SOCIOLINGUISTIC CUES, PERCEIVED RACE AND EMPLOYMENT

SELECTION OUTCOMES: AN EXPLORATION OF THE

AVERSIVE RACISM FRAMEWORK

by

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ABSTRACT

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CUES, PERCEIVED RACE AND EMPLOYMENT

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The limited number of available positions to job candidates has led to increased competitiveness among job seekers and the development of new and more efficient employment screening methods by human resources personnel. As a result, job candidates are likely to participate in a telephone interview at some point during the selection process. It is during these interviews that important perceptions about employment potential are made.

A number of factors influence perceptions about the future potential of job candidates. In the absence of face-to-face interaction, decision makers may rely on how a candidate sounds over the telephone to make judgments about the type of employee he or she will make and whether, if selected, the candidate has potential for moving up in the organization. Telephone interviews may increase the potential for decision makers to discriminate in the employment screening process based on biases formed from factors unrelated to the job. Candidates themselves may unknowingly contribute to the formation of such biases by exhibiting characteristics that cause decision makers to question their abilities to perform a job (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). One such characteristic may be a job candidate's dialect (e.g., how he or she sounds over the telephone) and the social stereotypes that decision makers associate with such dialects.

This dissertation investigated *a priori* belief structures and sociolinguistic cues about race and their potential to bias the employment selection process in the absence of face-to-face interaction. Using a laboratory experiment with manipulations of dialect, qualifications, and behavioral norms, the study found 1) that evaluators accurately perceived race using dialect approximately 89% of the time, and 2) evaluators rated individuals who used African American Vernacular English (AAVE) dialect significantly lower on employment selection outcomes than they did individuals who used Standard English (SE) dialect.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO RESEARCH

Research evidence is mixed regarding the existence of racism and discrimination in the United States labor market today. While some in the mainstream media insist that race is no longer a factor for explaining hiring and wage disparities between Blacks and Whites (Thernstrom & Thernstrom, 1997), others suggest that old forms of racism and discrimination have simply evolved into newer forms that are subtle and more difficult to detect (Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Feagin & Sikes, 1994; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986). This subtle discrimination has important implications for the employment selection process.

At the same time, the U.S. job market is experiencing increased competitiveness among job seekers and the development of new recruiting methods by human resources personnel. Recruiters are revamping their employment screening processes to find the best candidates among large numbers of job seekers, many of whom who are simply trying to get their foot in the door (Frase-Blunt, 2003). For recruiters, this may mean sifting through hundreds of resumes attempting to match larger numbers of applicants to fewer available positions.

Regardless of the position, a job candidate is very likely to participate in a telephone interview at some point during the selection process. Indeed, human resource recruiters rely more on telephone interviews than any other tool for their initial candidate screening needs (e.g., Frase-Blunt, 2005). Phone screening provides many benefits for employers in terms of increased efficiency and decreased costs. But for all the benefits that telephone interviews have to offer, unintended consequences of the telephone interview may mitigate these benefits. Telephone interviews may increase the potential for decision makers to discriminate in the interview process based on biases formed from factors unrelated to the job.

Candidates themselves may unknowingly contribute to the formation of such biases by exhibiting characteristics that cause decision makers to question their abilities to perform a job (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). One of those characteristics might be how individuals sound (e.g., dialect) during job interviews which can serve as a dominant "cue," especially in telephone interviews.

Dialect refers to the combination of accent, diction, and grammar. A race-recognizable dialect (or the lack thereof) might serve as a proxy for assessing a job candidate's qualifications and/or his or her potential to move to higher levels in an organization. How dialect may be pivotal in such decisions is illustrated with an example from a recent article in the *Washington Post* (Haygood, 2006: A01). A top level official in the Bush Administration referred to Eric Motley, his Black protégé, this way:

"When you first meet Eric, his skin color, it's Black. He does not dress Black, and his accent is not Black. He's Black, but he's been raised by Blacks and Whites. I think by the way he looks at the world, he feels colorless."

The implication from the above statement is that by Mr. Motley not exhibiting typical 'Black' characteristics (e.g., in speech and dress) he would represent a more viable candidate for sponsorship. Consequently, it is possible that decision makers might allow their *a priori* beliefs about race to indirectly affect their assumptions about candidate employability and future success. In interview situations, it is possible that such beliefs can have a negative effect on employment decisions particularly for candidates who may 'dress Black' or 'talk Black.'

In exploring this phenomenon, this dissertation will focus on *a priori* belief structures about race and their potential to bias the employment selection process, particularly in the absence of face-to-face job interviews. Specifically, I will argue that sociolinguistic cues about race exhibited by job candidates may influence their ability to move forward in the selection process.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

More than four decades since the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, Blacks continue to lag behind Whites in virtually every category in society, including employment and occupational mobility (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Blacks have disproportionately lower labor participation rates than Whites with comparable credentials; and though they are making inroads, they are still less likely to hold managerial and professional positions (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004). The result is

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often an underutilization of Blacks and other minorities, leading to low racial and ethnic diversity in organizations. Such a lack of diversity can have an adverse impact on organizational performance (e.g., Jayne & Dipboye, 2004; Konrad, 2003) and the overall economy (e.g., Forstater, 1999) as discussed in the next section.

1.1.1 Racial diversity and performance

According to Jayne and Dipboye (2004), if asked whether diversity helps them perform better, many organization leaders would likely answer that it does. Whether their answers are based on evidence or a desire to be socially accepted, the majority of diversity literature supports this view. In their classic arguments for cultural diversity, Cox and Blake (1991) argue that effectively managing diversity can provide organizations with a competitive advantage by reducing turnover and absenteeism costs, establishing reputations that attract and retain high quality individuals, improving creativity and problem solving capabilities, increasing organizational flexibility, and enhancing marketing efforts. From a business growth standpoint, companies are also better able to pursue market niches once believed to be unattainable by creating a workplace that reflects their consumer base (Robinson & Dechant, 1997).

