COLORISM IN THE JOB SELECTION PROCESS:

ARE THERE PREFENTIAL DIFFERENCS WITHIN THE BLACK RACE?

by

MATTHEW S. HARRISON

(Under the Direction of Kecia M. Thomas)

ABSTRACT

In this era of affirmative action, racial discrimination is a widely studied topic by many researchers. A common negligence of these researchers is that they often ignore the subject of skin tone stratification. Instead, they perform an analysis of discrimination based upon treatment of Blacks and Whites (both as collective units), and thereby, overlook a prevalent issue that has long existed in western culture and has become a global phenomenon in all cultures where there is skin tone variation—colorism. This study examined the influence of colorism on job selection. More specifically, this research discovered a significant difference in job selection preference by differentiating Blacks based on their skin complexion. The findings suggest that skin tone plays a considerable role in the favorability of a Black applicant. Results indicate that skin color is so salient, that it is regarded more highly than one's educational background and prior work experience upon consideration for recommendation or hiring for a job.

INDEX WORDS: Colorism, Race, Skin Tone/Color, Job Selection

COLORISM IN THE JOB SELECTION PROCESS:

ARE THERE PREFERENTIAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE BLACK RACE?

by

MATTHEW S. HARRISON

B.A., Emory University, 2004

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF SCIENCE

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2005

COLORISM IN THE JOB SELECTION PROCESS:

ARE THERE PREFERENTIAL DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE BLACK RACE?

by

MATTHEW S. HARRISON

Major Professor: Kecia M. Thomas

Committee: Lillian Eby
Karl Kuhnert

Electronic Version Approved:
Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
December 2005

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my incredibly loving parents and extremely supportive older brothers. You all have been a constant source of encouragement during the many years of my education. To my mother, Glenda Johnson Harrison, thank you for your consistent emphasis on the importance of education, and for always envisioning a dream of my future bigger and brighter than what I often dreamed for myself. To my father, Willie Floyd Harrison, Sr., thank you for teaching me the value of hard work, and for showing me what being a true man of God is all about. To my older brothers, Will and Nicholas (Nick), you two will never know how much I truly look up to both of you. I am so grateful that the three of us have such a close relationship with one another, and am certain that it will continue to flourish through the years. I am truly grateful to all of you! I have no doubt that I am the man that I am today because of you all. Your guidance, support, and love have all given me the desire to reach and achieve every goal I set for myself. I've always known how blessed I am to have a mother, father, and two brothers that are more than parents and siblings, but are actually my best friends. Thank you all so much for believing in me, for you have made it easier for me to believe in myself!

I LOVE YOU!!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I will be forever grateful for the support and guidance I have received from numerous individuals during my educational journey. I know my attainment of this degree has been highly contingent upon my relationships with many of these individuals. As an advocate of always giving credit where credit is due, I feel it is my obligation to name these individuals that have made this thesis, and my completion of it, possible.

To my major professor, Dr. Kecia Thomas, thank you for being a continuous source of inspiration for me. I am inspired by your work ethic, professionalism, breadth of knowledge, and genuine care for your students. You'll never know how grateful I am that you agreed to have me for one your students, and just how much I enjoy working with you. You helped make the usually grueling and arduous transition from undergrad to graduate school somewhat simple and painless. Thank you so much for supporting me every step of the way. There isn't an adjective that could describe how exceptional you have been as a mentor. I'm so thankful that I have you to advise, counsel, and guide me as your student, and as your friend.

To my thesis committee, Drs. Lillian Eby and Karl Kuhnert, thank you for agreeing to serve on my committee, and for offering your suggestions to help me during this process. You've both played an integral role in my life as a student here at UGA not only as members of my thesis committee, but also as professors for courses I've taken. From these courses, my learning experiences here have been greatly enhanced, which I believe has significantly

strengthened my thesis. Thank you for the guidance, support, and expertise you have provided me.

To some of my early educators—Mrs. Nancy Parker (1st grade), Mrs. Cindy Townsend (2nd grade), Mrs. Joan Howard (3rd grade), Ms. Paula Thomason (6th grade), Mrs. Karen Chester (9th grade), Mrs. Emily Mercer (11th & 12th grade)—thank you all for always seeing something special in me, and always challenging me to work to my fullest potential. To some of my professors and mentors at Emory University—Ms. Andrea Neal and Drs. Nancy Bliwise, Eugene Emory, and Robert Lee—thank you for making my four years at Emory more than an educational learning experience. You helped me not only learn about different academic disciplines, but also help me learn more about myself. It is through you all that I learned the importance of following my own heart, and pursuing a career that I was meant to, rather than expected to. I would probably be in medical school (and miserable) had it not been for all you!

To my peers that entered the Applied Program at the same time as myself, thank you for making this transition easier for me. I must be honest in that never really thought that I would build such strong friendships with my cohorts. To Sarah Strang, you have such an amazing heart! I admire your work ethic and humility—I have no doubt that both are going to make you a huge success one day. To Kristin Doss, you have one of the sweetest spirits! Although I tease you often about your sanguinity, I sometimes wish I was as optimistic as you—your seeing the bright side to everything will get you far in life. Thank you both for being a part of my life during this stressful, yet rewarding time. It is my hope that our friendship as peer graduate students will strengthen and mature as we become professional colleagues. Good luck to the both of you with your theses, dissertations, and future endeavors!

To Jimmy Davis, one of my fellow Applied Program peers, thank you for meeting with me over a year and half ago and telling me how great UGA's Program was. Our discussion helped solidify UGA as being my top choice for graduate school. Also, thank you for supporting since I've been here—it's been greatly appreciated. To another Program peer, Carrie McCleese, thank you so much for your help in different courses that I've taken while here. I know my stress level in certain courses have been lessened because of you. To one of my closest friends in the Program, Wendy Reynolds-Dobbs, thank you for all of your help since I've become a student here at UGA. I really don't know how this experience would have been without you. You have helped me so much with my classes, my research, my thesis, and just general adjustment to grad school. I could never express how grateful I am. Thank you so much for everything you've done for me!

To my childhood best friend, Brandy Terry, thank you for keeping me grounded during this whole process. You'll never know how comforting it has been having you as a vital part of my life during the past 10 years. Thank you for being there during my "venting sessions" about school (from all the complaints about the readings to all the grumbles about exams)—I'm sure it got somewhat annoying, but thank you for fully listening and always helping to me to gain sight of it all being a part of the process, and therefore necessary.

And lastly, thanks to my family for your unending love and support. A very special thanks goes out to my uncle, George Penson, and cousin, Lisa Parham, for agreeing to let me use your pictures in this study (I'm not too sure if you knew these pictures would always be on record…I must have "accidentally" forgotten to mention that). To my entire family—thank you for your encouragement during all of my schooling. You all have always championed my

abilities, which have always made me work even harder to achieve my goals. Thank you all for helping me build a solid foundation and for being a constant positive reinforcement in my life!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION & PURPOSE OF STUDY

If the average person of color was asked to describe themselves based on five physical characteristics, one could probably accurately assume that the minority individual would list their race as one of the descriptors. Thus, it is no surprise that the concepts of race and race relations are not novelties in our society. In America, when people think of race, or race relations, they commonly think of these notions as a Black and White issue, where each race is generalized and homogenized into one grouping (Celious & Oyserman, 2001). Most racial identity theories fall prey to this inexplicit categorization. They look at race as a simple dichotomy between Blacks and Whites, and ignore the presence of diversity within each race. These theories are accurate in their assumption that there is ingroup homogeneity—this is the primary building block of race being a social category (Celious & Oyserman, 2001). They are negligent, however, in their failure to address the potential for differences in racial identities within races for those who may differ among other social constructs such as gender, socioeconomic status, and for purposes of this research, skin complexion.

The presence of varying racial identities within the Black race due to skin complexion should be no surprise given that "of the several criteria by which Americans are stratified, none bears greater significance than [that of] skin color" (Edwards, 1973, p. 473). Skin color is highly stratified because in America, and in most other western cultures, Whiteness is presumed to be representative of beauty and graciousness, and in contrast, Blackness signifies ugliness and

incivility (Hunter, 2002). This dichotomy between Blacks and Whites has been extended into a stratification system within the Black race itself, where light-skinned Blacks take on the aforementioned characteristics used to describe Whites, and dark-skinned Blacks are ascribed the negative features commonly associated with Blackness. It is therefore not farfetched to presume that lighter-skinned Blacks receive preferential treatment over their darker-skinned counterparts (Thompson & Keith, 2001).

Thus, the primary purpose of this study was to examine the presence, if any, of preferential treatment in the job selection process between light- and dark-skinned Blacks. There have been a number of studies that have looked at differences in educational attainment and socioeconomic status obtained between Blacks based on their skin tone, but past research is quite limited in its examination of why these educational and economical disparities exist. This research expected to uncover some of the ambiguity behind these findings. Further, this study hoped to illustrate that these inequalities within the Black race are, in part, a result of preferential treatment due to one's skin complexion.

Racial Discrimination in Employment Selection

As stated earlier, the principal focus of past research in regards to selection preferences has generally focused on Whites being favored over all Blacks. And there is no doubt that preferential treatment for Whites does exist in our society. According to the U.S. Department of Labor, Blacks were twice as likely to be unemployed than Whites (Brief, Butz, & Deitch, 2005). The varying unemployment rates could easily be attributed to the way in which most employers do the recruiting for their organizations. Most often, particular neighborhoods are targeted with information regarding job openings, or employers recruit applicants via word-of-mouth from

current employees (Brief, Butz, & Deitch, 2005). Either way, both methods put Blacks at a clear disadvantage, because most will not even have the chance to be considered for the job.

