DO *I* EXIST IN TEAM? AN EXAMINATION OF RACIAL BIAS IN TEAM

STAFFING

by

KERRIN E. GEORGE

(Under the Direction of Gary Lautenschlager)

ABSTRACT

The goal of the current study is to examine how the persistence of racial hiring biases may manifest in team selection contexts. A lab study with undergraduate participants was designed to uncover how perceptions of racial diversity's influence on team outcomes, as well as the manipulation of team racial composition and organizational diversity climate, act and interact to lead to disparate evaluations and selection decisions between equally qualified white and black applicants. Furthermore, participant's diversity ideology (colorblind or multicultural) and level of racial identity development was examined as moderators of these relationships. Results supported that applicant race, team racial composition, and participants' positive attitudes toward team diversity were involved in applicant evaluations and selection decisions between a white and black applicant. Implications and limitations are discussed.

INDEX WORDS: Diversity Climate, Perceptions, Racial Identity, Selection, Teams

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Reflective of the rapidly changing racial and ethnic demography of the United States, the American workforce is becoming increasingly diverse, leading to more heterogeneous organizations. Thus, it has become critical that organizations adopt diversity management practices in order to avoid losses due to turnover and absenteeism, decreased productivity, and legal issues (Hays-Thomas, 2004). Additionally, it is often argued that inclusive diversity management practices allow organizations to foster a climate that enables them to reap bottom-line benefits from diversity through access to new consumer markets and innovation based on minority perspectives (Thomas & Ely, 1996).

Simultaneously, there is a growing movement toward flatter, decentralized organizational structures, which replace individual jobs with cross- functional work teams as a means of combining employee skills and facilitating information sharing to cope with competitive markets (Mesmer-Magnus & DeChurch, 2009; Tjosvold, 1991; Ilgen, 1999; Robbins & Judge, 2008). Researchers have begun to examine how to create successful work teams (Stevens & Campion, 1994; Burch & Anderson, 2004; Mumford, Iddekinge, Morgeson, & Campion, 2008), as the composition of teams, team processes and goals, and the context in which they work significantly impact team effectiveness (Robbins & Judge, 2008).

The intersection of these trends is often examined, as increasing the diversity of groups is one strategy recommended to yield creativity through mutual learning, new perspectives, and conflict resolution (Robinson & Dechant, 1997; McDaniel & Walls, 1997). Yet, in spite of these

perspectives, women and minorities, particularly blacks and Hispanics, are often victim to discriminatory personnel decisions that prevent them from access to opportunity and promotion within organizations (Cokley, Dreher, & Stockdale, 2004). And, the reality of managing diverse teams is not without its challenges, as potential conflict and hampered group cohesion can negatively impact team outcomes (Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999; Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen, 1993). This study will attempt to discern how the connection between the utilization of team based structures, diversity management, and the persistence of workplace discrimination influences racial biases in team selection decisions.

Racial biases in traditional staffing

Although the Civil Right Act of 1964, Title VII, made employment discrimination based on membership in protected groups, including race and ethnicity, illegal, it fails to guarantee the elimination of discriminatory beliefs and practices or the acceptance of workplace diversity (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; Thomas, Mack, & Montagliani, 2004; Cokley et al., 2004). With few exceptions (McIntyre, Moberg, & Posner, 1980; Marshall, Stamps, & Moore, 1998; Norton, Vandello, Biga, & Darley, 2008), recent research has consistently demonstrated the prevalence of biases that lead to a consistent preference for white employees; which prevents the selection and advancement of racial and ethnic minorities in white-dominated organizations (Cokely et al., 2004). Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) examined disparate employment rates of whites and blacks by sending fictitious resumes in response to help wanted advertisements, with race manipulated through strongly identified white or black sounding names. They found that whites received fifty percent more call backs than black Western applicants and benefited from having a higher quality resume, whereas blacks did not. The implications of these findings are profound, as they support that perceptions of applicant race,

based on required information presented on resumes, influence the likelihood that minority

applicants will be successful in the selection process.

Contemporary prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes have been shown to predict selection

biases against racial minorities. Although overt forms of prejudice in the workplace have

become infrequent, discriminatory attitudes have not been ameliorated. Instead, they have

evolved into modern, subtle prejudices, which ignore the obstacles faced by minorities and

involve justifying minority exclusion (McConahay, 1986). These modern prejudicial attitudes

are negatively related to the positive evaluation of and recommendation to hire black applicants

(McConahay, 1983; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), which is amplified when justifications for

discriminatory hiring practices are presented by legitimate sources (Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, &

Vaslow, 2000) .

Occupational stereotypes have also been examined as potential explanations for biased

selection decisions. Traditional relationships between particular groups and occupations, as well

as preconceived ideas about the suitability of specific groups for certain jobs, may prevent

certain groups from having the opportunity to obtain access to particular jobs; and, negative

stereotypes can bias perceptions of applicant qualifications for certain positions (Lipton,

O'Conner, Terry, & Bellamy, 1991; King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, Mendoza, 2006). Terpstra and

Larsen (1980) found that blacks may be concentrated into lower paying jobs due to the

interaction between racial stereotypes and racial expectations that leads to a preference for

applicants to be hired into jobs that are commonly occupied by members of their racial group.

Even supposedly neutral job titles elicit different perceptions of suitability based on gender and

ethnicity (Lipton et al., 1991). King et al. (2006) found that occupational stereotypes mediated

the relationship between applicant race and the evaluation of their resumes for positions of

different statuses, such that Asian American applicants received the highest ratings for high status jobs, with high or low qualifications. White and Hispanic applicants benefitted from having a high quality resume; whereas, black applicants were evaluated poorly regardless of their qualifications. This literature strongly suggests that modern prejudicial attitudes and racial occupational stereotypes lead to preferences for certain groups to be selected into specific jobs; however, the dynamics of these relationships have not yet been examined in the team selection context.

The move towards team selection

Work teams are groups of individuals with shared goals that perform interdependent tasks (Guzzo & Dickson, 1996), typically formed by selecting and assigning individual members to the same task (Owens, Mannix, & Neale, 1998). Attempts have been made to discern what factors affect selection decisions (i.e. Worren & Koestner, 1996), as well as the best strategy for selecting individuals for work teams. It is argued that conventional staffing systems based on technical job demands derived from job analyses may not be sufficient for selection decisions for team based jobs, as the increased interaction and interdependence among employees create additional demands (Stevens & Campion, 1994; Werbel & Johnson, 2001). Thus, both the selection of team members with the knowledge, skills, and abilities (KSAs) to perform the tasks and the ability to integrate knowledge, as well as the values, beliefs, and attitudes of team members should be considered when forming teams (Owens et al., 1998).

Stevens and Campion (1994) identified individual KSAs necessary for successful teamwork, highlighting KSAs related to conflict resolution, collaborative problem solving, communication, goal setting and performance management, and planning and task coordination

in addition to technical job demands. They suggest that these KSAs should be measured and may be more valid for selection to team based jobs than traditional predictors (Stevens & Campion, 1994). Accordingly, researchers have begun to develop and explore team selection tests based on team work KSAs (Stevens & Campion, 1993; McClough & Rogelberg, 2004), person-team fit (Burch & Anderson, 2004; Burch, Pavelis, & Port, 2008), and team role knowledge (Mumford et al., 2008). Personality traits have also been evaluated as predictors for successful teamwork and the selection of team members, with some minimal support (Kichuk & Wiesner, 1996; O'Neill & Kline, 2008; Eigel & Kuhnert, 1996). However, a question still remains about how to utilize these predictors and whether homogeneity or heterogeneity of these traits or KSAs is best for team success (Stevens & Campion, 1993; Kichuk & Wiesner, 1996). Those using a person-team fit perspective argue that both supplementary fit (congruence between existing member and new member traits, values, and beliefs) and complementary fit (distinct qualities of team members that support those of others) should both be considered when selecting team members (Malinowski, Weitzel, & Keim, 2008; Werbel & Johnson, 2001).

This debate extends to the incorporation demographic diversity within teams, as two competitive hypotheses dominate main stream perspectives (Mannix & Neale, 2005).   The "value in diversity hypothesis" (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod, 1991) and the information processing perspective optimistically view diversity of backgrounds, culture, information, and skills as tools that benefit group performance through resolved conflict (Cox et al., 1991; McDaniel & Walls, 1997; Mannix & Neale, 2005). In contrast, social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) paints a cynical picture that suggest heterogeneous groups will experience less cohesion and more conflict, as a result of perceived differences among team members, which will negatively influence communication and performance (for review, see Mannix & Neale, 2005; Pelled et al,

1999). In particular, demographic diversity has often been considered to be a source of misalignment in team composition because these differences are thought to be a proxy for underlying behaviors and attitudes that may hamper team processes (Owens et al., 1998). These popular, contradictory perspectives are reflected in the literature examining the influence of racial and ethnic diversity on group outcomes.

Racio-ethnic diversity and group processes

Although some forms of diversity (i.e. functional diversity and tenure diversity) have consistently demonstrated positive or negative outcomes for teams, the influence of racial and ethnic diversity on team processes is inconclusive (for reviews, see Milliken & Martins, 1996; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998; Jackson et al , 2003; and, King, Hebl, & Beal, 2009). Racial diversity has been shown to improve business performance for organizations pursuing a growth strategy (Richard, 2000; Ely & Thomas, 2001), as well as the potential to lead to better quality ideas on group brainstorming tasks (McLeod & Lobel, 1992) and increased perceived creativity on a task by group members (Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1998). O' Reilly, Williams, and Barsade (1998) showed that racial diversity in groups increases group innovation; however, the strength of this relationship differs as a function of the type of racial composition. In contrast, some researchers suggest that racial diversity has weak negative or null effects on performance (Katz, Goldston, & Benjamin, 1958; Pelled, 1997), and that negative influences of cultural heterogeneity on performance are alleviated over time, with diverse teams eventually performing equally to homogenous teams (Watson et al., 1993; Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002). Still, several studies have demonstrated that racial diversity has detrimental consequences for team performance (Townsend & Scott, 2001; Kochan et al., 2003; Jackson et al., 2003).

Pelled and colleagues (1996; 1999) proposed and corroborate a model that suggests group conflict, caused by perceived differences among team members, mediates the relationship between diversity and team performance. They support that highly visible diversity, including racial differences, leads to increased emotional conflict that negatively influences task performance. Job related or functional diversity, however, will lead to substantive, task related conflict that positively influences task performance (Pelled et al., 1999). Others have shown that, through collaboration and interdependence on tasks, the negative effects of racial diversity on newly formed student teams weaken over time (Harrison, Price, & Bell, 1998). Still, some research supports that there is not a strong relationship between group conflict and racial diversity (O' Reilly et al., 1998), and that conflict may have beneficial outcomes in racially heterogeneous groups (Kirchmeyer & Cohen, 1992).

Cooperation, or the motivation to engage in behavior to achieve shared goals (King et al., 2009), has also been suggested as a mediator between performance and team diversity. Cox et al (1991) found that more cooperative choices were made by ethnically diverse groups than white groups on a task, reflective of minorities' and whites' cultural values of collectivism and individualism, respectfully. In contrast, Espinoza and Garza (1985) supported that Hispanics and whites are equally cooperative when they are the majority; however, Hispanics are more competitive when they are the minority. Chatman and Flynn (2001) found that demographic diversity may lead to lower cooperation within newly formed student teams; yet longitudinally, with increased contact and time, team norms change and eventually become more cooperative. Thus, race and ethnicity are often considered proxies for different work values, beliefs, and attitudes that influence team processes.