Although there is some dispute over the impact of diversity on financial bottom-line indicators (e.g., Richard, 2000), evidence exists that supports the benefits of workforce diversity in organizations (Jayne & Dipboye, 2004; Konrad, 2003; Ng & Burke, 2005; Richard, McMillan, Chadwick, & Dwyer, 2003; Roberson & Park, 2004). For instance, while Richard et al. (2003) did not find a direct linkage from having a

diverse workforce to the financial performance of banks in their study, they did find that banks following an innovation strategy performed significantly better when workforces were racially heterogeneous versus racially homogeneous.

Economists suggest that a society with full employment is less likely to have a scarcity of jobs and money from which goods and services can be produced and purchased, thereby strengthening the economy. In addition, full employment helps to remove wage differentials known to be related to race and gender (Forstater, 1999). Despite these arguments, gaps persist in the unemployment rates of Blacks and other minorities compared to Whites in the U.S. (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004).

1.1.2 Evidence of illegal discrimination

There are several plausible explanations for the economic disparities between Whites and minorities in this country; among them, inequitable education (Bonilla-Silva, 2001) and residential segregation – both forms of discrimination (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Fix & Struyk, 1992). Bonilla-Silva (2001) argues that it is not simply the years of education that have contributed to gaps in educational attainment for minorities relative to Whites, it is differences in the *quality* of education received. These gaps in educational attainment are often the result of structural inequalities over which minorities have no control. For instance, Black students typically attend schools with outdated equipment, few library resources, and even fewer qualified teachers in contrast to schools attended by White students. As a result, it is reported that on average, Black

students have lower reading achievement, limited computer skills, and lower over-all knowledge with which to compete in the labor force (Bonilla-Silva, 2001).

Due in part to greater distances from their residences to suburban blue-collar jobs, lower-skilled Blacks may be especially disadvantaged when it comes to closing the gaps in employment rates. Because similarly-skilled Whites generally live closer to these types of jobs, they are more likely to move from unemployment to employment at a faster rate than their Black counterparts who reside primarily in urban areas (Fix & Struyk, 1992).

Still, the 'discrimination explanation' is quite controversial. Discrimination simply means recognizing the differences among people or things and choosing accordingly. In employment selection, employers must discriminate (choose) among a number of applicants to fill open positions using job-related criteria. Discrimination becomes illegal when either 1) different standards are used to judge individuals differently, or 2) similar standards are used but are based on criteria unrelated to the job (EEOC, 2003). While most economists are convinced that Blacks operate at a disadvantage in the labor market, they are less willing to accept that illegal discrimination, more than other factors, is a viable explanation for this condition (e.g., Fix & Struyk, 1992). Efforts to settle this controversy have resulted in studies designed to identify the degree to which Blacks experience discrimination in the labor market.

Perhaps the most well-known of these studies are the audits conducted by the Urban Institute (cf, Heckman & Siegelman, 1992). In these, pairs of "testers" (one

White, one Black) were sent out to apply to jobs randomly selected from help-wanted advertisements in local newspapers. The testers were matched on all relevant characteristics (i.e., age, education, physical appearance, verbal skills) and trained so that any differences in systematic treatment would be attributable to race. Once the pairs were sufficiently "identical," each member of the audit pair was then sent in random order to the job location. Data were collected on several treatment outcomes: received/denied an application; received/denied an interview; and received/did not receive a job offer. The audits resulted in substantial differences between the job offer rates for Blacks and Whites, with Whites offered jobs in 35.7% of the interviews compared to Blacks being offered jobs in 22.5% of interviews (Heckman & Siegelman, 1992).

Though the Urban Institute experiments are touted as evidence of labor market discrimination, limitations in the study design cast doubt on their ability to fully explain the disparities between Blacks and Whites in the labor market. Of particular criticism was the requirement that the tester pairs be matched on virtually all characteristics that could impact the employment decision. Regardless of the intense training the testers received to achieve this, critics note that it is virtually impossible to erase all of the distinguishing characteristics. In addition, testers were fully aware that the focus of the study was to unmask potential labor market discrimination, leading to potential experimenter effects. Furthermore, the audits were very costly to conduct, which, according to some critics, resulted in sample sizes that were too small to understand the

unique differences and other mitigating factors that could explain disparities in treatment outcomes (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004).

Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) sought to address many of these limitations in their research. Instead of using matched pairs of individuals as the audits had done, they used resumes from actual job seekers. And unlike the audits, the emphasis of the Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) study was differential treatment due to applicants' names. To determine which names were uniquely African-American and those that were uniquely White, the researchers used name frequency data from birth certificates of all infants born in the study area then tabulated the data by racial group. Names found to have the highest ratio of frequency in one racial group to frequency in the other racial group were deemed to possess 'racial uniqueness' (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Their study found that resumes with uniquely White-sounding names received 50% more call backs for interviews than those displaying uniquely African-American-sounding names. One can speculate from these findings that 1) decision makers were able to distinguish job candidates' racial/ethnic backgrounds using only their names; and 2) that they used this information as a basis for applying differential treatment in the selection process.

1.1.3 Differential treatment of job candidates

The employment selection process is filled with risks and uncertainty. When employers need to make hiring decisions, they must often work with imperfect information about job candidates. And although they may possess resumes and conduct

background checks on prospective employees, decision makers are still left with very little individual level information about job candidates to help them forecast future employee productivity. Consequently, employers will be more likely to call upon easily acquired information, often related to group membership of the candidates, as a signal of the potential productivity of all persons within the group or persons who possess an attribute that is central to the group (Tomaskovic-Devey & Skaggs, 1999). This attempt to remove uncertainty and reduce risk by making subjective assessments of workers' skill levels is the premise underlying the basic model of statistical discrimination (e.g., Phelps, 1972).

Statistical discrimination theories provide a productivity-based explanation for labor market discrimination (e.g., Aigner & Cain, 1977). The argument suggests that employers, in their search for more stable or productive workers, may use productivity differences attributed to different groups as a way to screen out individuals believed to less productive (e.g., women and minorities) and therefore present a greater hiring risk for the employer. However, the distinction between 'traditional' and statistical discrimination is less clear among social scientists and most members of the public (Baumle & Fossett, 2005). For instance, the employer who promotes a man over a woman because he feels the man is better suited for a management position may be viewed as unlawfully discriminating against a protected class. Another employer may hire a White man over a Black man because the White man has a high school degree from a suburban high school while the Black man received his degree from a high

school in the inner city. In both cases, the employers are basing their actions on subjective information that is consistent with perceptions of group attributes. However, the latter action is believed to be motivated, not by stereotypes or prejudice, but rather by what the decision maker believes to be "valid inferences about productivity and risk" (Baumle & Fossett, 2005: 1251). A commonality among the two decision makers is that they are both acting on beliefs using preconceived characteristics of group members to signal something about an individual member of the group. Consequently, both actions are a form of discrimination (e.g., Ondrich, Ross, & Yinger, 2003).