For those Blacks who do make it to the application process, or who are even hired, the discriminatory practices they face are typically far from over. This unending differential treatment is evidenced by studies conducted by the Fair Employment Council (FEC). The FEC performed studies where Blacks and Whites were matched in regards to their qualifications, interviewing skills, and credentials. They found, however, that "over 20% of employers [still] treated the Black applicants less favorably than White applicants" (Brief, Butz, & Deitch, 2005).

Further, the number of disparate treatment and adverse impact cases that have been filed under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, illustrate that current employees must continue to cope with inequitable practices. One famous such case is the Watson v. Fort Worth trial. In this case, Clara Watson, a black employee at Fort Worth Bank & Trust, had applied for a promotion to a management position four times. Each time she was rejected while a White applicant was given the position for which she applied. Watson provided evidence that illustrated that the Fort Worth Bank had never hired a Black employee as an officer or director, had only one Black in a managerial position, and lower wages were given to Black employees who had comparable jobs as Whites (Bersoff, Malson, & Verrilli, 1988).

Situations and cases similar to Ms. Watson's are common in the workforce in America. Quite often companies actually implement selection tools used during the application process that ultimately lead to a disproportionate number of Whites being hired over Blacks. Most companies claim that the utility of the selection tool was not at all rooted in an attempt to hire more White workers than Blacks, but was used to acquire the most qualified individuals for the job, who just happen to be White (Terpstra & Kethley, 2002). Thus, in many ways, companies

can now hide behind, or camouflage, discrimination in the selection process by placing the blame on these selection instruments.

Even with the presence of these new tools, however, an applicant's skin color is still inescapable, especially given that most selection processes involve an interview. Thus, the long standing history of racial discrimination in our society seems unavoidable in the job selection process. Not to say that every White individual that is hired over a Black is hired solely because they're White, however, given the history in our society, it would be naïve to think that it is never a factor (as previous research has shown). This research study, though, delved further into the preferential selection issue in America, as it seeked to illustrate that there is a continuum of preference in regards to skin color. Thus, implying that although Blacks may often be at a disadvantage when applying for jobs, not all Blacks are disadvantaged equally, and that the burden that Blacks may face is highly dependent upon whether or not they have light or dark skin.

Discriminatory Treatment Based on Skin Tone

This anticipated partisan behavior due to skin tone dates back to the chattel system of slavery in America, where skin color was used by slave owners as the basis of their division for work chores (Hunter, 2002). Slaves who worked in the fields and had the more physically demanding tasks, were disproportionately of pure African ancestry, and therefore dark-skinned; whereas, the lighter-skinned slaves (who had lighter skin because of their mixed parentage—as it was common for slave masters to have nonconsensual and consensual sexual relationships with their slaves) were usually given more desirable and prestigious positions within the chattel system (Keith & Herring, 1991). These divisions not only created animosity between the slaves,

but also substantiated the notion that the lighter one's complexion, "the better off he or she was in the eyes of the majority group members" (Ross, 1997, p. 555).

The findings of Hughes and Hertel (1990) illustrate that this conception continues to hold true over 200 years later. They found that lighter-skinned Blacks were more likely to have completed more years of schooling, have higher salaries, and have more prominent jobs than darker-skinned Blacks. Perhaps the most compelling discovery of the study was that they found that the effect of skin color on educational attainment and socioeconomic status between light- and dark-skinned blacks is equivalent to the effect of race between Whites and all Blacks on these two domains. These results, in addition to studies juxtaposing socioeconomic attainment between mulattoes and Blacks, clearly signify the importance of colorism, and further illustrate the prominence of color-based stratification in American society (Hill, 2000). Thus, lighter-skinned Blacks are generally more advantaged educationally, economically, and are more likely to experience status advancement than those with greater pigmentation (Seltzer & Smith, 1991; Udry, Bauman, & Chase, 1971). These social advantages allotted to lighter-skinned Blacks emphasize a system in our society that privileges light skin over dark skin—this type of classification is the general definition of colorism (Hunter, 2002).

Considering the findings of Hughes and Hertel (1990) discussed earlier, it is no surprise that colorism plays a significant role in the working environment. Given that light skin is associated with white skin, and white skin is associated with competence, lighter-skinned Blacks are more appealing to White employers (Hunter, 2002). It was even once considered to be "better business" for a White employer to hire Black workers who had a light skin complexion (Ross, 1997). Therefore, generally Whites (particularly, white males) are perceived as being gatekeepers that have permitted more light-skinned Blacks into high-status jobs than dark-

skinned Blacks (Ransford, 1970). Thus, I hypothesized that lighter-skinned Blacks will receive higher, more preferential, ratings related to job selection than dark-skinned Blacks (Hypothesis 1). More specifically, it was conjectured that there will be a continuum of preference based on skin tone—from light to medium to dark skin.

My hypothesis regarding this preferential treatment toward lighter-skinned Blacks extends beyond the common notions surrounding colorism, but also takes into account the fact that dark-skinned Black men and women are commonly regarded differently from their lighter-skinned cohorts due to common differences in their self-identification. Because darker-skinned Blacks have experienced greater discrimination and disparate treatment, they have a greater awareness of racial discrimination, and therefore, have an enhanced affection toward their racial identification (Edwards, 1973; Hughes & Hertel, 1990). Furthermore, because dark-skinned Blacks' entrance into general (or White) society seems impervious, they have enhanced frustration and hostility towards Whites (Ransford, 1970). Thus, because darker-skinned Blacks tend to have greater racial pride, Whites who are not highly developed in their racial identity, may perceive this trait as yet another damaging characteristic associated with dark skin; thereby reinforcing the stereotypes and prejudices that surround colorism.

It is important to note, however, that while colorism is present in the work force for both Black males and Black females, it is present for different reasons. Colorism plays a role in the work environment for Black females because of beliefs surrounding attractiveness. Even during childhood, fairytales illustrate to us that it is "fortunate to be beautiful and unfortunate to be ugly" (Webster & Driskell, 1983, p. 140). Further, research illustrates that in the "real world" there is a positive correlation between attractiveness, and perceptions of ability and success (Umberson & Hughes, 1987). Ideologies surrounding colorism suggest that Blacks are perceived

as being more attractive when their phenotypic features (i.e., nose shape, lip size, hair texture, etc.) are more closely analogous to that of Whites than their African ancestors (Fears, 1998). Thus, it is common for lighter-skinned Black women to have higher salaries than Black women with darker skin who have very similar résumés (Hunter, 2002). Thompson and Keith (2001), therefore, describe a dark-skinned Black woman being in a "triple jeopardy situation" due to her race, gender, and skin tone, where all can have negative and damaging effects on her self-esteem and feelings of competency.

Similarly, dark-skinned Black males can consider themselves being in a "*double* jeopardy situation" because of their race and skin tone. These men are often perceived as being more violent and threatening by the general population (Hall, 1995). Because darker-skinned Black males are commonly associated with crime and general civil misconduct, many people have preconceived notions about Black men who have dark skin (Hall, 1995). Thus, when interviewing for a job, these individuals are possibly at an automatic disadvantage as soon as they walk into the interview. Therefore, I hypothesized that preferential treatment due to skin tone will be present for both Black men and women, but that darker-skinned women will be at a greater disadvantage than darker-skinned men because of their gender (Hypothesis 2).

In addition to testing for differences due to skin tone and gender differences, this study sought to look at differences in qualifications, and if these disparities will forecast the likelihood of an individual being hired, or if the more salient features (i.e., skin tone and gender) of the applicant will play a more critical role in the selection process. I hypothesized that darker-skinned Blacks, with greater education and experience, will receive similar ratings as a light-skinned Black, with a résumé depicting less background education and work experience (Hypothesis 3). The interaction of skin tone and gender should serve as an explanation for this

finding. As stated above, people perceive light-skinned Black women to be more attractive than dark-skinned Black women, and they perceive attraction to be correlated with competency. Thus, lighter-skinned Black women can have lower qualifications and still be regarded as competent as a dark-skinned Black woman with greater credentials. For men, lighter-skinned Blacks will be advantageous because of the fear and apprehension surrounding darker-skinned Black men. The enhanced fear people have toward dark-skinned Black men will cause them to rate them lower despite the qualifications they may have. Lastly, I performed an exploratory proposal that determined whether or not there was a three-way interaction between color, gender, and qualifications.

Summary

Thus, to recap, the primary purpose of this research study was to investigate the role, if any, a Black individual's skin complexion plays on their probability in being selecting for a job. More specifically, this investigation sought to determine whether or not the aforementioned notions of colorism, that seem to be permeated in the consciousness of our society, gives lighter-skinned Blacks an advantage over darker-skinned Blacks in the job selection process when job qualifications are both equivalent and nonequivalent. Due to the significant gap in regards to economic status between dark- and light-skinned Blacks, via the findings of Hughes and Hertel (1990), it was hypothesized that lighter-skinned Blacks will receive higher ratings for selection than dark-skinned Blacks, even if the two have identical résumés.

It was expected that this "system of skin tone preference" would be present for both male and female Blacks, but that women would be at a greater disadvantage due to their gender. Therefore, an additional hypothesis was that a dark-skinned Black woman would receive the

lowest ratings overall. If this expectation held true, it would further substantiate Thompson and Keith's (2001) "triple jeopardy" explanation regarding dark-skinned Black women. And at the other end of this spectrum, it was speculated that a light-skinned Black man would receive the most desirable ratings.