Overall, this body of literature fails to provide an explicit answer to whether racial diversity benefits or hampers team processes (Jackson et al., 2003). Thus, where some may be supported in their belief that the inclusion of racial minorities into teams is a resource, others may justifiably view it as a detrimental obstacle (Mannix & Neale, 2005). Furthermore, some conclusions may suggest that the antecedent for team conflict or cooperation is the behaviors and attitudes of racial and ethnic minorities (e.g. Espinoza & Garza, 1985; Cox et al., 1991). Consequentially, when composing teams, these perspectives have the potential to create prejudices that influence perceptions of applicant suitability for team positions based on race or ethnicity and serve as legitimizing justifications for their evaluations. From this notion, in combination with previous research demonstrating a preference for white applicants over minority applicants in selection decisions, I hypothesize the following:

H1: Participants' attitudes towards racial diversity in teams will influence their evaluation of applicants, such that:

(a): Whites will be evaluated consistently across all levels of participants' attitudes towards racial diversity in teams.

(b) Those that view racial diversity in teams positively will evaluate the black applicant more favorably than those that view racial diversity in teams negatively.

H2: Attitudes towards team racial diversity will predict selection decisions between the black and white applicants, such that those with more positive attitudes will select the black applicant more frequently.

Proportions and the effects of diversity on team outcomes

Research supports that team conflict, cooperation, and performance related behaviors may be influenced by individual team members' perceptions of similarity and proportions of diversity within groups (Mannix & Neale, 2005). Relational demography, or an individual's perceived demographic similarity with the composition of their work unit (Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989), may provide additional explanations for the relationship between diversity and team outcomes (Riordan & Shore, 1997). Relational demography influences organizational attachment, such that larger perceived differences in race and sex with others in the work unit lead to lower commitment, higher absences, and lower intent to stay with the organization. Increased heterogeneity has the strongest negative effect for whites and men compared to racial minorities and women (Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992). Riordan and Shore (1997) extend these findings, demonstrating that blacks have consistent perceptions of work group productivity to groups composed of mostly white participants, mostly minority participants, or groups composed of half white and half minority members. However, Hispanics showed a preference for groups that were half white and half minority, and whites believed groups performed best when they were mostly white, having adverse reactions when they became the minority. Diversity appears to elicit negative sentiments from non-minorities when they no longer dominate the composition of their work unit. Interestingly, whites also appear to exhibit a "racial saturation point," such that when minorities are only 20% of a units, whites will view them as the majority and begin to experience these negative sentiments (Davis, 1980; as cited in Perkins et al, 2000).

Lau and Murnighan (1998) operationalized group diversity in terms of faultlines, or "hypothetical dividing lines that may split a group into subgroups based on one or more attributes" (p. 328), as a means of exploring these dynamics. There are many possible faultlines

for a group, which are activated by the salience of the dividing attribute in a given context, such as diversity climate. These faultlines differ in strength based on what attributes are apparent and the potential number of subgroups; the higher the correlation among attributes, the stronger the faultline because subgroups become fewer and more homogenous (Lau & Murnighan, 1998). These divisions have been shown to be curvilinearly related to team process and relationship conflict, morale, and group performance, such that strong (two homogenous groups) or weak (diverse group) demonstrate higher levels of conflict and poorer performance than groups with moderate faultlines (Thatcher, Jehn, & Zanutto, 2003). Faultlines also influence group member's perceptions of their group's performance, as well as satisfaction, safety, and team learning. Specifically, evaluations of peers in groups with strong faultlines are in favor of those within one's own subgroup, suggesting that group members identify with their subgroup, rather than the larger group (Lau & Murnighan, 2005). In contrast, other research has demonstrated that groups where race and job function cut across subgroups perform with greater decision accuracy than homogenous groups (Sawyer, Houlette, & Yeagley, 2006).

Thus, this literature firmly suggests that current team composition, proportions of diversity, and potential faultlines be considered when composing teams (Riordan & Shore, 1997; Lau & Murnighan, 2005); however, it is unclear if or how much diversity is beneficial to team performance and team member reactions. Following the support of occupational stereotypes, it is conceivable that when hiring new members for racially homogenous teams, selected candidates will likely be similar demographically to those who currently dominate, as they may be perceived as fit for that particular team or as having the potential. Furthermore, dominant group members are particularly sensitive to increasing diversity and may view it as threatening, promoting homogeneity. However, in a currently diverse team, potential faultlines may

influence who is selected as a team member, as the selection of an additional member may strengthen or weaken subgroup differences. Thus, I propose*:*

> *H3: Team racial composition will predict participant evaluations of the white and black applicant.*
>
> *(a) White applicants will be evaluated significantly higher in the homogenous white team condition and diverse team condition than in the homogenous black team condition.*
>
> *(b) Black applicants will be evaluated significantly higher in the homogenous black team condition than in the homogenous white team condition and the diverse team condition.*
>
> *(c) In the diverse team condition and homogenous white team condition, the white candidate will be evaluated more favorably than the black candidate.*
>
> *(d) In the homogenous black team condition, the black applicant will be evaluated more favorably than the white candidate.*
>
> *H4: Team racial composition will predict participants' selection decisions.*
>
> *(a) In the diverse team condition and the homogenous white team condition, the white candidate will be selected more frequently than the black candidate.*
>
> *(b) In the homogenous black team condition, the black applicant will be selected more frequently than the white candidate.*

Diversity management and the performance of diverse teams

Through qualitative analysis, Ely and Thomas (2001) support that the ability of racial diversity to enhance or complicate team processes is a function of the organization's climate for diversity and diversity management practices. Diversity can be advantageous for organizational effectiveness, provided that the paradigm from which diversity is managed evolves from discrimination-fairness and access-legitimacy to learning-effectiveness (Thomas & Ely, 1996). The discrimination and fairness paradigm appears to be the dominant approach to diversity management. Organizations with this perspective tend to focus on compliance with federal equal employment guidelines as a method of remedying historic discrimination against minorities (Thomas & Ely, 1996). However, organizations fail to integrate the diverse perspectives of their employees into the work or business strategy, and minorities remain stratified in the lower ranks (Cox, 1991). The culture of the organization remains colorblind, as the ignoring or downplay of differences in favor of an organizational identity is promoted (Stevens, Plaut, & Sanchez-Burks, 2008).

Colorblindness is based on the American ideals of meritocracy and individualism, which ignores the systematic oppression of minority group members and emphasizes treating everyone the same (Thomas et al., 2004). It forces minority employees to assimilate to the norms of the dominant group and to make sure that their differences are not apparent or threatening (Cox, 1991; Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991). While non-minorities tend to endorse colorblind diversity management, minority employees tend to view colorblind diversity management as repressive and exclusive of their group, leading to dissatisfaction and lowered commitment (Stevens et al., 2008). Ely and Thomas (2001) found that within groups, this paradigm leads to a lack of discussion of differences, status, power imbalances, or conflict, which leads to race

related conflict. Racial minorities tend to view their race as a source of powerlessness, and feel devalued and disrespected. Whites view their race as a source of discomfort that prevents them from discussing racial issues. These barriers inhibit successful group functioning by hampering cross cultural communication and learning, as well as the use of available unique perspectives and skills (Ely & Thomas, 2001).

Organizations following the access and legitimacy paradigm recognize that, diversifying the workforce makes business sense, as it will help gain access to minority markets and supply a competitive advantage (Thomas & Ely, 1996). Still, this paradigm fails to fully integrate minority employees and often forces them into isolated niches, hampering minorities from advancement in the organization (Thomas & Ely, 1996). Here, group conflict arises from a lack of discussion and disparate power based on the interactions between race and function. Minorities receive mixed messages and question whether the contributions they make or positions they dominate are equally valued, leading to feelings of ambivalence concerning the significance of their race. Work groups may potentially benefit from the increased access for minorities, but opportunity is lost due to segregate groups (Ely & Thomas, 2001).

In order for organizations to truly reap the benefits of a diverse workforce, Thomas and Ely (2001) suggest that organizations embrace the learning and effectiveness paradigm. Here, organizations are multicultural, recognizing cultural differences and viewing them as a resource for new perspectives that should be incorporated into work and strategy (Cox, 1991; Thomas & Ely, 1996). Minority employees are no longer expected to assimilate (Cox, 1991) and a pluralistic ideal of change is embraced (Cox & Finley-Nickelson, 1991). The culture demonstrates that diversity is valued, through fully integrated, supported diversity initiatives and an understanding of how to manage the pros and consequences associated with increasing

diversity (Cox, 1991). Minority employees tend to be attracted to multicultural organizations, as they feel their unique backgrounds are acknowledged and important to the organization; however, multicultural strategies often fail because they are met with resistance from non-minorities, who feel excluded from or threatened by such diversity initiatives (Stevens et al., 2008).

According to Ely and Thomas (2001), under the learning-effectiveness paradigm, all employees feel like active, valued contributors to the organization and group performance is enhanced by conflict resolution and mutual learning. Minorities view their race as a resource, and whites appear able to acknowledge systems of privilege that perpetuate racism. This perspective is qualitatively corroborated by Polzer, Milton, and Swan (2002), who found that interpersonal congruence (seeing other group members as they see themselves) moderated the relationship between diversity and group performance, such that low congruence hampered performance and high congruence enhanced performance. They conclude that diverse group members achieve more cohesive and effective processes by sharing and appreciating their unique characteristics.

If the ideology from which diversity is managed can determine whether diverse teams produce conflict or profitability, then diversity climate may be considered when determining whether racial homogeneity or heterogeneity within teams is desirable for a given organization. If an organization is colorblind, diverse teams are presented with challenges that produce conflict and hamper performance (Ely & Thomas, 2001). Individual differences are a source of discomfort and it is preferred that differences be ignored in favor of the dominant group's identity (Stevens et al., 2008). Therefore, there may be a greater desire for teams to be homogenous, and white applicants may be seen as more suitable for the team and organization.

However, a multicultural climate provides the context for diverse teams to engage in positive interactions that yield creativity and productivity (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Polzer et al., 2002). Differences are perceived as beneficial and minority perspectives are seen a fuel for market access and innovation (Stevens et al., 2008); thus, team diversity may be favored over homogeneity, and minority applicants may be viewed more positively. From these notions, I propose:

> *H5: Organizational diversity climate will significantly predict participant evaluations of the white and black applicant.*
>
> *(a) Black applicant will be evaluated more favorably in the multicultural condition than in the colorblind condition.*
>
> *(b) The white applicant will be evaluated similarly in both conditions.*
>
> *(c) The white will be evaluated more favorably than the black applicant in both conditions.*
>
> *H6: Organizational diversity climate will predict team selection decisions.*
>
> *(a) The white applicant will be selected more frequently in both conditions; however, the black applicant will be selected more frequently in the multicultural condition than in the colorblind condition.*
>
> *H7: Team composition and organizational diversity climate will interact to influence the evaluation of the white and black applicant.*

(a) The black applicant in the diverse team -multicultural climate condition will be evaluated more favorably than the black applicant in the diverse team-colorblind climate condition.

(b) The black applicant in the homogenous white-multicultural climate condition will be evaluated more favorably than the black applicant in the homogenous white-colorblind climate condition.

(c) The white applicant in the homogenous black-multicultural climate condition will be evaluated more favorably than the white applicant in the homogenous black-colorblind climate condition.

H8: Team racial composition and organizational diversity climate will interact to influence selection decisions.

(a) The black applicant in the diverse team -multicultural climate condition will be selected more frequently than the black applicant in the diverse team -colorblind climate condition.

(b) The black applicant in the homogenous white-multicultural climate condition will be selected more frequently than the black applicant in the homogenous white-colorblind climate condition.

(c) The white applicant in the homogenous black-multicultural climate condition will be selected more frequently than the white applicant in the homogenous black-colorblind climate condition.