1.2 Rationale of Research and Research Objectives

Experiments reviewed in the previous section (e.g., Turner, Fix, & Struyk, 1991; Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004) allow for the possibility that non-meritorious factors may enter into selection decisions. But in order to accept the notion that decision makers systematically discriminate in the employment selection process, one would also have to accept that racial discrimination still exists in an otherwise "colorblind" society.

A relatively new stream of research (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981) suggests that our society is not as "colorblind" as it is purported to be. Instead of overt displays of racism and discrimination reminiscent of the Civil Rights era, a new form of discrimination has emerged which is more difficult to recognize and defend against. According to Gaertner and Dovidio (1986, pp. 85-86), "…like a virus that mutates into new forms,

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old-fashioned prejudice seems to have evolved into a new type that is, at least temporarily, resistant to traditional attitude-change remedies that emphasize the evils of prejudice as a means of eliminating racism." The form of racism to which Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) refer is termed "aversive."

Aversive racism describes types of racial attitudes that are believed to characterize many White Americans who possess strong egalitarian values (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In contrast to "old" racism, characterized by displays of bigotry and racial hatred, the aversive ("new") form of racism is characterized by racially ambivalent attitudes that are neither negative nor favorable towards Blacks and other minorities. Aversive racists consider themselves as both non-prejudiced and non-discriminatory, but nevertheless hold negative views towards Blacks. Individuals who practice aversive racism are often unaware of these views and are insistent on their neutrality toward race as a factor in decision making. Thus, when aversive racists are faced with situations that potentially threaten to reveal their negative views; they will vigorously try to behave in ways that are consistent with their expressed ambivalence towards race (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

Unawareness stemming from aversion can have very serious consequences for the employment selection process. One such consequence is the increased propensity for aversive racists to engage in hiring discrimination (an unlawful act under Title VII). Unaware of their animus towards Blacks and other minorities, aversive racists may allow social characteristics of job applicants, such as race and dialect, to cloud their

judgment of an applicant's employment potential. As discussed earlier, prior research (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004) has found that applicant characteristics, such as their names ("Black"-sounding versus "White"-sounding), influenced selection decisions. Given the high probability that the employers in this study were well aware of the consequences of knowingly discriminating on the basis of race (29% were designated as "Equal Opportunity Employers"; 11% were federal contractors), we can speculate that other cognitive mechanisms were in play.

Research that studies the impact of discrimination in hiring decisions is sorely lacking (Heckman & Siegelman, 1992). Donohue III and Siegelman (1991) suggest that the primary reason for so little research in this regard is a change in the nature of discrimination litigation since Title VII of the Civil Rights Act went into effect. Since then, the legal community has seen a marked decrease in litigation stemming from discriminatory hiring to increased complaints on the basis of discriminatory firings (Donohue III & Siegelman, 1991). Even so, the majority of the testing for the existence of discrimination in hiring has been conducted by economists.

A notable exception is a study conducted by Brief et al. (2000). In it, researchers found that hiring managers discriminated against minority candidates more often when the managers believed they had a business justification for doing so. In a replication of the Brief et al. (2000) study, Ziegert and Hanges (2005) found that corporate climate interacted significantly with racial bias in predicting implicit racism, such that individuals in a corporate climate that encouraged racial discrimination

exhibited higher levels of discriminatory behavior than those in climates that encouraged equality.

Studying the economic ramifications of discrimination is a significant undertaking. Understanding the role of discrimination in the hiring process has tremendous merit and leads to important questions about parity in employment selection, particularly in the absence of face-to-face interaction. The role of sociolinguistics could be instrumental here. Parton, Siltanen, Hosman, and Langenderfer (2002) suggest that while several factors affect the success of the job interview, such as candidate credentials, interviewer mood, and candidate personality, few are more important in forming impressions about job candidates' future potential than the verbal message (e.g., how it is delivered or what is said). The researchers found that applicants who consistently hesitated before answering interviewer questions were perceived as potentially less powerful (e.g., uncertain or insecure) employees. In a similar vein, could certain elements of the verbal message (sociolinguistic cues) increase the likelihood of discriminatory behavior by decision makers?

Existing sociolinguistic research has found support for discrimination based on racial/ethnic identification from auditory cues. In fact, sociolinguistic cues have been linked to discrimination in housing in a number of studies (e.g., Massey & Lundy, 2001; Purnell, Idsardi, & Baugh, 1999; Yinger, 1992). Segrest (1999) found that, in addition to the level of interviewer training, applicant accent had a significant negative effect on interview outcomes. In a more recent study (e.g., Segrest Purkiss, Perrewè, Gillespie,

Mayes, & Ferris, 2006), researchers used videotaped "interviews" to examine what, if any, effect ethnic cues and implicit bias had on interviewer judgment of applicants. They found that modern ethnicity bias had a direct negative relationship with hiring decisions. The bias reported in these studies was described as covert (concealed) and not easily observable by its victims.

This dissertation will investigate the role of sociolinguistic cues in identifying differential outcomes in hiring situations, particularly during the employment screening process. In borrowing from the sociolinguistics and psychology literature, this study is based on the premise that people are able to accurately detect the racial makeup of individuals by simply hearing their voices, and they may use that information to either screen in or screen out job candidates from the selection process.

<u>1.3 Importance and Implications of Research</u>

There are at least two methods of detecting one's race: visual and auditory (Purnell et al, 1999). Given the nature of the current employment environment in the United States, it is possible that the first impression an employer will receive of a prospective employee will be via a telephone interview. In the absence of face-to-face interaction, an important method of detecting the racial makeup of individuals, then, is auditory. One can surmise that when individuals apply for jobs, they expect that criteria relevant to the position(s) to which they are applying (e.g., knowledge, skills, experience) will be used to evaluate their employment potential. Allowing factors such as race and gender to influence hiring decisions is expressly prohibited by Title VII of

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the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and punishable by fine. Employers who systematically use factors associated with race to screen applicants out of the selection process are engaging in *prima facie* discrimination.