A further conjecture was that darker-skinned Blacks, with a higher-level résumé, would receive similar ratings than a light-skinned Black, with a résumé of a lower level. In both of these settings, it was speculated that Blacks with a medium skin tone would receive ratings between the two extremes; thus, illustrating a continuum of preference from dark to lighter skin. Finally, this research explored the complex relationship among skin color, gender, and qualifications, and the possible interaction among all three. For clarification, breakdowns of all hypotheses, in addition to the exploratory three-way interaction proposition, are all detailed in Appendix A.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants of this study were 240 undergraduate college students from a southeastern university; some of which participated in the study voluntarily, while others partook for course credit. A semi-racially diverse subject pool was used, but the majority of the participants were White (87.5%). There was also a disproportionate number of females taking part in this study (72%), which was not surprising given that most participates were psychology majors who needed credit for their course, and at this particular university, there was a larger percentage of female psychology majors than males.

Participants in the study ranged in age from 17 to 26. The mode age, however was 18—making up nearly 50% of the participants. Most participants in the experiment (71%) indicated that they grew up in a suburban neighborhood, and 45% stated that they came from a family whose estimated income was greater than $100,000. These results, again, are indicative of a research pool conducted of college undergraduates. Each participant in the study was randomly assigned to one of 12 conditions; therefore, resulting in 20 participants for each condition.

Procedure

This research study was a 2 x 2 x 3 (gender x résumé level x skin tone) between-subjects design. Each participant received a packet that contained one résumé with one of the six pictures

on it, and they also received one questionnaire. When the participants received the research materials, they were told that the researchers were interested in how strongly an applicant's résumé influences selection decisions, and that they were viewing résumés of applicants interested in a marketing job with a fictitious corporation. Each participant was exposed to only one résumé and picture, and they were not aware that other participants could possibly have the same (or a different) résumé or picture from themselves. After reviewing the résumé (with the attached picture), the participants completed the questionnaire.

Stimuli

There were six possible pictures and two possible résumés that the participants could receive. The six possible pictures, illustrated in Appendix B, consisted of three pictures of the same man with a dark, medium or light skin tone, and three pictures of the same woman with these same varying complexions. Their skin tones were manipulated via the use of Adobe® Photoshop® CS software. The same man and woman were used for all skin tone conditions to ensure that facial characteristics, which often lead to differences in attractiveness, would not be a contributing factor to the selection ratings given by the participants, but that the only difference in the pictures would be the complexion of the applicant's skin.

The two résumés used in this study varied vis-à-vis the educational and work experience listed, where one résumé (Appendix C) depicted an individual that had more education and experience, and would therefore seem to be a better applicant for the position than the applicant with the résumé shown in Appendix D. The résumés were congruent, however, in that they had the same male or female name (depending on the gender of the corresponding picture), and they also had the same description regarding the objective of the applicant. Each picture from

Appendix B was placed on both conditions of the résumés; thus, resulting in twelve different résumés (i.e., an average résumé with a dark-skinned Black woman pictured, an above-average résumé with a dark-skinned Black woman pictured, etc.). An example of a résumé with an attached picture is illustrated in Appendix E. All résumés were developed by combining various marketing-related résumés from: http://susanireland.com/resumeindex.htm. An occupation in the marketing field was used because it is a profession that is both gender and racial neutral (Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 2002). Occupations such as a nurse or diversity recruiter, which are often perceived as female or minority positions, respectively, could have skewed the results.

Due to the subjectivity of many of the stimuli used in this study, a pilot study was done with the résumés and picture conditions. All information pertaining to the pilot study, including its results, is detailed in Appendix F. One of these possible covariates from the stimuli, age, was also measured in the actual study. Age was measured due to a significant difference found in the pilot study between genders.

Measures for Actual Study

For each of the following measures, participants read résumés, and answered the questions posed using the provided seven-point likert scales (ranging from one to seven). The complete listing of all statements, and the corresponding likert scales, is illustrated in Appendix I.

Recommendation. In this section, the participants were asked to rate how strongly they would recommend the candidate based on their educational background, prior work experience,

and overall résumé (i.e., Based on this applicant's educational background, how likely would you recommend this applicant for the position in question?).

Hiring of Applicant. For this question the participants were asked how likely they, themselves, would hire the applicant in their packet (i.e., If you were in charge for hiring for the position in question, what is the likelihood that you would hire this applicant?).

Demographic Information. Lastly, participants were asked to provide basic demographic information regarding their race, gender, age, and socioeconomic status (i.e., What is your gender?).

Manipulation Checks

Applicant race and skin tone were made salient via the picture in the upper right hand corner of each résumé. At the end of each questionnaire, participants were asked to give the race/ethnicity of the individual pictured on their résumé. Additionally, participants were given six picture choices in which to circle the one that had appeared on the résumé they viewed. These manipulation checks were included in the study to ensure that the participants did believe they were viewing a Black/African American, and also to ensure that they accurately differentiated between the varying skin tones. Only questionnaires where participants correctly answered both of the manipulation checks were included in the data analysis of the study. Thus, a total of 280 participants actually completed questionnaires for the study. However, 40 of these questionnaires were not included in the data analysis because the participant either incorrectly identified the race/ethnicity of the applicant pictured, or they circled a picture on the questionnaire that did not match the one that had appeared on the résumé they received in their packet.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Originally, the data analysis for the primary portion of this study was going to be performed via the use of multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) since there are two dependent variables being tested against three varying independent variables. MANOVA helps in determining if an entire set of means (across two or more correlated dependent variables) is different from one group to the next; the multivariate F is based on the error/variance of the covariance matrix and the effect error/covariance when the dependent variables are considered simultaneously (Harris, 1985). Using MANOVA is advantageous over the general analysis of variance (ANOVA) because it gives the researcher a greater chance to discover effects by considering several dependent variables concurrently, thereby increasing power. Additionally, it helps protect against Type I errors that may be more likely to occur if multiple ANOVAs are conducted independently (Cliff, 1987).

Despite the aforementioned advantages of using MANOVA, it can only be appropriately employed if its accompanying assumptions are met. Stevens (1992) list three key assumptions to the usage of MANOVA, which include: "(1) the observations on the dependent variables follow a multivariate normal distribution in each group, (2) the population covariance matrices for the dependent variables in each group are equal, [and] (3) the observations are independent." For the data in this study, assumption #2 was violated. This was evident via the Box's Test of

Equality of Covariance Matrices, which resulted in a significant value ($F(66, 55821) = 1.827$; $p < .001$). While this test is very sensitive, and therefore does not necessarily indicate that the F values would be inaccurate (Timm, 1975), it was decided that the data would be analyzed via ANOVA due to the significance level of the covariances not being equal, and because the data analyses involves only two dependent variables. Furthermore, the correlation between the two dependent variables was .76, which offers additional support against the use of MANOVA in this particular analysis (L. T. Eby, personal communication, September 25, 2005).

Age - Between Genders

The pilot study found a significant difference regarding age between genders. Because analyses for the actual study were performed with gender, an ANOVA was performed to see if gender needed to be controlled for. The results of the ANOVA for the actual study showed that participants viewed all males and all females, irrespective of their skin tone, as being the same age ($F(1) = 2.110$; ns). The mean perceived age of the males and females pictured were 32.833 and 32.067, respectively. Therefore, there was no need to control for age in any of the analysis that included juxtaposition between genders.

Résumé Competency

In order to ensure that participates were seeing differences between the two types of résumés in the study, and not solely basing their ratings on the picture, a measure of perceived knowledge, skill, and experience was assessed. An independent samples t-test gave results illustrating that there was a significant difference seen between the two résumé conditions. These differences were present in all competency dimensions—knowledge $T = 3.008(238)$,

p<.001; skill T = 3.969(238), p<.001; experience T = 3.496(238), p<.001. Thus, with results from any analyses involving the qualifications of the conditions it can be properly assumed that the participant viewed the résumé at the level at which it should be.

Skin Color

It was expected that light-skinned applicants would receive significantly higher ratings for selection (recommendation for job/hiring decision) than darker-skinned applicants (Hypothesis 1). The ANOVA results for the ratings on recommendation based on the overall résumé and the ratings on general hiring decision were both significant ($F(2) = 15.62$; $p < .001$ and $F(2) = 13.379$; $p < .001$, respectively). As illustrated in Table 1, the mean selection rating score for recommendation based on the overall résumé increases in relation to skin tone—where higher ratings were given to lighter-skinned applicants. Almost mirrored results were found with the ratings for hiring decision, as depicted in Table 2.

Pairwise comparisons for ratings on recommendation based on the résumé (see Table 3) illustrate the conditions where a mean difference was significant at the $p < .05$ level. These comparisons show significant mean differences when juxtaposing the light and dark conditions to each other, as well as comparing the medium and dark conditions. Thus, while the selection rating mean value for light-skinned Blacks was higher than that of medium-skinned Blacks, illustrated in Table 1, the pairwise comparison test shows that the difference was not significant, suggesting that light and medium-skinned Blacks receive similar ratings on this dimension. These ratings, however, are significantly higher than those given to dark-skinned Blacks. Not surprisingly, Table 4 shows how the pairwise comparisons of ratings for hiring decision mimic those for recommendation. Juxtaposing the mean differences is made easier via Figures 1 and 2,

which give bar graphs of the means for based on skin color in regards to ratings for recommendation and hiring decision, respectively.

Skin Color & Gender Interaction

Hypothesis 2 stated darker-skinned women would receive the lowest ratings and light-skinned men would receive the highest ratings. This hypothesis was based on the notion described by Thompson & Keith (2001) as the "triple jeopardy" situation, where dark-skinned Black woman are triply disadvantaged because of their being Black, dark-skinned, and female. While conceptually logical, this hypothesis was not supported in this particular study for either rating condition—recommendation: $F(2) = 2.04$; ns or hiring decision: $F(2) = 2.14$; ns.