Individual diversity ideology

Individuals within an organization will also hold their own diversity ideology which influences biases and group perceptions. At the individual level, a stronger colorblind perspective has been shown to be associated with increased racial bias and ethnocentrism compared to the multicultural perspective (Richeson & Nussbaum, 2003). Thus, it is not surprising that racial minorities tend to hold a multicultural ideology significantly more than whites (Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson, & Casas, 2007), who tend to lean towards assimilationism (Wolsko et al., 2006) and colorblindness (Ryan et al, 2007). Nonetheless, whites that endorsed multiculturalism to a greater extent are shown to be more cognizant of differences between racial groups (Wolsko et al., 2006) and demonstrate a greater use of stereotypes and category differentiation (Wolsko, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2000); however, this is simultaneously related to a demonstration of less preferential bias for their in-group (Wolsko et al., 2000; Wolsko et al., 2006). And, when whites perceive a greater intergroup threat to the position of their race, they are more likely to endorse colorblindness to legitimize the status quo of race relations, even when they would normally reject colorblindness (Knowles, Lowery, Hogan, &, Chow, 2009). Furthermore, it has been supported that the higher white employees' level of multiculturalism, the greater level of engagement experienced by minority employees in an organization (Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2008). Therefore, it is probable that the endorsement of multiculturalism will lead to more favorable evaluations of minority applicants; whereas, colorblindness will lead to racial bias in team selection decisions, leading to the following hypotheses:

> *H9: Multiculturalism ideology will moderate the relationship between team composition*
>
> *and diversity climate on the evaluation of black applicants, such that participants with a*

stronger multicultural ideology will evaluate black applicants more favorably in the colorblind condition than participants low on multiculturalism.

H10: Colorblind ideology will moderate the relationship between team composition and diversity climate on the evaluation of the black applicant, such that participants with a stronger colorblind ideology will evaluate the black applicant less favorably in the multicultural climate condition than participants low on colorblindness.

Racial identity

Racial identity describes the feeling belonging to a particular racial or ethnic group, which has the potential to influence one's beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors (Phinney & Ong, 2007). For Blacks, the process of racial identity development is defined as the transformation from conformity, or exalting the norms of whiteness and diminishing blackness, to the internalization and commitment to one's racial group (Cross, 1991). A similar process is proposed for whites, where racial identity development requires one move from complacency with current race relations and an unawareness of racism and privilege, to arrive at autonomy, or positive commitment to one's racial group, while understanding the systems of racism and white privilege (Helms & Carter, 1991).

One's level of racial identity development influences their perception of racial dynamics and discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Watts & Carter (1991) found that blacks in the earlier stage of racial identity development viewed racial climates more favorable than those that were more advanced in racial identity development. Sellers and Shelton (2003) show that blacks' level of race centrality was positively correlated with the amount of discrimination they reported experiencing.

Furthermore, as discussed by Chrobot-Mason and Thomas (2002), an employee's perception of and experience in a colorblind or multicultural organization may be a function of one's level of racial identity development. They suggest that minorities with a level of racial identity development may willingly assimilate to a color-blind, white owned organization, but will benefit developmentally from being in a multicultural organization. Those with a high level of racial identity development find the colorblind organization to be repressive and unsatisfactory, and will likely be committed to and excited by a multicultural organization. Similarly, Ryan et al. (2007) provide an argument that the greater endorsement of colorblindness by whites may be related to their weak racial identity compared to ethnic minorities (Phinney, 1992; Ryan et al., 2007), and that minorities are more likely to endorse multiculturalism because of greater racial identity development and the centrality of their group membership (Phinney, 1992; Ryan et al., 2007).

Based on these findings and theories, racial identity is likely to influence selection decisions in the team context, as higher racial identity development is associated with greater perceptions of discrimination for blacks and a greater awareness of racism and privilege for whites (Helms & Piper, 1994). Additionally, racial identity development influences how one perceives the role of racial minorities in the colorblind or multicultural organization (Chrobat-Mason & Thomas, 2002). Thus, I propose that:

H11: Racial identity will moderate the relationship between team composition and organizational diversity climate on applicant evaluations.

(a) Participants with a lower level of racial identity development will demonstrate a greater preference for the white applicant in the diverse-colorblind, white-colorblind,

diverse- multicultural, and white-multicultural conditions than those with a higher level of racial identity development.

(b) Participants with a lower level of racial identity will demonstrate a greater preference for the black applicant in the black-multicultural and black-colorblind conditions than those with a higher level of racial identity development.

CHAPTER 2

PILOT SURVEY METHOD

A pilot survey was conducted to ensure that the stimuli used for the main study were appropriate for the intended manipulations. This survey consisted of an on-line questionnaire and a panel of graduate students to discuss diversity climate statements.

Sample

On-line survey. The sample consisted of undergraduate students from a large southeastern university, enrolled in introductory psychology courses. Participants received research credit for participating in the survey. A total of 57 consented to participate in the survey; however, only 53 of those participants agreed to have their data submitted for inclusion in the current results. This sample was 69.8% female and 86.8% white.

Graduate student panel. The panel was composed of five I-O psychology doctoral students with a variety of primary research areas, who all completed a graduate level course on the role of diversity in organizations.

Measure

The on-line pilot survey consisted of 193 items that measured participants' reactions to study stimuli. Participants that registered for the experiment through the university participant pool were sent an e-mail from the researcher with consent information and the link to participate. The full survey can be referred to in Appendix A.

Team Member Photos. Sixteen photos (i.e. 4 white males, 4 white females, 4 black males, and 4 black females) that could potentially be used to represent the current team members were evaluated based on race, gender, and age using three multiple choice items. Attractiveness was rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1= very unattractive; 5= very attractive). In addition, similarity ratings of each photo pair were provided on a 10-point Likert-type scale (0= highly dissimilar; 9= highly similar).

Resume Comparison. Applicant resumes were rated based on how qualified they were for the position depicted in the job description. Applicant names and any information that may have identified race were removed (i.e. name of cultural organizations). Participants rated each application on whether they were qualified, likable, likely to be successful, and likely to fit within a team, as well as how strongly the participant would recommend them for hire, using 5 item scales.

Names and racial identification. A list of four applicant names were rated on which race they were identified with (i.e. white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or Native American) the most using a multiple choice item. Two names were expected to be strongly identified as white (i.e. Brad Sullivan and Jacob O'Neil) and two names were expected to be strongly identified with black (i.e. Tyrone Walker and Marcus Johnson).

Graduate student panel.

Graduate students who completed a doctoral course on diversity in organizations were solicited by the researcher to participate in a discussion to determine the appropriate diversity statements that represented multiculturalism and colorblindness. Participants were informed of

the goals of the primary study and the manner in which the diversity statement would be used. An open discussion was facilitated by the researcher until a consensus was reached.

CHAPTER 3

PILOT SURVEY RESULTS

Online Survey

  Team Member Photos. Multidimensional scaling analyses were performed using the similarity ratings of photo pairs to determine if there was an underlying pattern to the judgments made by participants. However, interpretation of the graphical display of comparisons did not reveal any particular pattern to the way similarity was discerned.

  The percentages of participants who indicated a particular race, gender, or age range of the persons in the photo were examined. Paired-sample t-tests were used to determine if there were significant differences in the attractiveness of the persons depicted in the photos (between and within racial/ gender groups). Taken together, these results were examined by the researcher who used judgment in determining which stimuli would be most appropriate to include the main study (i.e. strongest racial and gender identification, most similar in age range). For the final set of stimuli, there were no significant differences between the attractiveness ratings of the photos included ($p > .05$).

  Resumes. Differences in the evaluation of resumes were examined using paired sample t-tests. Results indicated that there was no significant difference in perceptions of applicant qualifications ($t\,(51) = -1.527$, $p > .05$), applicant likability ($t\,(51) = .167$, $p > .05$), applicant likelihood of being successful ($t\,(51) = -.843$, $p > .05$), applicant likelihood of fitting well in a team ($t\,(51) = -1.825$, $p > .05$), or how strongly the participants would recommend the applicant for hire ($t\,(50) = -1.502$, $p > .05$). Furthermore, there was no significant mean difference in the

means of applicant evaluations (t (51) = -1.500, $p > .05$) Thus, it was concluded that the applicant resumes were comparable.

Names and racial identification. Percentages of ratings for race associated with each name were examined. For the white identified names, Brad Sullivan (96.2%) was perceived as white more frequently than Jacob O'Neil (83.0%). For the black identified names, Tyrone Walker (96.2) was perceived as black more frequently than Marcus Johnson (90.6%). Thus, Brad Sullivan and Tyrone Walker were used as the names of the white and black applicants, respectively.

Graduate student panel

Based on the discussion forum, a consensus was reached that the most appropriate diversity climate statements would be those that described the diversity climate the researcher intended to predict, rather than using the actual words "multicultural" or "colorblind." This conclusion was based on the notion that the understanding of these terms may differ between diversity researchers and the layperson; thus, the descriptive statements would remove the most ambiguity.

The final *multicultural* diversity climate statement read as, "MWG & CO. values differences among employees and embraces the diversity of our team members as a resource that enhances the performance, adaptability, and creativity of our organization." The final *colorblind* diversity climate statement read as, "MWG & CO. ignores differences between employees and promotes equal opportunity personnel practices for all employees regardless of race, skin color, sex, national origin, religion, age, sexual orientation, or disabilities."

CHAPTER 4

MAIN STUDY METHOD

This study used a 3 (team composition: diverse, homogenous white, and homogenous black) X 2 (organizational diversity climate: colorblind and multicultural) between subjects design.

Participants

Participants were undergraduates at a large southeastern university enrolled in introductory psychology courses. Participants were recruited through the university's psychology department research pool. A total of 720 students registered to participant the study and were sent the e-mail link to complete the survey. 93.3% of these students consented to participate; however, only 62.2% of participants completed the survey and consented to having their data included in the analyses. Because all demographic information and attitudinal information, as well as the survey submission, were collected at the end of the survey, patterns between data missing at random and missing not at random could not be examined to determine if the usable sample may be biased.

Of the remaining 418 participants, 360 (60 per condition) correctly responded to all of the manipulation check items. Within this final sample, 79.2% of participants were white and 84.7% were women. 43.4% of participants indicated a family income greater than $100,000 per year. 57.2 % of participants were freshman undergraduates.

Stimuli

    Diversity climate and team composition. Organizational diversity climate and team composition were manipulated via a letter from the fictitious MWG & Co. organization. The letter informed participants that they would be making a selection decision for a new member that would join the customer service team based on two candidates that were narrowed down from an applicant database. The diversity climate of the organization was manipulated through a statement concerning ideology from which the organization approaches diversity management.

    The letter concluded by introducing participants to the current members of the team through photos of individual team members. Here, team composition was manipulated through the race of the current members. Gender was balanced within each team. The homogenous white team was composed of two white males and two white females. The homogenous black team was composed of two black males and two black females. The diverse team was composed of one white male, one white female, as well as one black male and one black female. Diversity climate and team composition were fully crossed. Sample letters for the multicultural and colorblind conditions can be referred to in Appendix B and Appendix C, respectfully.

    Job description. A job description was created for a team based, entry level position based on information from the United States Department of Labor, O-Net database (http://online.onetcenter.org) for the job position of customer service representative, as well as team position job advertisements posted on Monster.com. The job description contained the level of the position, task requirements, and the expected applicant qualifications. There was no explicit support that this was a neutral job position, however no available information indicated stigma. Appendix D contains the job description.

Resumes. Each condition used two standard resumes. Resumes were developed to portray two equally qualified applicants that differ in race only. Both applicants were males who recently graduated from northeastern universities in psychology. Race was manipulated via a strongly identified white or black name (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), affiliation with affinity group organizations (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), and the reporting of ethnicity on an EEOC compliance form. Sample resumes can be seen in Appendix E and Appendix F.

Measures

All measures can be referred to in Appendix G.