Numerous studies have documented the effects of race on selected career outcomes (access discrimination) of minorities in employment (e.g., Dreher & Cox, 2000; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley, 1990; Ibarra, 1995; Powell & Butterfield, 1997). The absence of face-to-face interaction in the hiring process presents a different kind of challenge which requires that researchers consider additional variables to help explain employment outcomes for minorities (treatment discrimination).

Figure 1.1 is a graphical depiction of the proposed relationships between sociolinguistic cues (dialect), perceived race, and employment selection outcomes. Going from left to right of the model, applicant dialect may lead to the perception of the applicant's race by the listener, in this case, the employer. Dialect is hypothesized to be directly related to varying degrees of employment selection outcomes. Research (e.g., Segrest Purkiss, et al., 2006) has found that judgments based on implicit bias are influenced by reported levels of prejudice as measured by modern racism scales. Therefore, report of racial attitudes is hypothesized to intervene in the relationship between dialect and employment selection outcomes. Finally, in accordance with the aversive racism framework (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), normative guidelines and applicant qualifications are also posited to moderate the relationship between dialect and employment selection outcomes.
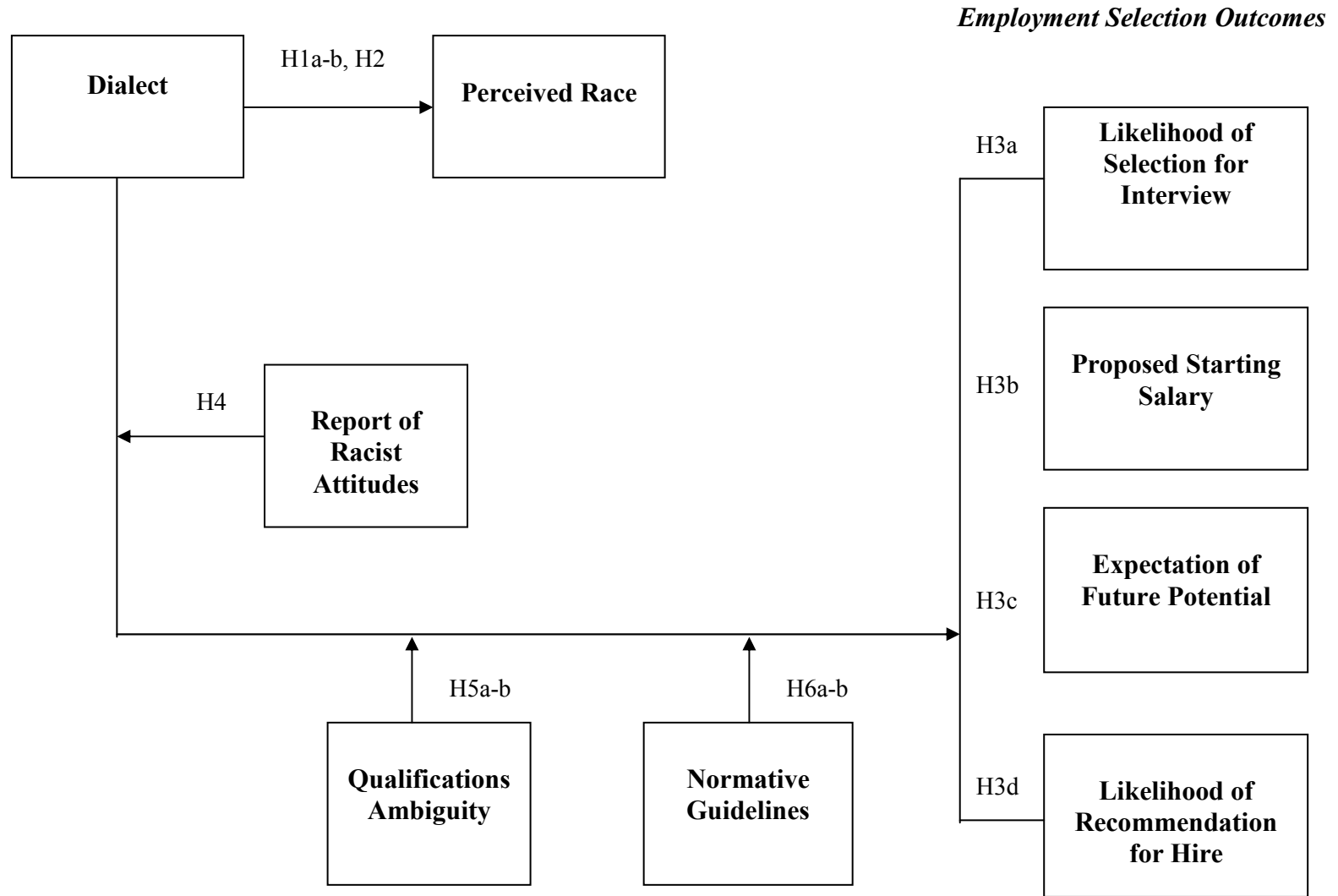
Figure 1.1 Model of Proposed Relationships Between Study Variables

1.4 Overview of Dissertation

Chapter two of this dissertation will review the relevant literature on sociolinguistics and their influence as a stimulus for eliciting prejudicial attitudes. In addition, extant research on implicit biases and the aversive racism framework as theorized by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) will be discussed along with empirical tests of the framework on a variety of employment screening outcomes. Hypotheses will follow discussions as appropriate. Chapter three will contain an overview of the proposed research method and the rationale for choosing to study the relationships between the variables using the described design.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESES DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Sociolinguistic Cues and Social Stereotypes

This section will describe sociolinguistics (the study of speech and language in a social context) literature and its role as a potential "cue" for detecting the racial makeup of job candidates. It will present empirical evidence of the ability to detect race using sound of voice and speech patterns alone and build the case that similar characteristics of individual voice in the employment process will likely lead to discrimination in employment selection. The section will go on to discuss relevant literature on stereotypes and contemporary theory on stereotype formation and its potential effects on employment outcomes. The idea that 1) employers can detect race via telephone conversations with job applicants and 2) that employers make assumptions about employability based on such phone-based information is the central theme of this study.