Skin Color & Qualifications

It was hypothesized (Hypothesis 3) that skin color would be so salient, that light-skinned applicants with lower qualifications would receive similar ratings as darker-skinned applicants with higher qualifications. Thus, it was conjectured that a significant finding would not be present with the skin tone by qualification interaction—ultimately suggesting that due to the prominence of skin tone, lighter-skinned applicants would receive comparable ratings irregardless of having lower qualifications. Results suggested that this was in fact the case given non-significant differences were found between means for these tests ($F(2) = 1.68$; ns and $F(2) = .33$; ns, respectively).

Skin Color, Gender, & Qualifications

A final exploratory hypothesis for this study was to examine a possible three-way interaction between skin color, gender, and qualifications. This interaction is somewhat a combination of Hypotheses 2 & 3—basically conjecturing that a light-skinned Black male with an MBA should receive the highest ratings overall, while a dark-skinned Black female with a B.A. should receive the lowest ratings overall. Significance was not found for recommendation ratings ($F(2) = 1.66$; $p = .41$). However, for the hiring ratings, there was a significant ($F(2) = 6.81$; $p < .05$) interaction. Table 5 illustrates the pairwise comparison for this three-way interaction, which was performed with the use of a Bonferroni correction.

For hiring decision the highest rating average ($M = 5.90$) was given to both the light-skinned female condition with the B.A. résumé and the medium-skinned female condition with the MBA résumé. The lowest rating ($M = 4.50$) was obtained by the dark-skin male condition with the MBA résumé. The unexpected variation of these ratings is highly linked to the significance found for this particular dependent variable—where significance was most likely attained due to the significantly higher ratings given to the female conditions in this study ($F(1) = 6.441$; $p < .05$).

Thus, the results for this study illustrate that there is no significant three-way interaction between skin tone, gender, and qualifications for recommendation ratings, but there is for hiring (but possibly due to the presence of a significant gender main effect). The significant finding of the hiring rating dependent variable, and the few unexpected cases where the lower level résumé condition generated higher mean values than the higher level résumé, and vice versa, can most probably be explained by the sample size of 20 per condition. It is important to note however,

that although the obtained mean was opposite of what was expected, the mean difference was only .20 or less.

Lastly, one of the most compelling findings in this study comes via this three-way interaction of gender, skin tone, and qualifications—particularly for men. In regards to hiring decision, light skin males who had only a B.A. degree (and whose résumé was rated in the pilot study as having significantly less prior work experience, skill, and overall knowledge than the résumé of the applicant with an MBA) received an average rating (M = 5.35) higher than that of dark skin males who had the higher level MBA résumé (M = 4.50). Additionally, the rating of medium-skinned males with this same lower level résumé (M = 5.45) was also higher than that of dark-skinned males with an MBA. The means and accompanying standard deviations, for males in regards to hiring decision are shown in Table 6. Pairwise comparisons of these means were also performed via a Bonferroni correction, and are illustrated in Table 7. Figure 3 depicts these mean comparisons in graphical form as well.

A similar pattern was also found for women. A key difference, however, was that in some instances the medium-skinned females received the highest ratings, rather than that of light-skinned females. Nonetheless, these mean ratings were generally much higher than those awarded to their darker-skinned counterparts, even when this individual's résumé depicted someone with a higher academic degree and greater prior work credentials. Table 8 depicts the mean ratings given for hiring decision for females in this study with respect to résumé level.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

This study sought to shed light upon an area of selection discrimination that has yet to be studied and discussed in our society. While the phenomenon of colorism is not a novel topic in America (or western culture), skin color bias is an issue that is very rarely discussed in regards to its possible implications in workplace selection. Due to our country's history and the majority of discrimination cases being gender or racially-based, it is uncommon for one to think that discrimination can have different repercussions for individuals of the same race. This study has illustrated that this can very well be the case.

The hypothesis based purely on skin tone asserted that light-skinned applicants would receive significantly higher selection ratings (recommendation for hiring based on overall résumé and hiring decision) than darker-skinned applicants. The ANOVAs that were conducted for both recommendation and hiring, showed mean values that were significantly higher for lighter-skinned Blacks. These results indicate that there appears to be skin tone preference in regards to job selection. Given that this study was manipulated in such a way that everything was held constant (i.e., résumé, person pictured on résumé, desired job, etc.) other than the applicant's skin color, these significant mean differences can only be attributed to the skin color variation. Sadly, these findings are not terribly shocking, because "we have been conditioned to believe that lighter skin equals success" (Williams, 2002, p. 8).

Further, these results support, and possibly help explain, the findings of Hughes & Hertel (1990). Perhaps lighter-skinned Blacks have substantially higher incomes and attain greater education, because our society is structured in such a way that obtainment of schooling and competitively paying jobs is not as difficult of a feat for them as it is for darker-skinned Blacks. These results, however, are not intended in anyway to make claim that light-skinned Blacks do not receive discrimination in the workplace or in society in general for that matter. The results do, on the other hand, support the notion that the severity of the discrimination received may very well be dependent on whether this individual is a light- or dark-skinned Black.

It was also hypothesized that there would be an interaction between skin color and gender such that dark-skinned women would receive the lowest ratings, and light-skinned men would receive the highest ratings. While this hypothesis was not supported, it is important to keep in mind the gender demographic of the particular sample involved in this study. This finding and the non-significance for this particular hypothesis is not terribly surprising given that 72% of the participants in this study were female. Perhaps a more gender-equivalent participant pool, or even one that is more closely aligned with the actual demographics of working professionals making selection decision (which is most likely disproportionately male), would have yielded results supporting the original assumption. Thus, another study that had a more equivalent participant pool, in terms of gender, could possibly find results that support Thompson & Keith's (2001) "triple jeopardy" claim for dark-skinned Black women.

The findings for the hypothesis regarding the interaction between skin tone and résumé level revealed the most compelling results for this study. It was originally conjectured that light-skinned applicants with lower qualifications would receive similar ratings as their darker-skinned complements with higher qualifications. This hypothesis assumed that skin color is such a

salient feature of an applicant that it can actually transcend and ultimately overshadow one's actual knowledge and experience. The mean ratings (both for recommendation and hiring) given to applicants in this study seem to suggest that darker-skinned Blacks (particularly males) can have more educational background, prior work experience, and perceived competence, and still not be as highly recommended or more likely to be hired over someone with lighter skin and noticeably less skill.

This finding is possibly due to the common belief that fair-skinned Blacks probably have more similarities with Whites than do dark-skinned Blacks, which in turn, makes Whites feel more comfortable around them (Williams, 2002). Another potential reason for this finding is due to attractiveness for females and potentiality of threat for males. As discussed earlier, perceived competency has a direct link with perceived attractiveness. In other words, the more attractive you are (to a certain extent), the more competent you are perceived to be (Umberson & Hughes, 1987). Given that women are consistently objectified in our society, it is more common for their attractiveness to be associated with their ability. Past research has shown that Blacks are regarded as being more attractive when they have noses, lips, hair textures/styles, and other facial characteristics (like lighter skin tone) that are more aligned with Eurocentric features, than African features (Fears, 1998). Thus, lighter-skinned Black women have an automatic advantaged over those women who have darker skin. They can therefore have a résumé that depicts a lower level degree, or a past job not equal to that of a darker-skinned Black female, because their light skin automatically grants them a certain level of competency that is not similarly awarded to a darker female.

This "advantage system" is also in place for men, although its foundation is not necessarily rooted in attractiveness; rather, it stems from the common stereotype of the violent,

angry, Black man—who most often is dark-skinned. Even if one has not been exposed to this particular stereotype, the media helps paint a picture that depicts a canvas illustrating two very different types of men when juxtaposing light- and dark-skinned Black men. For instance, if one was to imagine a Black male physician, attorney, or politician, most of these images would be of a light-skinned Black male. Whereas, if images a Black male factory worker, garbage collector, or janitor were conjured up, more than likely they would be of darker pigmentation than those listed previously.

Thus, not only do dark-skinned Black men incite fear in many Americans, but most also have much lower expectations of them than lighter-skinned Black males. The findings in this study, therefore, are tragically not too surprising. A light-skinned Black male can have only a bachelor's degree and minimal work experience, and still be preferred over a dark-skinned Black male with an MBA and past managerial positions, simply because expectations of the light-skinned Black male are much higher, nor does he appear as "menacing" as the darker-skinned male applicant.

The final hypothesis was an exploratory look at a possible three-way interaction between skin color, gender, and qualifications. There was no past literature suggesting that a level of significance would be found, so it was not expected to find any in this particular study. Significance was found in regards to the ratings given for hiring decision. A couple of outliers in the data most likely attributed to this finding, so it is not presumed that a three way interaction actually exists. Further research, with a larger sample size, should be done to test the possibility of this relationship.

Limitations & Suggestions for Future Research

The most prevalent limitation of this study is that is a lab experiment, which limits its possible relevance to real-world situations. It does make sense to examine this particular research topic via a lab experiment, because the probability of getting factual data from individuals in managerial positions regarding colorism is highly unlikely. One could, however, possibly submit similar résumés with the corresponding pictures like those in this study, to job listings and see which ones receive a response. A study of this nature, however, would have to use pictures of different individuals, which would lead this experiment to be more subjective in regards to whether or not it was the actual skin tone, or other phenotypic characteristics that led to possibly-obtained preferential differences.

