ΔR^2 = .00 for Step 2.