Applicant Evaluation. Participants were asked to evaluate each applicant based on the job description for the available position and the applicant's resume. They responded to 5 items, including "How qualified do you perceive candidate 1 to be?" and "How well do you feel candidate 1will fit within the current team?"

Selection decision. Participants made a selection decision between applicants by responding to the question, "Based on the applicant resumes, which candidate would you select for hire?" Participants will select between candidate 1 and candidate 2.

Diversity ideology. Individual multicultural and colorblind attitudes were measured using an 8- item measure developed by Ryan et al (2007). Participants rated each statement on the level to which they believe the strategy indicated would improve intergroup relations on a 7-point scale (1= not likely to improve relations between groups; 7= likely to improve relations between groups). Four items were designed to measure multiculturalism, and 4 items were designed to measure colorblindness. The two measures were correlated at .51 for blacks and .21 for whites in previous research, but the data also fit an appropriate 2-factor model better than a 1-

factor model (Ryan et al., 2007). These correlations suggest that white participants viewed multiculturalism and colorblindness as more distinct than black participants.

Ryan et al. (2007) suggested that the strength of these correlations may be due to participant's perceptions of socially desirable responses. Furthermore, this research may have suffered from range restriction, as the participants were recruited at a diversity related forum. Still, Ryan et al. (2007) argue that multiculturalism and colorblindness need not be perceived as foils or mutually exclusive, as both are diversity perspectives that may have positive or negative outcomes in different contexts. This relationship was also examined in the current data.

Racial identity. Participants' level of racial identity development was measured using the revised version of the Multiethnic racial identity measure (MEIM-R) constructed by Phinney and Ong (2007). Participants responded to an open-ended question that asks them to indicate their ethnicity, the ethnicity of their mother, and the ethnicity of their father. Subsequently, participants responded to six items on a 5-point agree/disagree (1=disagree, 5=agree) Likert type scale. Sample items include, "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs" and "I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group." Higher scores indicate greater racial identity development.

Perceptions of racial diversity within teams. Participant perceptions of the influence of diversity within teams was gathered by 6 items developed based on an examination of the literature. Participants will indicate their level of agreement with the statements on a 5 point agree/ disagree (1= disagree, 5=agree) scale. Sample items include, "Diversity in teams produces conflict among team members," and "Diversity enriches team decision making." Negatively worded items were reverse coded, and items were evaluated for psychometric quality.

Manipulation Checks. Participants responded to several items to assess whether the manipulations of the current study were salient in order to determine if the participant's response can be included in subsequent analyses.

Demographics. Participants completed a questionnaire that gathered information concerning gender, age, year is school, socioeconomic status, and employment experience.

Procedure

Participants that were recruited through the participant pool were randomly assigned to a condition and e-mailed an internet link that directed them to the current online study. They were met with a consent form and were asked to agree to participate. Upon their agreement, participants read a description of the study, where they were informed that an organization was evaluating how applicant resume information is used in the team selection context. Subsequently, a letter from a human resources department of a fictitious organization was presented. The letter informed the participant that they were making a selection decision for a team entry-level position based on two candidates that have been narrowed down from an applicant database. The letter also conveyed the diversity climate of the organization and the racial composition of the current team members. After reading the letter, participants reviewed a job description that presented the requirements of the available position, as well as expected applicant qualifications.

Once familiar with this information, participants were asked to review the resume of the first candidate. The order in which applicant resumes were presented was alternated to avoid order effects. The first candidate was rated, and then participants will review and rate the second applicant. After both candidates are evaluated, participants choose one candidate for the team

position. Following the selection decision, manipulation checks were completed. Then,

participants completed measures of multiculturalism, colorblindness, racial identity, and team

perspectives, as well as a demographic questionnaire. Participants were then directed to a

debriefing form and informed that they completed the current study; they were asked to submit

their response to be included in data analyses and thanked for their participation.

CHAPTER 5

MAIN STUDY RESULTS

Manipulation Checks

Of the 416 participants that submitted data to be included in analyses, 96.15% correctly

identified the race of the black applicant, and 97.12% correctly identified the race of the white

applicant. 88.94% correctly identified the diversity climate of the organization, and 94.95%

correctly identified the racial composition of the client services team. 88.46% identified the

major of the first applicant presented correctly, and 87.26% correctly identified the last place of

employment for the second applicant presented.

Internal Consistency and Factor Analyses

The Cronbach's alpha of every study measure was calculated. Results indicated that the

internal consistency of the applicant evaluation measure for whites and blacks would be

considerably improved by removing the item that asked participants to rate applicants on

likability. Furthermore, the internal consistencies of the colorblindness measure ($\alpha = .665$) and

the perspective of diversity within teams measure was low ($\alpha = .652$). As a result, factor

analyses were performed to examine how measures were functioning.

An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) with principal axis rotation was conducted for each

of the study measures to examine how items were relating to the factors of interest. For the

white and black applicant evaluation measures, the EFA results corroborated that the likability

item had a considerably lower factor loading (i.e. .495 and .451, respectively, compared to factor

loadings between .642-.877) than all other items, suggesting that this item did not capture the

same construct as the other items. As a result, this item was removed from all subsequent analyses.

An EFA of the perspective of diversity within teams suggested that positively and reverse-coded, negatively worded items represented two separate factors. Further examination of this measure indicated that this difference was not just a consequence of the negatively worded items being responded to in a consistent pattern as the positively worded items. Therefore, it may be that positive and negative perceptions of diversity within teams may not be extremes of one attitude, but may represent different constructs.

In addition, an EFA of the ideology measures suggested 2 factors were present as expected. However, while the multiculturalism items loaded on the first factor much stronger than the second factor, colorblindness items had similar factor loadings on both factors (i.e. .247-.530 and .358-.597, respectively). Thus, these constructs are not mutually exclusive, following assertions made by previous research (Ryan et al. 2007).

Confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) were also performed to corroborate the factor structure of the items. A summary of fit for all models can be referred to in Table 1. CFAs were conducted to see if evaluations of the white and black applicant were better designated as separate factors. Results suggested that the 2-factor model fit significantly better than the 1-factor model, $\Delta\chi^2$ (1) $= 336.46, p < .001$.   Therefore, rather than representing one applicant evaluation factor, the ratings of the white and black applicants represented different constructs, which may indicative of different judgment processes involved for decisions regarding each applicant.

Guided by the EFA, CFAs were conducted to determine the factor structure of the attitudes towards diversity in teams measure. A 1-factor model and a 2-factor model that

separated the positively and negatively worded items (reverse coded) of the perspective of diversity within teams measure were compared. The 2-factor model lead to a significant improvement in chi-square, $\Delta\chi^2$ (1) = 390.82, $p < .001$, suggesting that these items were better represented as separate constructs: positive attitudes towards diversity in team and negative attitudes toward diversity in teams. In subsequent analyses, items representing negative attitudes towards team diversity were *not* reverse coded, such that higher negative perceptions of represented more negative attitudes.

Finally, a CFA was conducted to determine whether the ideology items were one factor. Again, a 1-factor model and a 2-factor model representing multiculturalism and colorblindness were compared. The 1-factor model lead to a significant worsening in fit, $\Delta\chi^2$ (1) = 174.84, $p < .001$. Therefore, multiculturalism and colorblindness were best represented as separate constructs. The final Cronbach's alphas for each measure can be referred to in Table 2. Cronbach's alphas ranged from .665 to .889.

Descriptives and Intercorrelations among Study Variables

A summary of means and standard deviations can be referred to in Table 3. In the overall sample, the black applicant (57.2%) was selected more frequently than the white applicant (41.4%; $\chi^2 = 9.15$, $p < .05$). However, there was not a significant mean difference between the evaluation of the white applicant and the evaluation of the black applicant (t (359) = -1.45, $p > .05$). There was also no significant mean difference between participants' multiculturalism and colorblindness (t (357) = -1.83, $p > .05$) in the overall sample. A significant mean difference was present between positive perceptions of team diversity and negative perceptions of team diversity (t (359) = 17.56, $p < .05$).

There were no significant mean gender differences in any diversity related attitudes, except positive perceptions of diversity within teams, where women had a higher mean than men (t (358) = 3.40, p < .05).   The mean evaluation of the white applicant and the black applicant by minorities was significantly higher than whites' mean evaluation of the evaluated the white (*t* (358) = -2.46, *p* < .05) or black applicant (*t* (358) = -2.47, *p* < .05). There was no significant mean difference in multiculturalism for whites and minorities (*t* (357) = .857, *p* > .05); however, whites had a higher mean for colorblindness than minorities (*t* (356) = 2.63, *p* < .05). Minorities' mean racial identity was significantly higher than whites' mean racial identity (*t* (356) = -5.907, *p* < .05). There was no significant mean difference in whites' and minorities' (*t* (356) = .09, *p* > .05) negative perceptions of team diversity; however, minorities' had a higher mean of positive perceptions of team diversity than whites (*t* (358) = -2.05, *p* > .05).

There were also significant mean differences in the evaluation of the white and black applicant between participants that ultimately selected either the white or black applicant. Participants that selected the white applicant had a higher mean evaluation of the white applicant than those that selected the black applicant (t (353) = 2.82, *p* < .05). In contrast, participants that selected the black applicant had a higher mean evaluation of the black applicant than those that selected the white applicant (t (353) = -6.28, *p* < .05). Furthermore, participants that selected the black applicant also had a higher mean for multiculturalism and positive perspectives of diversity within teams than those that selected the white applicant (*t* (353) = -2.53, *p* < .05).

Multiculturalism and colorblindness were significantly positively correlated (*r* = .225, *p* < .05). The correlation between multiculturalism and colorblindness was significantly stronger for minorities (*r* = .477, *p* < .05) than whites (*r* = .121, *p* < .05; *z* = 3.01, *p* < .05). For women, the

correlation was positive ($r = .303$, $p < .05$); whereas, the correlation was negative for men ($r = -.271$, $p < .05$).

Racial identity demonstrated a significant positive association with multiculturalism ($r = .135$, $p < .05$) and a significant negative association with colorblindness ($r = -.104$, $p < .05$). For minorities and whites, multiculturalism and racial identity had a positive correlation ($r = .241$ and .129, respectively, $p < .05$); however, the negative correlations between racial identity colorblindness were not significant. In the sample of women, the correlation between racial identity and colorblindness was not significant, while the positive correlation between racial identity and multiculturalism was significant ($r = .116$, $p < .05$). Men displayed the opposite pattern; the correlation between racial identity and multiculturalism was not significant, while the negative correlation between racial identity and colorblindness was significant ($r = -.373$, $p < .05$).

Stronger positive perceptions of team diversity were associated with multiculturalism ($r = .268$, $p < .05$) and racial identity ($r = .203$, $p < .05$); whereas, stronger negative perceptions of team diversity were negatively associated with colorblindness ($r = -.124$, $p < .05$) and positively associated with racial identity ($r = .116$, $p < .05$). For whites and minorities, as well as men and women, positive perceptions of team diversity were positively associated with multiculturalism ($r = .279$, .263, .301, and .257, respectively, $p < .05$). In addition, for minorities, these positive perceptions were positively associated with racial identity ($r = .517$, $p < .05$), and for women these perceptions were also positively associated with colorblindness ($r = .149$, $p < .05$). Stronger negative perceptions of team diversity were positively associated with whites' and men's racial identity ($r = .155$ and .311, $p < .05$).

There were no significant correlations among the ratings of either the white or black applicant with diversity related attitudes. However, for whites and women, multiculturalism was positively related to the evaluation of the black applicant ($r = .144$ and $.130$, respectively, $p < .05$). Ratings of the white applicant and of the black applicant were significantly positively related ($r = .648$, $p < .05$). Similar correlations were seen between whites ($r = .657$, $p < .05$) and minorities ($r = .582$, $p < .05$; $z = .924$, $p > .05$), as well as for men and women ($r = .617$ and $r = .654$, respectively, $p < .05$; $z = -.414$, $p > .05$).