An additional shortcoming of this study is that it only addresses colorism within the Black race. Light skin, however, is almost universally valued. Hierarchies based on light skin are prevalent in Hindu cultures in India (Hall, 1995) and in other Asian, and Hispanic cultures as well. Thus, given the heterogeneity of the workforce in America, future research studies should address this notion of colorism in other cultures, because the presence of preferential treatment due to skin tone is most probably present elsewhere.

One final fault of this study is that while it does address the ways in which colorism affects the way others view Blacks, it does not take into account the ways colorism affects the way Blacks view other Blacks. There have been a number of research studies that have illustrated that Blacks themselves adhere to common negative stereotypes surrounding Blacks with dark skin. Bill Maxwell (2003) even stated: "More than any other minority group in the United States, Blacks discriminate against one another" (p. 7D). And this discrimination is

something that actually begins as a child. Freeman, Armor, Ross and Pettigrew (1966) found that young Black school children often prefer white dolls and playmates, and actually deny their own skin color because of the early socialization to the negative associations surrounding dark skin.

While this study was done almost 40 years ago, these findings still seem to persist, and even more surprisingly, these sentiments seem to have persevered into adulthood. This endurance is evidenced by the increasing number of colorism cases reported by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), where most cases involve a Black discriminating against another Black. In 2002, there were 1,382 such cases, and this number rose to 1,555 in 2003—these cases are filed under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Maxwell, 2003; Arnn, 2004). These rising numbers illustrate that Whites are not solitary mediators of color bias in America, and that research should be done to investigate the prevalence of colorism values within the Black race (Hill, 2000).

Conclusion

The present research study has allowed for the juxtaposition of within race selection preferences based on skin tone and gender. Past research has neglected to look at discrimination outside of the normal dichotomous comparisons of Blacks and Whites as groups consisting of homogeneous individuals. Given the increasing number of biracial and multiracial Americans, more research similar to this study should be performed so that Americans can become more aware of the prevalence of color bias in our society. Perhaps the results from this study will not only enhance their awareness, but also challenge their acceptance of the common belief that whiteness signifies graciousness and beauty (Hill, 2000).

Additionally, this study has helped to substantiate, and in some ways expand, current theories regarding privilege and similarity attraction. It is no secret that we live in a society where being White affords many privileges that are not equally awarded to those who do not belong to this same racial or ethnic group (McIntosh, 1993). The results from this study have possibly illustrated that the privilege one receives extends beyond their race, but is deeply rooted in their skin color—where darker skin equates to fewer privileges. This study's findings also seemed to further confirm Byrne's Similarity Attraction Theory, which states that people tend to be more attracted to and have a greater comfort level around individuals who are similar to themselves (1971). It is therefore not surprising that the lowest ratings for recommendation and hiring in this study, where the average participant was a White female, were both given to the dark-skinned Black male conditions.

Furthermore, this research study has hopefully combated some of the irony that has long existed in social science research of race and race relations. Most social scientists claim that the purpose of their research is to address and hopefully falsify perceptions and stereotypes surrounding various races. Yet, by grouping individuals into homogenous groups, and assuming that life experiences are the same for all Blacks, or all Whites, they are doing nothing more than perpetuating these stereotypes. Because this research study forces people to view Blacks with a heterogeneous perspective, perhaps it causes them to look at Blacks in a way where these long-standing stereotypes no longer seem appropriate.

And lastly, given the increasing number of companies that are employing affirmative action policies in their selection processes, determining the possible presence of skin tone preference is paramount. Organizations need to be more cognizant of the colorism issue in many of their human resource related procedures. Further training (with an emphasis on skin tone

preference) should be done with diversity recruitment, selection, career development, and wage/salary allotments. While statistics may indicate that the number of minorities in corporate America is on a rise, they are not reporting the possibility that the majority of these minorities are of a lighter complexion than their other racial/ethnic counterparts. Additionally, lighter-skinned minority employees may have more vertical mobility in organizations because of their enhanced perceived competence. Not too mention, they are possibly compensated more in terms of their salary and/or benefits because of their lighter pigmentation.

The only way we are going to begin to combat some of the inequities that result due to the beliefs and ideologies that are associated with colorism, is by becoming more aware of the prejudices we have regarding skin tone due to the images we are exposed to on a regular basis. Society paints us a picture of lighter skin equating to attractiveness, intelligence, competency, likeability, etc., and we are given a much more dismal and bleak picture of those who have darker skin. These images are extremely powerful, in that they alter our immediate perceptions of individuals who then must "fit" into the pictures we've been exposed to. The more we challenge these images, and our own belief systems, the greater the likelihood we will judge an individual by their actual merit, rather than their skin tone.

The results of this study illustrated that not many of us challenge these images, and instead we buy into them; as the results very well depicted a continuum of preference in regards to skin tone. The findings in this study showed that perhaps past research has been somewhat incomplete in regards to selection discrimination, and that it extends far beyond a racial/ethnic issue. The outcome of this research illustrated that racism in America goes beyond the "White vs. Other" phenomenon that is so commonly discussed; and rather, is also manifested in skin tone variation. Therefore, because this study emphasized and demonstrated the significance of

colorism in our society, it ultimately showed that racism is not necessarily a practice that allots preference and privilege based solely on one's race, but that one's skin color also plays a substantial role in the treatment they will receive.

REFERENCES

Arnn, B. (2004). A matter of tone. *Operations & Fullfillment, 12 (7)*, 8.

Bersoff, D. N., Malson, L. P., & Verrilli, D. B. (1988). In the Supreme Court of the United States: Clara Watson v. Fort Worth Bank & Trust. *American Psychologist, 43 (12)*, 1019-1028.

Brief, A. P., Butz, R. M., & Deitch, E. A. (2005). Organizations as reflections of their environments: the case of race composition. In R. Dipboye & A. Colella (Eds.). *Discrimination at Work: The Psychological & Organizational Bases.* Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., Publishers.

Byrne, D. (1971). *The Attraction Paradigm*. New York: Academic Press.

Celious, A. & Oyserman, D. (2001). Race from the inside: An emerging heterogeneous race model. *Journal of Social Issues, 57 (1)*, 149-165.

Cliff, N. (1987). *Analyzing multivariate data*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Edwards, O. L. (1973). Skin color as a variable in racial attitudes of Black urbanites. *Journal of Black Studies, 3 (4)*, 473-483.

Fears, L. M. (1998). Colorism of Black women in news editorial photos. *The Western Journal of Black Studies, 22 (1)*, 30-36.

Freeman, H. E., Armor, D., Ross, J. M., & Pettigrew, T. F. (1966). Color gradation and attitudes among middle-income Negroes. *American Sociological Review, 31 (3)*, 365-374.

Hall, R. (1995). The bleaching syndrome: African Americans' response to cultural domination vis-à-vis skin color. *Journal of Black Studies, 26 (2)*, 172-184.

Harris, R. J. (1985). *A primer of multivariate statistics*. (2nd ed.). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Hill, M. E. (2000). Color differences in the socioeconomic status of African American men: Results of a longitudinal study. *Social Forces, 78 (4)*, 1437-1460.

Hughes, M. & Hertel, B. R. (1990). The significance of color remains: A study of life chances, mate selection, and ethnic consciousness among Black Americans. *Social Forces, 68 (4)*, 1105-1120.

Hunter, M. L. (2002). "If you're light you're alright"—Light skin color as social capital for women of color. *Gender & Society, 16 (2)*, 175-193.

Keith, V. M. & Herring, C. (1991). Skin tone and stratification in the Black community. *The American Journal of Sociology, 97 (3)*, 760-778.

Maxwell, B. (2003). The paper bag test. *St. Petersburg Times, August 31, 2003*, 7D.

McIntosh, P. (1993). White male privilege: A personal account of coming to see correspondence through work in women's studies. In A. Minas (Ed.), *Gender Basics*. 30-38. CA: Wadsworth.

Ransford, H. E. (1970). Skin color, life chances, and anti-White attitudes. *Social Problems, 18 (2)*, 164-179.

Ross, L. E. (1997). Mate selection preferences among African American college students. *Journal of Black Studies, 27 (4)*, 554-569.

Seltzer, R. & Smith, R. C. (1991). Color differences in the Afro-American community and the differences they make. *Journal of Black Studies, 21 (3)*, 279-286.

Stevens, J. (1992) *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences*. (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers.

Terpstra, D. E. & Kethley, R. B. (2002). Organizations' relative degree of exposure to selection discrimination litigation. *Public Personnel Management, 31 (3)*, 277-292.

Thompson, M. S. & Keith, V. M. (2001). The blacker the berry—Gender, skin tone, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. *Gender & Society, 15 (3)*, 336-357.

Timm, N. H. (1975). *Multivariate analysis, with applications in education and psychology*. Belmont, CA: Brooks-Cole.

Udry, J. R., Bauman, K. E., & Chase, C. (1971). Skin color, status, and mate selection. *The American Journal of Sociology, 76 (4)*, 722-733.

Umberson, D. & Hughes, M. (1987). The impact of physical attractiveness on achievement and psychological well-being. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 50 (3)*, 227-236.

Webster, M., Jr. & Driskel, J. E., Jr. (1983). Beauty as status. *The American Journal of Sociology, 89 (1)*, 140-165.

Williams, A. (2002). Colorism. *The New York Amsterdam News, January 31-February 6, 2002,* 8.