2.1.1 Dialect and perceived race

Sociolinguistic researchers have found that listeners can accurately infer the race of a speaker through three language components: accent, grammar, and diction (Massey & Lundy, 2001). These language components are also characteristic of dialect. In contrast to Standard English (SE), also known as mainstream U.S. English (MUSE), the linguistic style typically spoken by Whites, sociolinguists have recognized two

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"non-standard" dialects that are widely spoken by Blacks in this country. They are Black Accented English (BAE) and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Massey & Lundy, 2001). Both of these dialects are used interchangeably. Unlike SE/MUSE, AAVE is believed to be the most stigmatized variety of English, with its speakers rated lower on status related traits, such as education and income (Rodriguez, Cargile, & Rich, 2004). Generally, the two primary dialects can be distinguished by focusing on grammatical variation (e.g., *they are going* in SE becomes *they going* in AAVE) (Edwards, 1999). The current study will use two forms of dialect, SE and AAVE.

The way in which speakers use and structure words and differences in how those words may sound reveal aspects of their social characteristics, including geographic origin, economic status, educational level, or racial group membership (e.g., Cargile, 2000; Fasold, Labov, Vaughn-Cooke, Bailey, Wolfram, Spears, & Rickford, 1987; Thomas & Reaser, 2004). For example, Purnell et. al. (1999) found that even untrained listeners in a research experiment were able to correctly identify the speakers' ethnic group affiliation more times than would be possible due to chance alone. (It is important to note here that while the researchers used the term, "ethnic group affiliation," their experiment investigated differential treatment between prospective tenants who were either African-American or White, thus they were interested in racial rather than ethnic distinctions.) Further, their study revealed that very little speech was needed to be able to discriminate between the dialects of the study participants. By

simply hearing the word, *hello*, listeners correctly identified the speakers' dialect 70% of the time.

In a more recent study (Massey & Lundy, 2001), researchers found additional evidence of listeners' capacity to recognize Black linguistic styles and associate the styles they heard with the speakers' race. Researchers assumed that since accented English is common among African Americans in the United States, listeners (in this case, White rental agents) would have little difficulty making the connection between linguistic style and race and use that information to determine whether they would return a call from a prospective renter or deny housing availability.

Interestingly, other researchers have found that not only are listeners able to accurately identify the race of speakers based on linguistic styles alone (Feagin & Sikes, 1994), they are also able to identify speakers who speak Standard English but use a "Black" pronunciation of certain words (Doss & Gross, 1994). This mixture of dialectic styles is termed, "code-switching." Indeed, the use of code-switching behavior by Blacks suggests that they may concede that aspects of their speech may have an adverse effect on desired outcomes. According to Feagin and Sikes (1994), it is not uncommon for middle class Blacks to intentionally use, or solicit someone else they know to use, a 'White-sounding' voice to get around possible dialect-driven discrimination.

Researchers have also evaluated speakers' vocal cues in relation to perceptions of their individual traits. In one study (Tucker & Lambert, 1975), listeners rated tape-

recorded voices of six groups of speakers then indicated the degree to which they perceived the speakers had already attained or have the potential to attain levels of professional success, and how friendly the speakers were. Unlike the Massey & Lundy (2001) and the Purnell et. al. (1999) studies that used actual speakers of the relevant dialects, Tucker and Lambert (1975) used trained dialectologists who specialized in American speech. Additionally, the dialects they compared were derivations of accented English that emphasized geographic and educational combinations (i.e., College-educated White Southern, College-educated Negro Southern, Network English, Non-educated Southern Negro). In each trial, both Black and White listeners favored the 'educated' dialects over the over the 'non-educated' dialects. The dialect least favored by northern White and southern Negro judges was the Southern Negro dialect; while all Negro judges rated the College-educated White Southern dialect as most favorable. More important, for purposes of the current study, is the finding that the judges were able to distinguish White from Black speakers by listening to the taped recordings of different speakers (Tucker & Lambert, 1975).

In each of the studies described above (Massey & Lundy, 2001; Purnell et. al., 1999; Tucker & Lambert, 1975), the listeners used vocal cues from the speakers to elicit respondents' cognitive categorizations that were believed to correspond to specific groups and types of people. In other words, the listeners were able to call upon "stereotypes" they held about particular speaking styles and make the connection between the styles they heard and the people who were users of these styles. The

Tucker and Lambert (1975) study also made an additional contribution as it demonstrated that perspectives of "favorite" dialect differed from social group to social group, with differences in perspectives likely to be reflective of attitudes that ethnic groups hold towards one another.

While there is sufficient evidence that listeners can, for the most part, differentiate many Blacks and Whites by voice alone, other research also suggests that in certain instances, Blacks can be misidentified. For example, Thomas and Reaser (2004) demonstrated that in situations where speakers' linguistic styles deviated from the 'prototypical' voice characteristics of a specific ethnic group, listeners found it difficult to correctly identify the speaker's race. Unlike intentional code-switching, a Black speakers' convergence with 'White' vernacular may be a function of residence or age, with Blacks from relatively isolated communities and elderly Blacks being misidentified over half the time (cf., Ibid, 2004). For example, Hall (1995: 201-202) found that Black women were more successful at performing a stereotypical 'White persona' over the phone than White women, with one manager acknowledging that "the best White woman we ever had here was Black."

Some social linguistics researchers have taken issue with the integration of language labels with race. According to Sealey and Carter (2004), the "Black English" label implies that all Black people speak with the same dialect, when the reality is that there are exceptions in both directions. There are some Blacks who do not use accented English and some non-Blacks who do. Nevertheless, the consensus among most

listeners and speakers is that "Most Americans are prepared to categorize someone who contacts them by telephone as either Black or non-Black using speech alone as the criterion and most such categorizations are correct…" (cf., Sealey & Carter, 2004: 121).