Hypothesis Testing

It was expected that participants' attitudes towards diversity in teams would predict their evaluation of the white and black applicant (Hypothesis 1). Hypothesis 1a anticipated that the white applicant would be evaluated consistently regardless of participants' attitudes towards team diversity. In contrast, Hypothesis 1b proposed that the black applicant would be evaluated more favorably by those with stronger positive attitudes towards team diversity. These hypotheses related to participants' attitudes towards diversity in teams could not be examined as expected due to the functioning of the measure. As a result, positive and negative perceptions of team diversity were considered separate measures and examined simultaneously as predictors of the evaluation of applicants. Evaluations of the white applicant were examined first as the dependent variable. Multiple regression analyses revealed that model was not significant ($R^2 = .00$, $F(2, 355) = .34$, $p > .05$); neither positive ($B = .04$, $t = .72$, $p > .05$) nor negative attitudes concerning team diversity ($B = .02$, $t = .41$, $p > .05$) significantly predicted the evaluation of the white applicant. Likewise, when predicting evaluations of the black applicant, positive attitudes towards team diversity ($B = .03$, $t = .56$, $p > .05$) and negative attitudes towards team diversity (B

$= .04$, $t = .83$, $p > .05$) were again not significant predictors ($R^2 = .00$, $F (2, 355) = .59$, $p > .05$).

Thus, Hypothesis 1a was supported; however, Hypothesis 1b was not supported.

Hypothesis 2 that attitudes towards team racial diversity would predict selections

decisions, such that positive attitudes would lead one to favor the black applicant, was examined

by using binary logistic regression. The omnibus test of model coefficients examines the

difference between a model including the predictors to a model with only the intercept, such that

a significant chi-square represents an ill-fitting model. Positive attitudes towards team diversity

and negative attitudes towards team diversity were entered simultaneously as predictors of

participants' selection decisions. Overall, positive and negative attitudes towards team diversity

did significantly predict selection decisions between the white and black applicant ($\chi^2 (2) = 8.95$,

$p < .05$; $-2LL = 472.91$). Examination of the individual predictors indicates that positive

attitudes towards team diversity was a significant predictor of selection decisions ($B = .31$, odds

ratio $= 1.34$, Wald $= 6.68$, $p < .05$); however, negative perceptions towards team diversity did not

significantly predict selection decisions ($B = -.17$, odds ratio $= .84$, Wald $= 2.30$, $p > .05$). This

indicates support for Hypothesis 2.

Team racial composition was examined as a predictor of applicant evaluations

(Hypothesis 3). Two dummy codes were used to represent the three team conditions, with the

diverse team condition as the reference group (1= Diverse and 1= White). It was expected that

white applicants would be evaluated higher in the homogenous white team condition and the

diverse team condition than in the homogenous black team condition (Hypothesis 3a). Team

racial composition was a significant predictor of evaluations of the white applicant ($R^2 = .13$, F

$(2, 357) = 2.94$, $p < .05$). The diverse team was not a significant predictor ($B = -.03$, $t = .77$, p

$> .05$), thus, mean evaluation scores in the diverse team condition were not significantly higher

that mean evaluation scores in the homogenous black team condition. However, the white team was a significant predictor ($B = -.22$, $t = -1.95$, $p < .05$), which suggest that the mean evaluation scores in the homogenous white team condition were less than that of the homogenous black team condition. This relationship was in the opposite direction of the hypothesized relationship, indicating Hypothesis 3a was not supported.

In contrast, it was hypothesized that the black applicant would be evaluated more favorably in the homogenous black team condition than in either the homogenous white team condition or the diverse team condition. Team racial composition was not a significant predictor of evaluations of the black applicant ($R^2 = .05$, $F (2, 357) = .476$, $p > .05$); neither the diverse team ($B = .08$, $t = .77$, $p > .05$) nor the white team ($B = -.02$, $t = -.14$, $p > .05$) were significant predictors. Thus, the black applicant was not evaluated more favorably in the homogenous black team condition and Hypothesis 3b was not supported.

Dependent sample t-tests were used to further examine mean differences in the evaluation of white or black applicant within each condition. There was a significant mean difference in evaluations in the homogenous white team condition ($t (119) = -2.48$, $p < .05$), such that the black applicant was evaluated more favorably than the white applicant. Within the diverse team condition, there was no significant difference between the mean evaluation of the white applicant and the mean evaluation of the black applicant ($t (119) = .96$, $p > .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 3c that anticipated the white applicant would be evaluated more favorably than the black applicant in these conditions was partially supported. Furthermore, there was no significant mean difference between applicant evaluations in the homogenous black team condition ($t (119) = -.87$, $p > .05$); therefore, Hypothesis 3d that anticipated the black applicant would be evaluated more favorably than the white applicant in this condition was not supported.

Binary logistic regression was used to examine Hypothesis 4 that team racial composition would predict selection decisions. Overall, team racial composition did not significantly predict selection decisions between the white and black applicant (χ^2 (2) = .44, p > .05). Neither the first vector representing team racial composition (1 = Diverse; B = -.15, odds ratio = .86, Wald = .34, p > .05) nor the second vector (1 = white; B = -.01, odds ratio = .99, Wald = .00, p > .05) were significant. It was expected that the white applicant would be selected more frequently in the diverse and homogenous white team conditions; whereas, the black applicant would be selected more in the homogenous black team condition (Hypotheses 4a and 4b). In the diverse team condition, the frequency with which the white or black applicant were selected did not differ significantly (χ^2 (1) = 1.44, p > .05). However, in the homogenous white team condition (χ^2 (1) = 4.03, p < .05) and the homogenous black team condition (χ^2 (1) = 4.10, p < .05), the black applicant was selected more frequently than the white applicant. Therefore, Hypothesis 4a was not supported; however, Hypothesis 4b was supported.

Organizational diversity climate (colorblind vs. multicultural) was examined as a predictor of participants' evaluations of the white and black applicant (Hypothesis 5) by regressing evaluation scores on a dummy code representing the two climates (0 = Colorblind, 1 = Multicultural). Diversity climate was not a significant predictor of the evaluation of the white applicant (R^2 =.01, F (1, 358) = .04, B= -.02, p >.05) or the black (R^2 =.02, F (1, 358) = .21, B= -.04, p >.05); therefore, Hypothesis 5 was not supported. Hypothesis 5a expected the black applicant to be evaluated more favorably in the multicultural climate condition. The black applicant was evaluated similarly in both climate conditions (t (179) = -.22, p > .05); thus, Hypothesis 5a was not supported. Likewise, the white applicant was evaluated similarly in both climate conditions (t (180) = .17, p > .05), supporting Hypothesis 5b that the white applicant

would be evaluated consistently in both conditions. The black applicant was evaluated more favorably than the white applicant in both the colorblind condition (t (179) = -1.22, $p > .05$) and the multicultural condition (t (180) = -.83, $p > .05$), which fails to support Hypothesis 5c that the white applicant would be seen more favorably than the black applicant in both conditions.

Binary logistic regression did not support Hypothesis 6 that organizational diversity climate was a predictor of selection decisions (χ^2 (1) = .04; $B = -.04$, odds ratio = .96, Wald = .04, $p < .05$). Furthermore, in contrast to expectations that the black applicant would be selected less frequently than the white applicant in both conditions but more frequently in the multicultural condition than the colorblind condition (Hypothesis 6a), the black candidate was actually selected significantly more frequently than the white candidate in both the colorblind (χ^2 (1) = 4.07, $p < .05$) and multicultural (χ^2 (1) = 5.11, $p < .05$) climate conditions. The black candidate was selected 103 times in each condition. Together, these results mean Hypothesis 6a was not supported.

The interaction between organizational diversity climate and team racial composition was also expected to predict applicant evaluations (Hypothesis 7). This hypothesis was examined using hierarchical regression. In step one, the dummy codes representing climate and team racial composition were entered. In step two, the interaction terms were added. When the evaluations of the black applicant were the dependent variable, the model including only the main effects was not significant ($R^2 = .06$, F (3, 356) = .39, $p > .05$). The inclusion of the interaction terms did not significantly add to the variance accounted for in the evaluation the black applicant ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, ΔF (2, 354) = .43, $p > .05$), nor was the overall model significant ($R^2 = .08$, F (5, 354) = .40, $p > .05$). The interaction terms were both not significant predictors ($B = -.18$, $t = .83$ and $B = .17$, $t = .77$, $p > .05$). Similarly, the main effects model, when predicting white applicant

evaluations, was not significant ($R^2 = .02$, $F (3, 356) = 1.97$, $p > .05$). The interaction terms did not significantly add to the variance accounted for in the evaluation the white applicant ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, $\Delta F (2, 354) = .14$, $p > .05$), and again the overall model was not significant ($R^2 = .02$, $F (5, 354) = 1.23$, $p > .05$). Neither interaction term was a significant predictor ($B = -.02$, $t = -.01$ and $B = .09$, $t = .41$, $p > .05$). These results suggest that Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

Hypothesis 7a proposed that the black applicant would be evaluated more favorably in the diverse team-multicultural climate condition than in the diverse team-colorblind climate condition. The mean difference between the evaluation of the black applicant in the diverse team-multicultural climate condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .74$) and the diverse-team colorblind climate condition ($M = 3.70$, $SD = .87$) was not statistically significant ($t (118) = .16$, $p > .05$). Likewise, it was also expected that the black applicant would be evaluated more favorable in homogenous white team-multicultural climate condition than in the homogenous white team-colorblind climate condition (Hypothesis 7b). The mean difference between the evaluation of the black applicant in the homogenous white team -multicultural climate condition ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .82$) and the homogenous white team- colorblind climate condition ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .85$) was not statistically significant ($t (118) = .00$, $p > .05$). Finally, it was expected that white applicant in the homogenous black team-multicultural climate condition than in the homogenous black team-colorblind climate condition (Hypothesis 7b). The mean difference between the evaluation of the white applicant in the homogenous black team-multicultural climate condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .82$) and the homogenous black team-colorblind climate condition ($M = 3.87$, $SD = .86$) was also not statistically significant ($t (118) = .98$, $p > .05$). Thus, Hypotheses 7a-c were not supported.

The interaction between team racial composition and organizational diversity climate was also expected to predict participants' selection decisions (Hypothesis 8). This was tested using binary logistic regression. The model including the main effects was not significant (χ^2 (3) = .47, $p > .05$; $-2LL$ = 482.47). The inclusion of the interaction variables did not produce a significant improvement in fit (χ^2 (5) = 2.36, $p > .05$; $\Delta\chi^2$ (2) = 1.88, $p > .05$, Δ-$2LL$= 1.88). The logistic coefficients for the interaction terms were also not significant (B = .73, odds ratio = 2.06, Wald = 1.88 and B = .41, odds ratio = 1.50, Wald = 1.87, $p > .05$). Thus, Hypothesis 8 was not supported.

In all climate by team conditions, the black applicant was selected more frequently, but not significantly so, than the white applicant, except for in the homogenous black team-colorblind condition where this difference was significant (χ^2 (1) = 4.27, $p < .05$). The frequency with which the black applicant was selected in the diverse team- multicultural climate condition and the diverse team-colorblind climate did not differ significantly (χ^2 (1) = .39, $p > .05$). The difference in the frequency with which the black applicant was selected in the homogenous white team- multicultural climate condition and the homogenous white team-colorblind climate also did not differ significantly (χ^2 (1) = .01, $p > .05$). The white applicant was not selected more frequently in the homogenous black team- multicultural condition than in the homogenous black team- colorblind condition (χ^2 (1) = .33, $p > .05$). Therefore, Hypotheses 8a-c were not supported.