Table 1

Skin Tone Mean Ratings Given for Recommendation Based on Overall Résumé

CondSkinColor	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Light	5.9625	80	.78666
Medium	5.7875	80	.88151
Dark	5.1500	80	1.26391

Table 2

Skin Tone Mean Ratings Given for Hiring Decision

CondSkinColor	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Light	5.7000	80	.87728
Medium	5.6375	80	.88937
Dark	4.9625	80	1.27730

Table 3

Pairwise Comparisons for Ratings on Recommendation Based on Overall Résumé

(I) CondSkinColor	(J) CondSkinColor	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[a]
Light	Medium	.175	.153	.254
	Dark	.813*	.153	.000
Medium	Light	-.175	.153	.254
	Dark	.638*	.153	.000
Dark	Light	-.813*	.153	.000
	Medium	-.638*	.153	.000

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
[a] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments)

Table 4

Pairwise Comparisons for Ratings on Hiring Decision

(I) CondSkinColor	(J) CondSkinColor	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.[a]
Light	Medium	.063	.159	.694
	Dark	.738*	.159	.000
Medium	Light	-.063	.159	.694
	Dark	.675*	.159	.000
Dark	Light	-.738*	.159	.000
	Medium	-.675*	.159	.000

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
[a] Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments)

Table 5

Pairwise Comparisons for Ratings on Hiring Decision Based on the Interaction of Gender, Skin Tone, and Résumé Level

(I) Gender x CondSkinColor x Résumé	(J) Gender x CondSkinColor x Résumé	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
Male Light MBA	Female Light MBA	.150	.317
	Female Light BA	-.050	.317
	Female Medium MBA	-.050	.317
	Female Medium BA	.350	.317
	Female Dark MBA	.150	.317
	Female Dark BA	.900	.317
Male Light BA	Female Light MBA	-.350	.317
	Female Light BA	-.550	.317
	Female Medium MBA	-.550	.317
	Female Medium BA	-.150	.317
	Female Dark MBA	-.350	.317
	Female Dark BA	.400	.317
Male Medium MBA	Female Light MBA	.000	.317
	Female Light BA	-.200	.317
	Female Medium MBA	-.200	.317
	Female Medium BA	.200	.317
	Female Dark MBA	.000	.317
	Female Dark BA	.750	.317
Male Medium BA	Female Light MBA	-.250	.317
	Female Light BA	-.450	.317
	Female Medium MBA	-.450	.317
	Female Medium BA	-.050	.317
	Female Dark MBA	-.250	.317
	Female Dark BA	.500	.317
Male Dark MBA	Female Light MBA	-1.200*	.317
	Female Light BA	-1.400**	.317
	Female Medium MBA	-1.400**	.317
	Female Medium BA	-1.000	.317
	Female Dark MBA	-1.200*	.317
	Female Dark BA	-.450	.317
Male Dark BA	Female Light MBA	-1.000	.317
	Female Light BA	-1.200*	.317
	Female Medium MBA	-1.200*	.317
	Female Medium BA	-.800	.317
	Female Dark MBA	-1.000	.317
	Female Dark BA	-.250	.317

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
** The mean difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table 6

Skin Tone x Résumé Level Mean Ratings Given for Hiring Decision for Male Condition

CondSkin Color	CondRésumé	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Light	MBA	5.8500	80	.67082
	BA	5.3500	80	1.13671
Medium	MBA	5.7000	80	.86450
	BA	5.4500	80	.88704
Dark	MBA	4.5000	80	1.10024
	BA	4.7000	80	1.38031

Table 7

Pairwise Comparisons for Ratings on Hiring Decision Based on the Interaction of Skin Tone and Résumé Level for Males

(I) CondSkinColor x Résumé	(J) CondSkinColor x Résumé	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error
Light MBA	Light BA	.500	.326
	Medium MBA	.150	.326
	Medium BA	.400	.326
	Dark MBA	1.350***	.326
	Dark BA	1.150**	.326
Light BA	Light MBA	-.500	.326
	Medium MBA	-.350	.326
	Medium BA	-.100	.326
	Dark MBA	.850	.326
	Dark BA	.650	.326
Medium MBA	Light MBA	-.150	.326
	Light BA	.350	.326
	Medium BA	.250	.326
	Dark MBA	1.200**	.326
	Dark BA	1.000**	.326
Medium BA	Light MBA	-.400	.326
	Light BA	.100	.326
	Medium MBA	-.250	.326
	Dark MBA	.950*	.326
	Dark BA	.750	.326
Dark MBA	Light MBA	-1.350***	.326
	Light BA	-.850	.326
	Medium MBA	-1.200**	.326
	Medium BA	-.950*	.326
	Dark BA	-.200	.326
Dark BA	Light MBA	-1.150**	.326
	Light BA	-.650	.326
	Medium MBA	-1.000**	.326
	Light BA	-.750	.326
	Dark MBA	.200	.326

* The mean difference is significant at the .10 level.
** The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.
*** The mean difference is significant at the .001 level.

Table 8

Skin Tone x Résumé Level Mean Ratings Given for Hiring Decision for Female Condition

CondSkin Color	CondRésumé	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Light	MBA	5.7000	80	.80131
	BA	5.9000	80	.78807
Medium	MBA	5.9000	80	.85224
	BA	5.5000	80	.94591
Dark	MBA	5.7000	80	1.03110
	BA	4.9500	80	1.31689

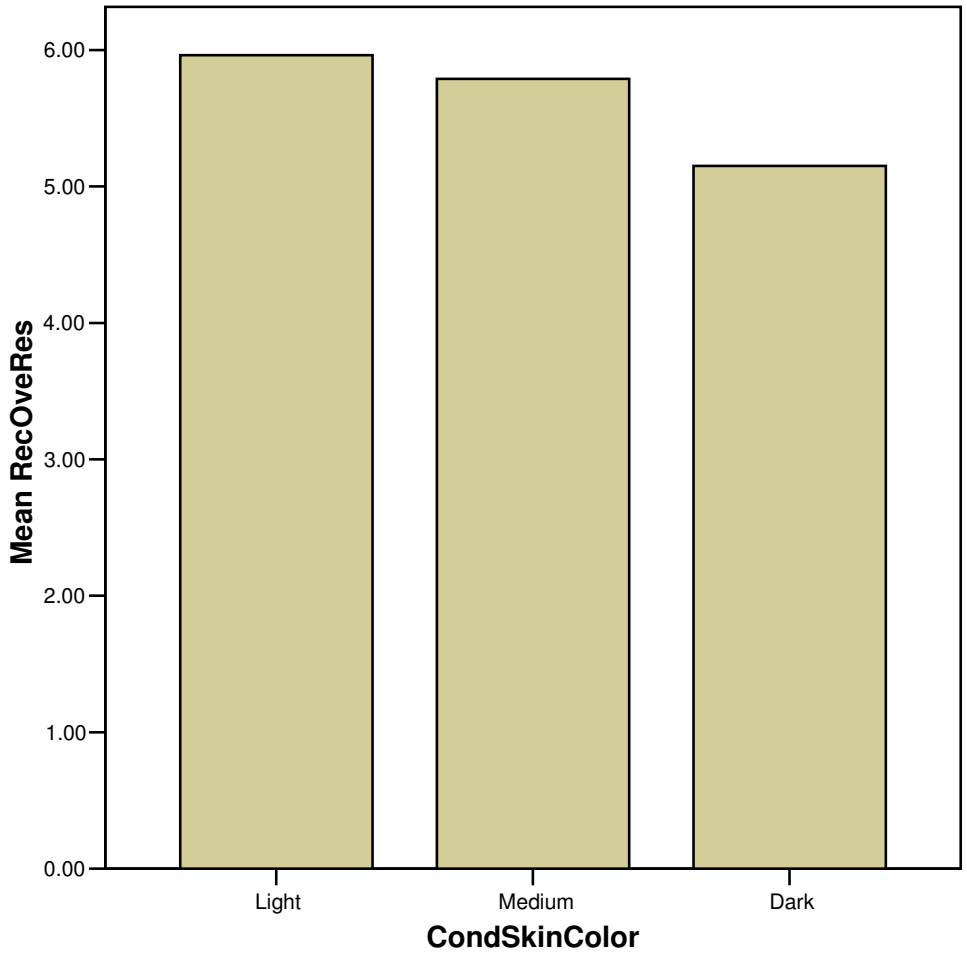


Figure 1. **Mean Comparisons of Ratings for Recommendation Based on Overall Résumé in Regards to Skin Color**