The prevalence of speech perception experiments can likely be attributed to the increased use of technology as modern-day proxies for face-to-face interaction (e. g., Massey & Lundy, 2001). Nearly one in three companies in the United Kingdom reported that they used telephone interviews as part of their recruitment strategy (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2005). In employee recruiting situations, whereby the first impression employers have of job candidates is often via a telephone conversation, the opportunities for employers to make judgments based on applicants' linguistic styles are greatly increased.

The above discussion leads to the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Applicants who speak SE dialect will be perceived as White.

Hypothesis 1b: Applicants who speak AAVE dialect will be perceived as Black.

Hypothesis 2: Applicants who speak SE dialect will be perceived as White more

frequently than applicants who speak AAVE dialect will

be perceived as White.

2.1.2 Stereotypes and social categorization

Hamilton and Trolier (1986: 133) define a stereotype as "a cognitive structure that contains the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group." This definition encompasses the creation of social categorizations as the basis

for forming such cognitive structures. An important component of social categorization is the perceiver's ability to recognize easily identifiable features of the perceived objects that constitute the basis for effective categorization (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). Cues for categorization in the presence of individuals (e.g., sex, race, age group, weight) are almost immediately obvious (Stangor, 2000). To ascertain other characteristics like occupation or wealth, one may seek cues such as dress, type of car or location of home. According to statistical discrimination theories, as previously discussed, being male may signal future productivity in certain positions. Still other cues may tell something about the racial makeup of individuals, such as accent or speech. A recent study suggests that "a speaker's accent or dialect may trigger ethnic, regional or social recognition" (Carlson & McHenry, 2006).

Research has documented three general reasons for categorizing socially: to obtain information, establish or maintain self-image, and reduce time and complexity (Stangor, 2000). First, social categories provide information about the characteristics of a group's members. When limited information exists, using social categories to gain information may be beneficial; but only if there is a belief that the categorization is accurate. For example, a customer service employee requesting some unplanned time off would likely seek the approval of any line supervisor in the event that she could not reach her own department supervisor. In this case, she would have to believe that all supervisors were knowledgeable about vacation approval procedures. If she had been

incorrect in her assumption that all supervisors were knowledgeable about such procedures, her social categorization would have been of little or no use.

Next, individuals may create social categorizations to fill an inherent need to belong. This is the major tenet of social identity theory which posits that individuals place value on the groups to which they belong, and that being a member of a particular group generally enhances their self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to the theory, group members typically achieve a certain degree of positive group value by comparison to other groups, establishing *in-groups* versus *out-groups* (Blascovich, Wyer, Swart, & Kibler, 1997).

Of particular interest for this study is the notion that racially prejudiced individuals, in securing their group identity, should be careful to correctly categorize persons in their in-group (Blascovich, et. al., 1997). This suggests that it is highly possible for individuals to mistakenly include others whom they only *perceive* to be members of their in-group based on certain characteristics. This is corroborated by Allport (1958) who suggested that there are anthropological *grades* of recognizability among racial/ethnic groups, from pantiacritic whereby every group member is recognizable, to mesodiacritic, in which 30 to 80% are recognizable, to microdiacritic whereby less than 30% of group members are recognizable. Using this classification scheme, Jews would be considered as mesodiacritic since its group members are 30 to 80% recognizable compared to most Blacks who would be considered, macrodiacritic since 80% or more of its members are recognizable (Allport, 1958).

Arvey (1979) explains that because interviews are generally subjective in nature, decisions based on the use of interviews tend to be influenced by stereotypes. Once group membership in a particular group is established (e.g., race, sex, age), evaluators will ascribe certain trait characteristics to the individual according to those they associate with the larger class of the group. In the absence of face-to-face interaction, an important way to establish (perceive) membership in a group is via vocal cues such as accent and dialect. Thus, the association between the detection of race and interviewer bias would not be a direct one but would be indirect based on stereotypic assumptions of the group.

As proposed earlier, in the absence of visual evidence, employers are unlikely to detect the race of Black candidates who may 'sound White' during the telephone interview. As a result, a White employer may invite a Black candidate to a face-to-face interview on the basis that he or she believed the candidate to be a member of his or her racial in-group. Only when they met face-to-face would the employer discover that his or her presumption was incorrect. The employer then may allow the contradiction between perception and reality to negatively influence his or her evaluation of the candidate as a potential employee or ignore the contradiction altogether and focus on the candidate's qualifications level and potential to perform the job in question. In fact, research has found that in light of new information that does not fit a particular stereotype; the perceiver may ignore the apparent contradiction, rationalize its

occurrence, or revise the list of traits on which the stereotype was based (Allport, 2000; Linville, Salovey, & Fischer, 1986).

Finally, social categorizations are used when there is neither sufficient time nor the desire to investigate more thoroughly. The use of social categorizations to cognitively order and retrieve information about events, objects, or people is well-documented in social psychology literature (e.g., Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Stangor, 2000; Tajfel & Forgas, 2000). In their purest form, social categorizations play an important role in helping to prevent cognitive overload by grouping the information received about individuals (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986). However, the danger of using such categorizations to make judgments is that they are frequently inaccurate and are not applicable to all the members of the group as a whole.

Thomas and Reaser (2004) noted that there are certain 'prototypical' features of African-American voices that enable listeners, both Black and White, to associate African-American's race with their speech. The implication is that individuals access classification schemata based on their prior experiences with ethnic group members that allow them to develop this ability. These schemata may include "non-standard" dialects believed to be associated with a certain ethnic group (e.g., Blacks saying *dis'* instead of *disparage*). And though sociolinguistic researchers have not reached consensus on the specific criteria listeners use to classify voices, the research suggest that these criteria could be based on stereotypes and bias against Blacks (e.g., Edwards, 1999; Purnell et. al., 1999). Regarding the evaluation of Ebonics as a "non-standard" language, Weldon

(2000: 276) stated, "…We know that the prejudices that people have against certain dialects and the prestige value that they assign to others are really about the speakers themselves and not the languages they speak." Other research has corroborated the posited relationship between speech and social perceptions, with lower-class and minority speakers typically perceived as less competent, less intelligent, and less ambitious. Therefore,

> *Hypothesis 3: Interviewers will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower on employment selection outcomes than applicants who speak SE dialect such that:*
>
> *3a: Interviewers will be less likely to recommend a subsequent interview for applicants who speak AAVE dialect compared to applicants who speak SE dialect.*
>
> *3b: Interviewers will recommend lower starting salaries for applicants who speak AAVE dialect compared to applicants who speak SE dialect.*
>
> *3c: Interviewers will have lower expectations of future potential for applicants who speak AAVE dialect compared to applicants who speak SE dialect.*
>
> *3d: Interviewers will be less likely to recommend hiring applicants who speak AAVE dialect compared to applicants who speak SE dialect.*

The implication of these findings for job seekers (particularly minorities) is fairly evident. Research has found that verbal messages are more positively related to paper credentials in interview situations, with interviewees who use standard dialects evaluated more positively and presumed to be more desirable and competent employees than those who use non-standard dialects (cf., Parton et. al, 2002). Employers who form impressions of job applicants based on stereotypes of group characteristics, such as dialect and other speech styles, are more likely to form negative perceptions of applicant employability.