Diversity ideologies were examined as moderators of the interaction effect of team racial composition and organizational diversity climate on the evaluation of the black applicant using hierarchical regression. Multiculturalism as a moderator was examined first. In step one, dummy codes representing team racial composition and climate were entered along with mean-

centered multiculturalism. In step two, all 2-way cross-product terms were entered. Then, in step three, the 3-way interaction terms were entered. The main effects model was not significant ($R^2 = .01$, F (4, 354) = 1.24, $p > .05$), and the inclusion of all 2-way interactions did not significantly improve fit ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, ΔF (5, 349) = 2.04, $p > .05$).   The model including the 3-way interaction terms was not significant ($R^2 = .05$, F (11, 347) = 1.54, $p > .05$), nor did the model significantly improve upon the previous model ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, ΔF (2, 347) = .88, $p > .05$). The parameter estimates for the 3-way interaction terms were not significant ($B = -.15$, $t = -.89$ and $B = .10$, $t = .48$, $p > .05$).   Thus, multiculturalism did not moderate the interaction effect of climate and team racial composition on the evaluations of the black applicant, which fails to support Hypothesis 9.

These analyses were repeated using mean-centered colorblindness as the moderator. The main effects model was not significant ($R^2 = .01$, F (4, 353) = .77, $p > .05$), and the second model with 2-way interactions did not improve fit ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, ΔF (5, 348) = .63, $p > .05$).   Again, the model including the 3-way interaction terms was not significant ($R^2 = .02$, F (11, 346) = .66, $p > .05$) and did not significantly improve upon the previous model ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, ΔF (2, 346) = .55, $p > .05$).   Neither 3-way interaction term was significant ($B = -.07$, $t = -.36$ and $B = .12$, $t = .64$, $p > .05$).   Therefore, colorblindness also did not moderate the climate-team racial composition interaction effect on evaluations of the black applicant, which fails to support Hypothesis 10.

Racial identity was also examined as a moderator of the relationship between the joint effect of team racial composition and climate on applicant evaluations using hierarchical regression. First, the evaluation of black applicants was examined as the dependent variable. In step one, mean-centered racial identity and dummy codes representing team racial composition and climate were entered. This model was not significant ($R^2 = .01$, F (4, 353) = .90, $p > .05$).

In step two, all 2-way cross-product terms were entered, but failed to significantly improve fit ($\Delta R^2 = .04$, F (5, 348) = 1.76, $p > .05$). In step three, the 3-way interaction terms were entered. The model including the 3-way interaction terms was not significant ($R^2 = .04$, F (11, 346) = 1.44, $p > .05$) and did not significantly improve upon the previous model ($\Delta R^2 = .01$, ΔF (2, 346) = 1.69, $p > .05$). Neither parameter estimate for the 3-way interaction terms was significant ($B = -.04$, $t = -.20$ and $B = .37$, $t = -1.73$, $p > .05$). Hypothesis 11a was not supported.

This model was again examined with evaluations of the white applicant as the dependent variables. The main effects model ($R^2 = .03$, F (4, 353) = 2.28, $p > .05$) was not significant; and, the model including 2-way interactions did not significantly improve the model ($\Delta R^2 = .02$, ΔF (5, 348) = 1.31, $p < .05$). The model including the 3-way interaction terms was significant ($R^2 = .07$, F (11, 346) = 2.53, $p < .05$); however, the inclusion of 3-way interaction terms did not significantly improved upon the previous model ($\Delta R^2 = .00$, ΔF (2, 346) = .87, $p < .05$). None of the 3-way interaction parameter estimates were significant ($B = -.06$, $t = -.34$ and $B = .04$, $t = .16$, $p > .05$). Thus, racial identity did not moderate the relationship of the team composition by climate interaction on the evaluation of the white or black applicant. Hypothesis 11 was also not supported.

Table 1

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Model	χ²	df	RMSEA	SRMR	TLI	CFI
1 factor: Applicant evaluations	1127.73	35	.23	.12	.49	.60
2 factor: Black and white applicant evaluations	791.27	34	.25	.12	064	.73
1 factor: Attitudes towards team diversity	407.71	9	.35	.20	.05	.43
2 factor: Positive and negative attitudes towards team diversity	16.89	8	.06	.04	.98	.99
1 factor: Ideologies	226.87	20	.17	.12	.58	.70
2 factor: multiculturalism and colorblindness	52.03	19	.07	.05	.93	.95

*Note. *p < .05*

Table 2

Cronbach's Alphas for Study Measures

Measure	α
White applicant evaluation	.89
Black applicant evaluation	.87
Multiculturalism	.79
Colorblindness	.67
Racial identity	.88
Positive attitudes towards team diversity	.80
Negative attitudes towards team diversity	.82

Table 3

Summary of Means and Standard Deviations

Measure	Overall Sample	Gender		Race		Selection Decision	
		Women	Men	Whites	Minorities	Black Applicant	White Applicant
White applicant evaluation	3.68	3.68	3.61	3.62	3.89	3.57	3.83
Black applicant evaluation	3.73	3.73	3.73	3.68	3.94	3.95	3.42
Multiculturalism	5.39	5.42	5.25	5.42	5.28	5.49	5.23
Colorblindness	5.53	5.55	5.47	5.62	5.23	5.56	5.48
Racial identity	3.09	3.09	3.10	2.94	3.71	3.14	3.05
Positive attitudes towards team diversity	3.73	3.80	3.36	3.68	3.92	3.83	3.59
Negative attitudes towards team diversity	2.52	2.45	2.72	2.52	2.49	2.45	2.60

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This study represents a first attempt at examining the manifestation of racially biased decision making during the hiring process for jobs requiring the applicant to work within an interdependent team. The process of team selection warrants additional attention, as organizations increasingly engage in decentralization (Mesmer-Magnus & DeChurch, 2009; Tjosvold, 1991; Ilgen, 1999). Team selection research has primarily focused on identifying team-based KSAs to select applicants that will thrive in a team context (Stevens & Campion, 1994; Burch & Anderson, 2004; Mumford et al, 2008), neglecting to examine the implications of team selection on traditionally underrepresented or systematically oppressed groups.

Contrasting most previous research examining biases against minority applicants (e.g. Brief et al., 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; King et al., 2006), there was no difference in the evaluation of the white and the black applicant for the team position. In addition, the black applicant was selected more frequently than the white applicant overall. Thus, it appears that aversive racism did not impact the evaluation of and selection of the black applicant when neutral qualifications were presented (c.f. Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Instead, these results support that participants indeed rated equally qualified participants as such, without being influenced by applicant race.

A question still remains, then, as to why the black applicant was subsequently preferred more frequently than the white applicant in the final selection decisions if they were evaluated similarly. Unique to the team context, perceptions of whether diversity will benefit team

dynamics appears to influence participants' selection decisions. Interestingly, these attitudes were not related to more favorable evaluations of the black applicant, nor did they impact evaluations of the white applicant. Nonetheless, when the final selection decision was made these perceptions indeed influenced the outcome. Specifically, negative attitudes did not seem to play a role, but with stronger positive attitudes towards team diversity, the likelihood of selecting the black applicant increased. Thus, it appears that the more decision makers are made aware of the potential for diversity to lead to beneficial outcomes in teams, they may be more likely to select minorities to the team-based organization. Yet, it is still somewhat inconsistent that negative attitudes towards team diversity would not encourage one to foster more homogenous teams.

The use of an explicit diversity related statement, whether emphasizing equal opportunity or multiculturalism, in the letter from the organization may have played a role in this outcome. The legitimacy of instructions supporting anti-diversity policies has been found to increase whether discriminatory selection decisions are made (Brief et al, 2000). However, it may also be possible that legitimate instruction can encourage diversity friendly decision making. Because applicants in this study were seen as equally qualified, participants may have chosen to select the minority candidate in line with the organizations' explicit diversity statements, whether they were encouraging equal opportunity or multiculturalism, allowing those statements to act as legitimate justifications for their decision to select the black applicant over the white applicant.

Alternatively, Norton et al. (2008) recently argued that in the spirit of appearing colorblind, Americans are willing to agree that diversity is an important goal, and yet will not explicitly acknowledge that race plays a role in decision making. In their examination of hypothetical admissions decisions, they determined that a black applicant was selected more

frequently than a white applicant regardless of qualifications, yet subsequent justifications for decisions deemphasized race as an important criterion. Participants instead chose to change previous rankings of important criteria to match those congruent with the black applicant's qualifications. It is possible that because applicants were selected after they were evaluated in the current study, when participants were asked to make their final selection decision, they may have altered their previous criteria to emphasize some aspect of the minority applicants' qualifications, allowing them to make a minority friendly choice. This argument would be somewhat encouraging if it could be determined that decision makers are actively aware of the policies they use and were willing to alter them to be diversity friendly, as it may represent increasing acceptance of minorities in the workplace. However, one would still caution that having inconsistent justifications for decision making to appear aligned with preferring minorities could have negative implications for perceived justice by dominant group members and minorities alike (c.f. McFarlin & Sweeney, 1992, Orlando & Kriby, 1997; Skarlicki & Folger,1997).

Furthermore, although these findings immediately appear positive as they may support the alleviation of modern biases and the ability of the organization to ameliorate biased decision making, the hypothetical nature of the current decision making context in a lab design creates a lack of external validity. Decision makers may have simply been more willing to select the black applicant to make the socially desirable response, acknowledging that there was no true consequence for themselves or the organization based on their decision. In addition, it is not possible to rule out the role of occupational stereotypes in the outcome of this study (c.f. King et al, 2006). Although every attempt was made to ensure that the client services team member did not have a stigma regarding racial typing or status, data explicitly examining that concern was

not available. This leaves the potential that this entry-level position could be viewed as a low status job, which could mitigate the preference of young, white decision makers to select young, white applicants for that position.

Team racial composition was not a factor in the evaluation of the black applicant; however, white applicants were evaluated significantly less favorably when the existing team was homogenous with all white members compared to when all team members were black and when the team was diverse. Furthermore, a significant difference in the evaluation of the white applicant and the black applicant was only seen in the condition with all white existing team members, such that the black applicant was evaluated more favorably. It appears that participants' may have been particularly sensitive to the homogenous team composed of dominant group members; this may have created perceptions that the presence of minorities was lacking in the team and lead to the devaluing of the white applicant. Because the task in the current study had no implications for the participant to subsequently be involved in the management of this team, the conflicts for teams associated with strong faultlines or relational demography (i.e. Thatcher, Jehn, & Zanutto, 2003; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992) may not have been influential in the decision making process.   It is also possible that this context could have created additional discomfort with the task, promoting participants' desire to appear unbiased by rating the white applicant less favorably (c.f. Norton et al, 2008).

Despite the previous finding, team composition failed to predict participants' selection decisions. Also, whites were not preferred in the diverse team condition or when team was homogenous with all white members; however, the black applicant was selected more frequently in the all black team condition. In line with earlier arguments, it is possible that having an entirely black team stigmatized or typed the job position, promoting the selection of the minority

applicant for compliance reasons and allowing them to be subsequently stratified. Another argument for why the difference is observed here can be seen in Thomas and Ely's (1996) access-legitimacy paradigm. Under this frame work, minorities are selected to niche job positions or work units where that applicant will have high work involvement and interdependency with other minorities. Despite this paradigms' ability to make minorities feel marginalized, this is seen by organizations as a strategy to make minorities feel more involved, while allowing the organization to exploit minorities for access to particular markets without having to put effort into incorporating the unique contributions of these employees into broader business strategy. It is possible that the participants recognized that the organization may have composed this team of only black employees as a part of a specific organizational strategy, such as addressing the needs particularly of black consumers. This may have lead to the selection of another black team member, accordingly. It, thus, may have been beneficial to inquire about participants' perceptions of the organizations' attitude towards teams, organizational goals and values, and organizational strategy.