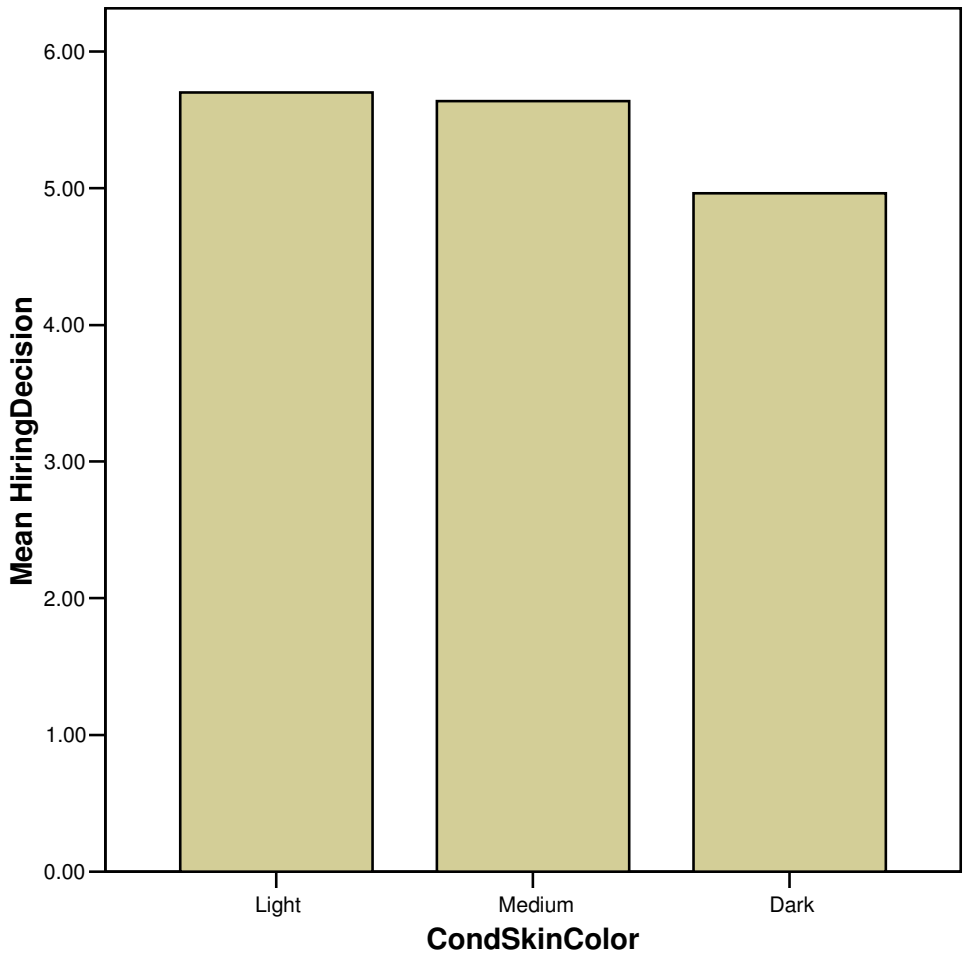
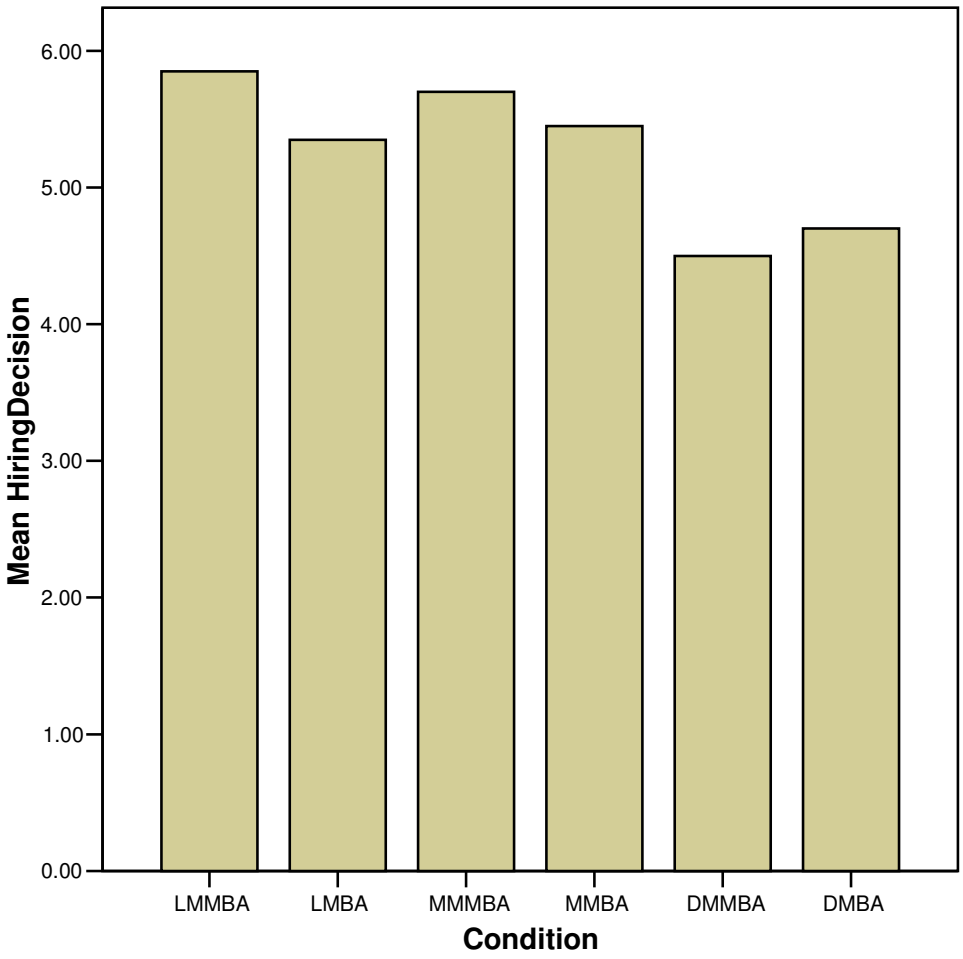


Figure 2. **Mean Comparisons of Ratings for Hiring Decision in Regards to Skin Color**



LMMBA – Light Male w/ MBA; LMBA – Light Male w/ BA; MMMBA – Medium Male w/ MBA; MMBA – Medium Male w/ BA; DMMBA – Dark Male w/ MBA; DMBA – Dark Male w/ BA

Figure 3. **Mean Comparisons of Ratings for Hiring Decision in Regards to the Interaction of Skin Tone & Résumé Level for Males**

Appendix A
SUMMARY OF HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1:	Main effect of color on selection ratings (recommendation based on the overall resume and hiring decision) such that light-skinned applicants will receive significantly higher ratings than darker-skinned applicants.
Hypothesis 2:	Interaction between color and gender such that dark-skinned women will receive the lowest ratings and light-skinned men will receive the highest ratings.
Hypothesis 3:	Interaction of color and qualifications such that light-skinned applicants with lower qualifications will receive similar ratings as darker-skinned applicants with higher qualifications.
Exploratory Proposal:	Examination of the possible three-way interaction between color, gender, and qualifications.

Appendix B
SKIN TONE CONDITIONS

Light-skin condition

Medium-skin condition

Dark-skin condition

Light-skin condition

Medium-skin condition

Dark-skin condition

Appendix C
HIGHER LEVEL RÉSUMÉ EXAMPLE

George S. Johnson*
2240 Peachtree St. NW ~ #355 ♦ Atlanta, GA 30322 ♦ (404) 555-1234

Career Objective
To obtain an executive position in Account Management focusing on Integrated Direct Marketing and Analysis

Summary of Qualifications
- Ten years experience as an organized, energetic, and client-focused professional with a balance of technical and marketing skills.
- Skilled in competitive analysis, targeting markets, identifying prospects, and following through to secure new business.
- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels.
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts.

Professional Experience

2000-present Thompson Marketing Associates (TMA) Atlanta, GA
Director of Metro Atlanta Area Marketing
- Led team to develop strategic business plan for Atlanta metro area market penetration, including analysis of organization's strengths, weaknesses, and competition.
- Conducted research to identify optimal target markets for business expansion.
- Mentored engineering staff in the areas of: targeting/selection, elements of sales calls, evaluating competition, and proposal development
- Initiated innovative strategies to increase TMA's name recognition in new markets
- Reviewed proposals to ensure accuracy of technical approach and ability to meet client's time and budget requirements.

1997-2000 Online Solutions Boston, MA
Business Development Manager
- Developed and implemented marketing strategy for new regulatory compliance program, resulting in increased revenues.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Developed and launched a series of new products and services to increase response rates, reduce customer defection, and increase client profitability.

1994-1997 Expert Marketing Managers Boston, MA
Marketing Specialist & Assistant
- Negotiated with visual and merchant teams for appropriate space and shop enhancements to improve flow and increase sales.
- Researched and reviewed prospective clients using online computer services, referring optimal candidates to Marketing Manager.
- Secured event speakers and coordinated transportation and accommodations for out-of-town guests.

Education
M.B.A., Goizueta Business School of Emory University, Atlanta, GA, 2001
B.B.A., Boston University, Boston, MA, 1994

References
(available upon request)

*For the female condition, this name was replaced with: Lisa M. Richardson

Appendix D
LOWER LEVEL RÉSUMÉ EXAMPLE

George S. Johnson*
2240 Peachtree St. NW ~ #355 ♦ Atlanta, GA 30322 ♦ (404) 555-1234

Career Objective
To obtain an executive position in Account Management focusing on Integrated Direct Marketing and Analysis

Summary of Qualifications
- Seven years experience as an organized, energetic, and client-focused professional with a balance of technical and marketing skills.
- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels.
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts.

Professional Experience

2000-present Online Solutions Atlanta, GA
Business Development Manager
- Developed and implemented marketing strategy for new regulatory compliance program, resulting in increased revenues.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Developed and launched a series of new products and services to increase response rates, reduce customer defection, and increase client profitability.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Defined, developed, and implemented marketing automation software resulting 100% improvement in user productivity.

1994-2000 Expert Marketing Managers Boston, MA
Marketing Specialist & Assistant
- Negotiated with visual and merchant teams for appropriate space and shop enhancements to improve flow and increase sales.
- Researched and reviewed prospective clients using online computer services, referring optimal candidates to Marketing Manager.
- Secured event speakers and coordinated transportation and accommodations for out-of-town guests.
- Worked with marketing, advertising, merchandising and account executives to develop strategies that generated sales of new or selected products.

Education
B.B.A., Boston University, Boston, MA, 1994

References
(available upon request)

*For the female condition, this name was replaced with: Lisa M. Richardson

Appendix E
HIGHER LEVEL RÉSUMÉ EXAMPLE W/ PICTURE

George S. Johnson*
2240 Peachtree St. NW ~ #355 ♦ Atlanta, GA 30322 ♦ (404) 555-1234

Career Objective
To obtain an executive position in Account Management focusing on Integrated Direct Marketing and Analysis

Summary of Qualifications
- Ten years experience as an organized, energetic, and client-focused professional with a balance of technical and marketing skills.
- Skilled in competitive analysis, targeting markets, identifying prospects, and following through to secure new business.
- A creative communicator and presenter; able to establish rapport with individuals and groups at all organizational levels.
- A motivated team player, with a reputation for perseverance and success in marketing and direct sales efforts.