In this section, research on sociolinguistic cues and stereotype formation has been presented regarding assumptions of employability based on social categorizations. It has proposed that dialect will serve as a proxy for race, in that employers have the ability to detect race simply by hearing an applicant's voice. Research has also suggested that employers will be less likely to act on social stereotypes about race when they are uncertain about the race of the individual.

The next section will present the aversive-racism framework as developed by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986). It will define aversive racism and discuss its antecedents. It will also discuss the potential consequences of racial aversion for employment selection decisions and propose what is expected to occur when aversive racist employers are confronted with contradictions of values and affect.

2.2 The Aversive-Racism Framework

Research suggests that while most people have knowledge of racial stereotypes (e.g., Blacks are athletic, Mexicans are lazy, the Irish drink too much), not everyone has personal beliefs that are congruent with those stereotypes. Consequently, not everyone will act upon those stereotypes (Devine & Elliott, 2000; Stangor, 2000); knowledge of stereotypes does not necessarily lead to prejudice and discrimination.

As distinguished in psychological literature, stereotypes involve thoughts and beliefs about a particular group or groups, while prejudice goes further and includes an emotional component (Stangor, 2000). Prejudice may include negative feelings, including discomfort, extreme dislike, or even hate. Allport (2000: 22) defined prejudice succinctly as, "thinking ill of others without sufficient warrant." When racial prejudice is applied to specific groups, it is referred to as racism (Stangor, 2000). Bonilla-Silva (2001: 22) conceptualized these relationships in a more straightforward manner according to the prevailing framework in the social sciences. He suggested that prejudice is an *attitude* toward races, racism is a *belief* about races, and discrimination is an *action* against races. For example, using this framework, fearing Black men as dangerous would be a prejudice, believing that Black men are criminals would be racist, and beating a Black man would constitute discrimination. Beliefs and attitudes surrounding race are often confounded with ethnicity, culture and social class (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it clear to employers that using characteristics such as race, color sex, national origin, or religion to make hiring decisions was both illegal and punishable (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1997). Federal legislation has made hiring discrimination a very costly endeavor for employers. However, evidence suggests that the nature of Title VII litigation has changed since it was enacted over 40 years ago, shifting from employee hiring cases to employee discharge cases. The following is a potential explanation of why this has been so.

Donohue III and Siegelman (1991) speculate that there are several factors employers will weigh when considering whether to hire employees in 'protected' categories. First are anticipated employer benefits. Any increase in manpower is presumably a realization of additional output for employers. Next are the employers' anticipated costs of hiring. Of course, wages are one of the initial costs employers must bear. Additionally, in the event that the employers have any animus towards women or minorities, they must also bear the psychological costs of associating with the employee. Absent any laws prohibiting discriminating against women and minorities, employers will make the decision to hire by comparing the ratio of anticipated benefits to total anticipated costs. If the benefits outweigh the costs, employers will decide to hire. When employers must abide by anti-discriminatory laws, employers must also add to their list of anticipated costs the costs of rejecting the applicant (e.g., damages awarded in potential litigation).

Donohue III and Siegelman (1991) further reason that employers must consider increases to anticipated hiring costs when they hire women and minorities since some probability exists that the employee will be fired and will file a lawsuit. They argue that since the likelihood of being sued for firing a protected employee is 30 times greater than the likelihood of being sued for failing to hire a protected applicant, this represents a cost savings for employers. From the employers' point of view, women and minorities who are never hired are in no position to bring about future legal action. Prospective employees are less likely to have or gain access to evidence of an organization's hiring standards and are less financially and emotionally vested than if they were already employed by the organization (Goldman, Gutek, Stein, & Lewis, 2006). The result is a reduction in failure to hire litigation and a rise in discharge litigation that has occurred in the last decade (Donohue III & Siegelman, 1991). Such reduction in the number of failure to hire litigation under Title VII has led many to believe that discrimination is a thing of the past (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). In fact when Whites were asked, in a 1991 National Opinion Research Survey, why Blacks have worse jobs than Whites, 56% responded that it was not due to discrimination (cf., Feagin & Sikes, 1994).

Civil Rights legislation has had other consequences, perhaps not anticipated in its writing. While legislation has increased employers' awareness of the actions that may perhaps bring about civil actions, it has also resulted in awareness by employers of the actions that are also *less likely to result* in civil actions. In other words, it is possible

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that many employers have discovered how to successfully negotiate around getting 'caught in the discrimination trap.'

2.2.1 Aversive racist behavior

Kovel (1970) coined the term, "aversive racism," to describe the apparent inconsistencies between the attitudes of many White Americans who reported that they were non-prejudiced and the persistence of racial discrimination in the United States. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), in their attempt to answer the question of "who is really prejudiced," proposed that the source of aversive racist behavior lay in individuals' purported values and racial attitudes. Accordingly, many individuals who are aversive racists will espouse and support egalitarian views, that all people are equal and should be treated equally. However, these same individuals will unconsciously harbor negative attitudes against Blacks. This, according to researchers (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), has made it relatively easy for aversive racists to oppose programs designed to improve opportunities for minorities without having to expose their negative feelings.