Organizational diversity climate as manipulated in the present study did not appear to have a role in team selection decision process. Whether the organization embraced a multicultural or colorblind diversity climate did not impact the evaluations of the white and black applicant, as both applicants were evaluated similarly in both conditions. The black applicant was also evaluated more favorably than the white applicant in both conditions. Likewise, organizational diversity climate failed to predict participants' selection decisions; the black applicant was selected the same amount of times and more frequently than the white applicant in both conditions.

The failure to find support here may be explained by the argument that multiculturalism and colorblindness are both integration approaches aimed at creating diverse organization (c.f. Thomas & Ely, 1996, Ryan et al, 2007). Both climates may promote the selection of the minority applicant, yet there may be different agendas in doing so. For example, in the colorblind condition, participants may have been selecting in line with the discrimination-fairness paradigm, such that their decisions could have been primarily based on conforming to the demand for EEOC compliance. Because the position was entry-level, selecting minorities may not have presented a challenge, as this paradigm often leads minorities to be selected but stratified in lower ranks. Alternatively, in the multicultural conditions, decisions may have been based on fostering a learning-effectiveness approach that values diversity and fully integrates it in to the work environment. Therefore, minorities could have been selected to function as a valuable resource for an organization, keeping in mind that real world organizations tend to be white dominated. However, no information was provided to participants about the overall demographics of the hypothetical organization, nor were perceptions of the organizations' diversity obtained.

Thus, it is possible that the manipulation may have been made null by the nature of the position. Also, because there was no indication of participants' perception of the job or the future integration of the applicant within the organization, it is difficult to discern whether these findings have positive or negative implications. It is also likely that the particular sample in this study was not familiar with the influence of these diversity climate frameworks on diverse organizations and diverse teams (c.f. Ely & Thomas, 2001), so the potential limitations of the colorblind climate would not affect their decisions.

The joint effect of organizational diversity climate with team racial composition did not predict the evaluation of the white or black applicant. The black applicant was not evaluated more favorably in the condition with all white team members when the climate was multicultural compared to colorblind, just as the white applicant was not evaluated more favorably in the condition with all black team members when the climate was multicultural compared to colorblind. Furthermore, the interaction between team racial composition and diversity climate did not significantly predict participants' selection decisions between the white and black applicant. Interestingly, despite this non-significant relationship, the black applicant was selected significantly more frequently than the white applicant for the homogenous black team in the colorblind condition. Again, job typing in combination adherence to discrimination-fairness or access-legitimacy paradigms for integration may have played a role in this outcome, particularly under the colorblind condition where EEOC compliance is emphasized.

Lastly, participants' diversity ideologies (multiculturalism and colorblindness) and levels of racial identity did not moderate the interaction between team racial composition and diversity climate on the evaluation of the black applicant. Like the organizational diversity climate, the impact of the individuals' multiculturalism, colorblindness, and racial identity may have been washed out due to the lack of information concerning the job type and participants' perceptions of the status of the position and future integration within the organization, as well as a lack of participants' investment in the team or organization.

Limitations and Future Research

Missing data was a large issue in the current study. Addressing missing data is important because it can distort analyses. Of course systematically missing data that is not ignorable and cannot be imputed reduces sample size, but it also presents a greater concern. If values are

missing systematically, as they appeared to be in the initial data set (before the usable sample was extracted), one must assume that the missing data differs in some substantive way from non-missing data (i.e. remaining data set is biased; Kline, 2006). Therefore, making inferences based on the remaining sample may not be appropriate. For example, if the sample that chose to complete the survey was pro-inclusion compared to a sample that was uncomfortable with the sensitive nature of the content in this study, it is probable that the findings are hampered by range restriction and biased. The opinions of those that may not value diversity would have been excluded from these analyses. Due to the nature of our data collection, differences in attitudes and demographics could not be used to examine systematic differences between these groups.

One of the greatest concerns with the current study is the lab study design, which leads to a lack of external validity. The convenient sample composed of mostly white female undergraduate students of a high socio-economic status with no managerial experience may not reflect the real-world decision makers in organizations. It is likely that they were not familiar with the demands of team selection and facilitating team cohesion, or the role of diversity and diversity climate. Furthermore, there were no real implications for these participants based on their decisions. Future research would benefit greatly by examining the relationship among these variables in the field. (i.e. increased innovation and performance; i.e. economic recession, downsizing), we can better determine how team selection decisions are made in the field. It perhaps would also be a reasonable first step to begin with a qualitative study or policy capturing study to gather how managers in these organizations view diversity in teams and diverse applicants under those boundaries and performance goals.

There is a strong probability that the aims of the researcher may have been too transparent, which increases the likelihood of socially desirable responses from participants.

Having a measure of social desirability would have allowed for this to be controlled for in examining the hypotheses. Furthermore, the researcher may have been able to make the manipulations less apparent, perhaps by not using photographs of the current team. Summaries of team members' backgrounds may have been more realistic. Also, equally balanced teams in terms of gender/ race and exceptionally attractive employees likely did not lend well to realism. Also, it would have been beneficial to have a sample that has had their personal diversity ideologies and racial identity previously measured so that the manipulations in the current design would not impact their subsequent responses on those measures. In addition, the current study lacked a measure of participants' modern racist attitudes, which hampered the direct comparison with findings from previous research. Thus, future research is encouraged to incorporate these variables.

The current study included hypothetical applicants that were neutrally and equally qualified, only significantly differing by race. Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) argued that when qualifications are neutral, discriminatory attitudes are more likely to manifest in selection decisions. However, their study revealed that this bias lead to the preference of white applicants over black applicants. Because our results revealed a preference for the black applicant when neutrally qualified, it may also be beneficial to re-examine these results when the black applicant is higher or lower qualified than the white applicant. If the pattern of a preference for the black applicant manifests when they are less qualified than the white applicant, this may highlight participants' social desirability or the changing of criteria to match the qualifications of the black applicant. However, if the relationship changes when the black applicant is highly qualified, this could indicate a desire of participants to rate applicants similarly to avoid appearing biased in

any direction.   Thus, justifications for the evaluations and selection decisions may alter under different circumstances.

Following this logic, the current study would have also benefitted by having participants justify their decisions regarding the selection. Although socially desirable responses may still manifest and these justifications can be tailored to suit participants' goals, this may provide some insight into the decision making processes involved. In particular, a policy capturing approach would prove beneficial to uncovering underlying weighting of decision making criteria in the team selection process. It is also possible that making participants more accountable by writing a justification for their choice would have encouraged them to really consider more contextual factors involved in this decision. The final outcome may have then been influenced by this additional consideration, and this may be beneficial to future studies.

There was a lack of information about the particular client services team member position in terms of perceptions of status or job typing. Although there was no explicit reason to expect any stigma attached to the job, this cannot be confirmed. Thus, it is not possible to rule out the role of job stereotypes in the outcomes of this study. The use of a higher level team or managerial team with broader implications for the organization and subordinates may be beneficial for future research to examine. There was also a lack of information provided concerning the demographics of the organization; thus, the researcher assumed that it would be perceived as a white-dominated organization. However, it is possible that by depicting black team members so prominently, participants' may have had inferred a different demographic composition of the greater organization. Future lab research may want to set more specific parameters for the hypothetical organizations to better control the context of decision making.

In addition, all conditions in the current study included some explicit reference to the organizations' acknowledgement of diversity and diversity climate. Again, it becomes difficult to partial out the impact of these manipulations because of the ambiguity concerning perceptions of the job and a lack of information about the intentions of the participants regarding why they made their selection decision. Furthermore, it would have also helped to have more comparison conditions. In particular, a condition with no diversity climate statement and a condition with an anti-diversity statement would have help to uncover whether there are particular benefits for the evaluation of minorities by having some statement of EEOC compliance or inclusion. The strength of manipulations regarding climate may also have influenced our outcomes, as they were not intensely emphasized for realism, nor were any particular benefits or disadvantages for employees identified. Thus, future research would be benefitted from a better method for emphasizing organizational diversity climate.

Conclusion

Overall, the current study has opened the door to future examination of preferential hiring in the team selection context. Team diversity and racial dynamics may play a role in these selection decisions, as a preference for the black applicant was consistently demonstrated. Unique to the context of interest, the findings also highlight that attitudes towards diversity within teams may be an individual difference that impacts team selection decisions in diverse organizations. Team racial composition appeared to be a criterion in applicant evaluations; however, this was in the opposite direction of the expected relationship. The role of organizational diversity climate in team selection outcomes was not significant, nor was the interaction between climate and team composition. Furthermore, individual diversity ideologies

and racial identity did not moderate this interaction. The current study calls for future research is required to corroborate and further explain these relationships.

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APPENDICIES

Appendix A

Sample team member photo rating.

INSTRUCTIONS: The following survey will be used to create experimental stimuli for a subsequent study. Using your opinion, please answer the following items to the best of your ability.

Please answer the following questions based on the photo above.

1. What is the gender of the person in the photo?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Other
2. What is the race of the person in the photo?
   a. White
   b. Black
   c. Hispanic/Latin (o/a)
   d. Asian American
   e. Hispanic
   f. Native American
   g. Other
3. What is the age of the person in the photo?
   a. Younger than 18
   b. 18-25
   c. 26-33
   d. 34-41
   e. Older than 41
4. How attractive is the person in the photo?
   Very Unattractive 1   2   3   4   5 Very Attractive

Piloted Photos.

Sample paired comparisons.

INSTRUCTIONS: Based on the following pairs of photos, please rate how similar you perceive the pair of photos to be.

1.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Highly				Moderately					Highly
Dissimilar				Similar					Similar

2.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Highly				Moderately					Highly
Dissimilar				Similar					Similar

Sample resume evaluation

INSTRUCTIONS: The following survey will be used to create experimental stimuli for a subsequent study. Please review the following job description. It will be used to answer questions that follow.

MWG & Co.

POSITION: Client Services Team Member

JOB #: A7438

LEVEL: Entry-Level

JOB DESCRIPTION: The individual will be part of a team and will be assigned responsibilities that contribute to the meeting of the team's goal of excellent client service.

RESPONSIBILITIES:

- Participate in innovative team projects in an effort to improve client services.
- Communicate with team members to ensure client needs are satisfied.
- Manage client needs by providing information in response to inquiries about products and services and to handle and resolve complaints
- Keep records of client interactions and transactions, recording details of inquiries, complaints, and comments, as well as actions taken.
- Contact customers to respond to inquiries or to notify them of claim investigation results and any planned adjustments.
- Refer unresolved client grievances to designated departments for further investigation.
- Solicit sale of new or additional services or products.
- Develop leadership skills to build a high performance, cross-functional team environment.

QUALIFICATIONS

- Bachelors Degree in Liberal Arts, Business, or related field
- Some client service experience preferred
- A desire to work in a cooperative, team-based environment with high task interdependence
- Excellent verbal, written, and presentation skills
- Effective communication, negotiation, and conflict management skills
- Knowledge of the process for providing client services and a strong service orientation
- Critical thinking skills to determine innovative, appropriate strategies and solutions
- Organization and time management skills.

INSTRUCTIONS: Based on the above job description, please rate the qualifications of the following resumes.

CONTACT INFORMATION

OBJECTIVE

Seeking a position as a customer service representative.

EDUCATION

Boston University, *May 2009*

Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, 3.52

WORK EXPERIENCE

Target, Cambridge, MA

Sales Associate, *May 2009- present*

- Assisted customers with needs or questions concerning products
- Managed cash registers and completed purchases
- Maintained and stocked the sales floor

Starbucks, Boston, MA

Baristo, *summer employee*

- Completed customer orders and payments
- Filled and served customer orders by preparing foods and beverages
- Cleaned and stocked serving and condiment stations

EXCURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Student Union Board

Psi Chi

TECHNICAL SKILLS

Proficient in Microsoft Office , Power Point, Excel and Publisher

1. How qualified do you perceive this candidate to be?

       1   2   3   4   5

   Not Qualified   Very Qualified
2. How likable do you perceive this candidate to be?