Professional Experience

2000-present Thompson Marketing Associates (TMA) Atlanta, GA
Director of Metro Atlanta Area Marketing
- Led team to develop strategic business plan for Atlanta metro area market penetration, including analysis of organization's strengths, weaknesses, and competition.
- Conducted research to identify optimal target markets for business expansion.
- Mentored engineering staff in the areas of: targeting/selection, elements of sales calls, evaluating competition, and proposal development
- Initiated innovative strategies to increase TMA's name recognition in new markets
- Reviewed proposals to ensure accuracy of technical approach and ability to meet client's time and budget requirements.

1997-2000 Online Solutions Boston, MA
Business Development Manager
- Developed and implemented marketing strategy for new regulatory compliance program, resulting in increased revenues.
- Created and executed strategic and tactical marketing plans for key accounts.
- Developed and launched a series of new products and services to increase response rates, reduce customer defection, and increase client profitability.

1994-1997 Expert Marketing Managers Boston, MA
Marketing Specialist & Assistant
- Negotiated with visual and merchant teams for appropriate space and shop enhancements to improve flow and increase sales.
- Researched and reviewed prospective clients using online computer services, referring optimal candidates to Marketing Manager.
- Secured event speakers and coordinated transportation and accommodations for out-of-town guests.

Education
M.B.A., Goizueta Business School of Emory University, Atlanta, GA, 2001
B.B.A., Boston University, Boston, MA, 1994

References
(available upon request)

*For the female condition, this name was replaced with: Lisa M. Richardson

Appendix F
PILOT STUDY INFORMATION

Stimuli

A pilot study was conducted for the résumés and pictures used. In each pilot study only one picture stimulus was presented, and both résumé conditions were shown—participants viewed the two different résumés with the full content, but without the pictures on them; and also a blank résumé with one of the six picture conditions on it (see Appendix G). For the résumés with content and no photo, participants rated the competency level of the résumé. They also gave ratings regarding perceived experience, skill, and knowledge of the applicant based on the résumé. This pre-rating was done to ensure that a significant difference was observed from the general populace regarding the average and above average résumés in order for them to be properly used in the primary research study.

For the non-content résumés with the photo, the participants rated the skin tones of those pictured. This portion of the pilot study was performed to ensure that people do recognize differences in skin tones within the Black race, and that the light, medium, and dark skin tones obtained via the Adobe® Photoshop® CS software were appropriately identified. Additionally, participants also estimated the ages of the individuals pictured and gave a rating of attractiveness, in order to gauge whether or not a significant difference between interpreted ages and perceived attractiveness of those pictured existed, which could possibly lead to differences in competency ratings due to age bias and attractiveness.

Lastly, the participants also gave an overall picture quality rating for the photo pictured on the résumé. This test was being done to ensure that a significant difference did not exist between the different skin tone conditions in regards to picture quality. The presence of a significant difference could suggest that participants in the actual study may regard the pictures on the résumé as a poor quality picture, rather than that of a dark-skinned Black male or female. If picture qualities were equivalent, then any differences in ratings of skin tone should solely be attributed to proper morphing by the computer software, and not that of a picture with flawed resolution. An example questionnaire detailing all questions posed to participants during this pilot study is illustrated in Appendix H.

Results for Pilot Study

Results for the pilot study were based on responses from 42 undergraduates at a southeastern university; some of which participated in the study voluntarily, while others took part for course credit. A paired samples t-test was performed in order to analyze whether or not a statistical difference was seen in regards to competency of the two résumés. As hoped, a significant difference was perceived on all three scales of competence—experience $T = 5.42(41)$, $p < .001$; skill $T = 4.34(41)$, $p < .001$; and knowledge $T = 5.95(41)$, $p < .001$.

Several analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were computed to assess possible perceptional differences due to the different picture conditions—perceived skin color, age, and attractiveness. The ANOVA results for perceived skin color indicated a significant difference in skin color between the skin tone conditions ($F(2) = 23.56$; $p < .001$). These results illustrated that participants did distinguish a significant difference between the light ($M = 4.93$), medium ($M = 3.14$), and dark ($M = 2.36$) skin tone conditions. Additionally, there was no significant

difference between genders in regards to skin tone ($F(1) = 0$; ns). Thus, there was no difference perceived between a light/medium/dark skin male juxtaposed to a light/medium/dark skin female. This ensured that the manipulations for light, medium, and dark skin was congruent between genders, and therefore, skin tone between genders can be weighed against each other equally.

For age, the ANOVA results depicted no significant difference within genders ($F(2) = 0.40$; ns). This finding showed that participants viewed all males and all females, regardless of their depicted skin tone, as being the same age. In other words, there was no significant difference in perceived age between the skin tone conditions within males and females (e.g., light skin male age ≈ medium skin male age; medium skin female age ≈ dark skin female age; etc.). However, a significant difference was found between genders ($F(1) = 4.61$; $p < .05$), such that the male manipulation was perceived as significantly older. Ideally an equal perception of age would have been desired. This was not problematic, however, in that perceived age was also assessed in the actual study, where there was no significant difference between or within genders.

The final ANOVA performed investigated perceived attractiveness. These results illustrated no significant differences either between or within genders ($F(1) = 0.60$; ns) and ($F(2) = 0.20$; ns), respectively. Thus, the male and female conditions were observed as being equally attractive. In addition, there were no distinctions in attractiveness between light, medium, and dark skin tone conditions.

Appendix G
RÉSUMÉ USED IN PILOT STUDY FOR SKIN TONE RATING

George S. Johnson

Current Street Address ♦ City, State ZipCode ♦ (123) 456-7890

Career Objective

Primary objective for attempting acquire specified job goes here

Summary of Qualifications

- Prior work experience here
- Prior work experience here
- Prior work experience here

Professional Experience

XXXX-present Business Name City, State
Position Held
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here

XXXX-XXXX Business Name City, State
Position Held
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here

XXXX-present Business Name City, State
Position Held
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here

XXXX-XXXX Business Name City, State
Position Held
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here
- Job Duties Here

Education

Degree, Institution Degree Obtained From, Year

References

(available upon request)

Appendix H
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PILOT STUDY

Please answer the following six questions in the order in which they appear.

1. On the résumé you have that features a picture, how would you describe the skin color of the individual pictured?

Very Dark	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Light

2. On the résumé you have that features a picture, how attractive would you rate the individual pictured?

Not at all attractive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very Attractive

3. One the résumé you have that features a picture, how old would you say the applicant appears? _____

4. How would you rate the picture quality of that on the résumé you have?

Horrible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Excellent

5. One the résumé labeled B1, please rate the following in regards to this individual's qualifications for an upper-management marketing position

   a. *Experience*

Inexperienced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Experienced

   b. *Skill*

Unskilled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Skilled

   c. *Knowledge*

Not at all knowledgeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very knowledgeable

6. One the résumé labeled B2, please rate the following in regards to this individual's qualifications for an upper-management marketing position

   a. Experience

Inexperienced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Experienced

   b. Skill

Unskilled	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Skilled

   c. Knowledge

Not at all knowledgeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very knowledgeable

Thank you for your participation! Please pick up a debriefing form for more detailed information about this study. Thanks again!

Appendix I
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR ACTUAL STUDY

For the questions below, please rate your opinion to the question posed on the 7-point scale provided. Please indicate your rating by circling the number that best reflects your opinion.

Competency

(1) Based on the résumé found in your packet, how experienced do you perceive this applicant to be?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very inexperienced Very experienced

(2) Based on the résumé found in your packet, how knowledgeable do you perceive this applicant to be?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all knowledgeable Very knowledgeable

(3) Based on the résumé found in your packet, how skilled do you perceive this applicant to be?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Very unskilled Very skilled

Recommendation

(1) Based on this applicant's educational background, how likely would you recommend this applicant for the position in question?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all likely Extremely likely

(2) Based on this applicant's prior work experience, how highly would you recommend this applicant for the position in question?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not highly Highly

(3) Based on this applicant's overall résumé, how likely would you recommend this applicant for the position in question?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all likely Extremely likely

Confidence of Recommendations

(1) How confident are you in your assessment of the applicant's educational background?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all confident Extremely confident

(2) How confident are you in your assessment of the applicant's prior work experience?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all confident Extremely confident

(3) How confident are you in your overall recommendation of the applicant?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all confident Extremely confident

Overall Hiring Decision

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

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all likely Extremely likely

Interpersonal Competence

(1) How attractive do you find the applicant for this position?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all attractive Extremely attractive

(2) How likeable does the applicant in your packet appear to be?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all likeable Extremely likeable

(3) How similar is the applicant in your packet to yourself?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Not at all similar Extremely similar

(4) How old does the applicant on your resume look? _____ years old

(5) What race/ethnicity is the applicant on your resume? _____

Of the pictures below, please circle the one that appeared on the résumé you viewed.





Please answer the following general demographic questions.

(1) What is your gender?
   a. Male
   b. Female

(2) How do you racially identify yourself?
   a. White/Non-Hispanic
   b. Black/African American
   c. Asian/Pacific Islander
   d. Hispanic
   e. Native American
   f. Other (please specify)_____

(3) What is your age? _____ years old

(4) How would you describe the setting of your hometown?
   a. Rural
   b. Urban
   c. Suburban

(5) What would best describe your family's yearly income?
   a. Less than $40,000
   b. $40,000 - $75,000
   c. $75,000 - $100,000
   d. Greater than $100,000