       1   2   3   4   5

     Dislike   Very Likeable
3. How successful do you believe this candidate will be in this position?

       1   2   3   4   5

   Not successful   Very successful
4. How well successfully do you feel this candidate will fit within the current team?

       1   2   3   4   5

    Not Successfully   Very Successfully
5. How strongly would you recommend this candidate for hire?

       1   2   3   4   5

   Not Strongly   Very Strongly

Sample Name Piloting

INSTRUCTIONS: The following survey will be used to create experimental stimuli for a subsequent study. Using your opinion, please answer the following items to the best of your ability.

1. What race would you associate with the name **Brad Sullivan?**
    a. White
    b. Black
    c. Hispanic/ Latino/a
    d. Other
2. What race would you associate with the name **Tyrone Walker?**
    a. White
    b. Black
    c. Hispanic/ Latino/a
    d. Other
3. What race would you associate with the name **Marcus Johnson**?
    a. White
    b. Black
    c. Hispanic/ Latino/a
    d. Other
4. What race would you associate with the name **Jacob O'Neil?**
    a. White
    b. Black
    c. Hispanic/ Latino/a
    d. Other

Based on this pilot study/ materials, what would you guess are the hypotheses for this study?
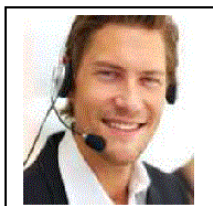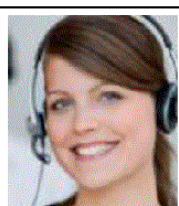
Appendix B

MWG & Co.

Dear Participant,

The Human Resources Department at MWG & CO. would like to thank you for your participation in our study. Your contribution will be beneficial in the development of our team selection and promotion systems. Our company relies on teams more than ever to bolster our ability to provide innovative products and services to our customers. MWG & CO. values differences among employees and embraces the diversity of our team members as a critical resource that enhances the performance, adaptability, and creativity of our organization.

You will be asked to evaluate the qualifications and compatibility of individual applicants for selection to the MWG & CO. Client Services Team. The Client Services Team is dedicated to providing optimal support to our clients, through excellent service, user-friendly systems, and innovative strategies. Please meet the current members of the Client Services Team!
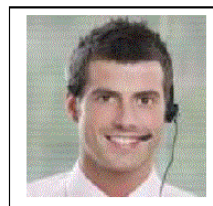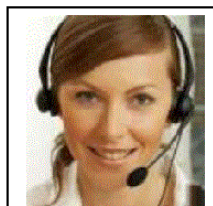
Sincerely,

Human Resource Department
MWG & CO

Appendix C

Dear Participant,

The Human Resources Department at MWG & CO. would like to thank you for your participation in our study. Your contribution will be beneficial in the development of our team selection and promotion systems. Our company relies on teams more than ever to bolster our ability to provide innovative products and services to our customers. MWG & CO. ignores differences between employees and promotes equal opportunity personnel practice for all employees regardless of race, skin color, sex, national origin, religion, age, sexual orientation, or disabilities.

You will be asked to evaluate the qualifications and compatibility of individual applicants for selection to the MWG & CO. Client Services Team. The Client Services Team is dedicated to providing optimal support to our clients, through excellent service, user-friendly systems, and innovative strategies. Please meet the current members of the Client Services Team!
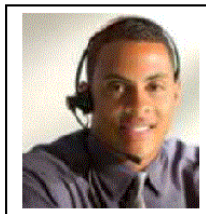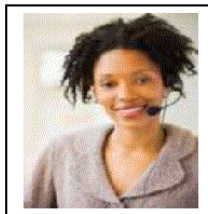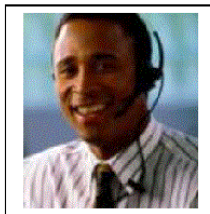

Sincerely,

Human Resource Department

MWG & CO

Appendix D

MWG & Co.

POSITION: Client Services Team Member

JOB #: A7438

LEVEL: Entry-Level

JOB DESCRIPTION: The individual will be part of a team and will be assigned responsibilities that contribute to the meeting of the team's goal of excellent client service.

RESPONSIBILITIES:

- Participate in innovative team projects in an effort to improve client services.
- Communicate with team members to ensure client needs are satisfied.
- Manage client needs by providing information in response to inquiries about products and services and to handle and resolve complaints
- Keep records of client interactions and transactions, recording details of inquiries, complaints, and comments, as well as actions taken.
- Contact customers to respond to inquiries or to notify them of claim investigation results and any planned adjustments.
- Refer unresolved client grievances to designated departments for further investigation.
- Solicit sale of new or additional services or products.
- Develop leadership skills to build a high performance, cross-functional team environment.

QUALIFICATIONS

- Bachelors Degree in Liberal Arts, Business, or related field
- Some client service experience preferred
- A desire to work in a cooperative, team-based environment with high task interdependence
- Excellent verbal, written, and presentation skills
- Effective communication, negotiation, and conflict management skills
- Knowledge of the process for providing client services and a strong service orientation
- Critical thinking skills to determine innovative, appropriate strategies and solutions
- Organization and time management skills.

Appendix E

Brad M. Sullivan

CONTACT INFORMATION

OBJECTIVE

Seeking a position as a customer service representative.

EDUCATION

Boston University, *May 2009*

Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, 3.52

WORK EXPERIENCE

Target, Cambridge, MA

Sales Associate, *May 2009- present*

- Assisted customers with needs or questions concerning products
- Managed cash registers and completed purchases
- Maintained and stocked the sales floor

Starbucks, Boston, MA

Barista, *summer employee*

- Completed customer orders and payments
- Filled and served customer orders by preparing foods and beverages
- Cleaned and stocked serving and condiment stations

EXCURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Student Union Board

Psi Chi

TECHNICAL SKILLS

Proficient in Microsoft Office , Power Point, Excel and Publisher

Applicant Personal Information

To qualify for employment, you must either be (a) a citizen of the United States of America or (b) a registered alien with government permission to work in this country. Does either statement describe your resident status? (YES) NO	
Your race/ethnicity and gender information are used for Equal Opportunity Employment reporting. Any information provided will be confidential and only used for statistical records. Please CIRCLE your race/ ethnicity. (White/ Caucasian) Black/ African American Hispanic/ Latino Asian or Pacific Islander Native American Other	Please CIRCLE you gender: Female (Male)

Appendix F

<div align="center">

Tyrone B. Walker

CONTACT INFORMATION

</div>

OBJECTIVE

Pursuing a customer service representative position.

EDUCATION

University of Connecticut, *May 2009*

Bachelor of Arts in Psychology, 3.58

WORK EXPERIENCE

Best Buy, Manchester, CT

Sales Assistant, *April 2009- present*

- Provided customers with product information and assistance while making purchases
- Solicited sales of additional services and products
- Stocked merchandise

Subway, Storrs, CT

Server, *Spring 2005- Fall 2009 seasonal employee*

- Took orders and prepared food and beverages for diners
- Provided customer service by to attending diner's needs and concerns
- Processed payments for services

EXCURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

African American Student Affairs

Resident Hall Association

TECHNICALSKILLS

Microsoft Word and Power Point for PC and MAC operating systems

Applicant Personal Information

To qualify for employment, you must either be (a) a citizen of the United States of America or (b) a registered alien with government permission to work in this country. Does either statement describe your resident status?

(YES)   NO

Your race/ethnicity and gender information are used for Equal Opportunity Employment reporting. Any information provided will be confidential and only used for statistical records.	Please CIRCLE you gender:
	Female
Please CIRCLE your race/ ethnicity.	(Male)
White/ Caucasian	
(Black/ African American)	
Hispanic/ Latino	
Asian or Pacific Islander	
Native American	
Other	

Appendix G

Diversity Ideology Measure

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following items, please indicate how much you believe the strategy would improve relations between different racial or ethnic groups.

1. Adopting a multicultural perspective.
   1   2   3   4   5   67
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

2. Recognizing that there are differences between ethnic groups.
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

3. Emphasizing the importance of appreciating group differences between ethnic groups.
   1   2   3   4   5   6 7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

4. Accepting each ethnic group's positive and negative qualities.
   1   2   3   4   5   6 7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

5. Judging one another as individuals rather than members of an ethnic group.
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

6. Recognizing that all people are basically the same regardless of their ethnicity.
   1   2   3   4   5   6 7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

7. Recognizing that all people are created equally regardless of their ethnicity.
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

8. Adopting a colorblind perspective in which one's ethnic group membership is considered unimportant.
   1   2   3   4   5   6   7
   Not likely to improveLikely to improve

Multiethnic Identity Measure- Revised

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following items, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below.

1. I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.

    1   2   3   4   5

    Disagree Agree

2. I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.

    1   2   3   4   5

    Disagree Agree

3. I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.

    1   2   3   4   5

    Disagree Agree

4. I have often done things that will help me understand my ethnic background better.

    1   2   3   4   5

    Disagree Agree

5. I have often talked to other people in order to learn more about my ethnic group.

    1   2   3   4   5

    Disagree Agree

6. I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.

    1   2   3   4   5

    Disagree Agree

7. My ethnicity is

    (1) Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
    (2) Black or African American
    (3) Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
    (4) White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
    (5) American Indian/Native American
    (6) Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
    (7) Other (write in): _____

    _____ My father's ethnicity is (use numbers above)
    _____ My mother's ethnicity is (use numbers above)

Perceptions of racial diversity in teams questionnaire

INSTRUCTIONS: For the following items, please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statements below.

1. Racial diversity enriches team decision making.

    $$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

    DisagreeAgree

2. Racial diversity in teams produces conflict among team members.

    $$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

    Disagree   Agree

3. Racial diversity enhances team performance.

    $$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

    Disagree Agree

4. Racial diversity in teams produces creativity.

    $$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

    Disagree Agree

5. Racial diversity makes team members uncomfortable.

    $$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

    DisagreeAgree

6. Racial diversity in teams interferes with communication.

    $$1 \quad 2 \quad 3 \quad 4 \quad 5$$

    Disagree   Agree

Manipulation check questionnaire

1. What was the race of candidate 1?
    a. White
    b. Black
    c. Hispanic
    d. Asian American
    e. Native American
    f. Other
2. What was the race of applicant 2?
    a. White
    b. Black
    c. Hispanic
    d. Asian American
    e. Hispanic
    f. Native American
3. What was the major of applicant 1?
    a. Management
    b. Psychology
    c. English
    d. Sociology
4. Where was applicant 2 last employed?
    a. Kroger supermarket
    b. Target
    c. Best- Buy
    d. Home Depot

5. What was the composition of the current client services team?
    a. Mostly White
    b. Mostly Black
    c. All White
    d. All Black
    e. Diverse, or equally White and Black
6. What best describes the diversity climate of MWG & Co.
    a. Emphasizes that everyone is the same and will be treated equally in compliance with federal guidelines (color-blind).
    b. Emphasizes differences among employees and views them as a resource (multicultural).

Participant demographics questionnaire

INSTRUCTIONS: Please provide the following demographic information.

1. What is your age?
    _____ years old

2. What is your gender?
    a.   Male
    b.   Female

3. What would best describe your family's yearly income?
    Less than $40,000
    $40,000 - $75,000
    $75,000 - $100,000
    Greater than $100,000

4. What is your year in school?
    a. Freshman
    b. Sophomore
    c. Junior
    d. Senior
    e. Other _____

5.   What best describes your work experience?
    a. I have no work experience
    b. I have only volunteer experience
    c. I have worked as a seasonal employee.
    d. I consistently held part or full-time work experience.
    e. I have had managerial work experience.