Bonilla-Silva (2003) refers to this phenomenon as the "abstract liberalism" frame whereby people operate under the ideals associated with equal opportunity and a belief that force should not be used to advance social policy. Using this frame, for example, Black parents seeking equal education for their children would not bus their children to White schools. Bonilla-Silva (2003) goes on to suggest that some Whites today invoke the same "equal opportunity" they once used to strongly oppose

Affirmative Action programs on the basis that such programs resulted in preferential treatment of certain groups. Though this ignores the fact that Blacks and other people of color are severely underrepresented in most good jobs and schools, this satisfies the aversive racist's desire to rationalize in the name of equality. Rationalizing in the name of meritocracy is another form of abstract liberalism which advances the ideals of merit as a proxy for equality.

Person-organization fit has also been posited as a means of rationalizing modern racist behavior. Brief et al (1997) argued that executives' use of terms such as "style," "values," "attitudes," and "belief systems" made it easier to justify not hiring minority candidates on the basis of criteria that, on the face, seemed to be non race-related. The researchers offered that the stereotype of Blacks being lazy could be translated into and accepted as a Black candidate not being enough of a self-starter to fit in. According to Brief et al (1997), this kind of "fit" ideology may send a dangerous signal to subordinates in management positions that using factors such as race are legitimate criteria on which to base selection decisions. And since judgments are based on fit, as opposed to race, modern racists can maintain their self-image that they are non-prejudiced and egalitarian.

Another source of aversion stems from an individual's negative attitudes toward a particular group. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000) argued that the conflict between expressed egalitarian values and repressed negative attitudes about Blacks (for example) is what drives the aversion in the contradictory behavior of

aversive racists. They hypothesized that "because most Whites want to see themselves as fair, just, and egalitarian, they will not directly express their prejudice against Blacks" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986: 80). According to Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), these negative attitudes are neither the result of hate nor hostility for Blacks (as is the case for "old-fashioned" racists). Rather, the negative feelings toward Blacks are a result of individuals' uneasiness, discomfort, or even fear.

Several theories have attempted to explain the probable causes and major perpetrators of such negative affect. Among the causes are affective connotations of Blackness and Whiteness (White being good; Black being bad) (Shah, 1999); normal categorizations of people into ingroups and outgroup members (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005); need for self-esteem (Allport, 1954); attraction to people with similar beliefs (Rokeach, 1968); internal colonialism (Cohn, 1982); or White privilege (Sue, 2004).

Regardless of the origin of negative attitudes towards Blacks, Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) propose that aversive racists will use avoidance rather than intentionally destructive behaviors. As a result, aversive racists will manifest their negative feelings for Blacks in subtle, indirect, and rationalized ways (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). For instance, individuals who score low on self-reported measures of racial prejudice tend to promote stronger egalitarian and liberal positions on racial equality compared to individuals who score high on racial prejudice measures (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Aversive racists' adherence to egalitarian values will overshadow their negative attitudes, preventing them from overtly discriminating against Blacks (Gaertner &

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Dovidio, 1986; 2005; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Rather, the type of discrimination that will take place is subtle and often unrecognizable.

Empirical tests have found evidence of aversive racists typically scoring low on measures designed to gauge their degree of individual prejudice. The inference is that while aversive racists may <u>report</u> egalitarian values, they may not always <u>act</u> on those values under certain conditions just described. This represents the aversion aspect of aversive racism, which has been found to lead to subtle and indirect forms of discrimination.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) outlined the conditions under which subtle forms of discrimination will likely be exhibited. Aversive racists are very concerned about how they are perceived by others and about preserving their egalitarian self images particularly if the fear of behaving inappropriately in interracial contexts is a salient one for them.   Consequently, they will be careful to behave in appropriate ways and those that support the normative guidelines of a particular situation. "In situations in which norms for appropriate behavior are clear and unambiguous, Blacks would not be treated less favorably than would Whites since wrongdoing would be obvious and would more clearly challenge the non-prejudiced self-image" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986: 66). For instance, if a Black person requires assistance and helping is clearly expected, the aversive racist will be more likely to provide assistance. Additionally, the presence or absence of witnesses to expected behaviors are important factors for predicting when subtle discrimination will occur. Finally, as discussed earlier, subtle discrimination may

occur when executives' concerns about Blacks "fitting" into an organization are interpreted by managers as a directive to treat minorities differently (Brief et al, 1997; 2000). The differential treatment, then, would not be based on race, but rather the lack of perceived fit.

In summary, subtle forms of discrimination will tend to occur in circumstances where 1) social norms for appropriate behavior are either vague or non-existent and 2) the discriminatory behavior can be justified or rationalized on the basis of factors other than race. Under these conditions, aversive racists may engage in discriminatory behavior while maintaining their liberal, non-prejudiced self-image (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). When evaluating interview candidates, this may be manifested in the form of different outcomes for individuals who speak AAVE dialect compared to those who speak SE dialect. Therefore, it is proposed that:

> *Hypothesis 4: There will be an interaction between dialect and the report of "modern" racist attitudes in predicting employment selection outcomes, such that interviewers who report stronger racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect. Interviewers who report weaker racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect similarly as applicants who speak SE dialect.*

Unlike prior studies that have investigated effects of aversive racism on employment selection outcomes (i.e., Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000 measured the study

participants' responses on whether or not participants would recommend a candidate for a position, and if, so how strongly they would recommend a candidate for a position), this study will test a broader spectrum of employment selection outcomes that better represent what judgments employers may make about applicants during interviews. For example, employers may interview to fill a developmental position with the expectation that in the future the person they hire will be able to fill a management-level position. This suggests that what employers anticipate will happen <u>after</u> hiring may have an important impact on who will be selected. Subsequently, employers' aversion may reflect future as well as present applicant capabilities.

2.2.2 "The benefit of the doubt" argument

Researchers have empirically explored the apparent contradiction between expressed values and demonstrated behaviors in the contexts of helping (Gaertner, 1973), college admissions (Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002), legal decisions (Hodson, Hooper, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2005), and employment decisions (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). In these studies, ambiguity of evaluation criteria was established using differing levels of applicable criteria (e.g., college admission examination scores, judicial evidence, qualifications), with less clear criteria predicted to spur the aversive behaviors. In addition, measures were taken to gauge the participants' level of racial attitudes (low-prejudice; high-prejudice).

According to the aversive-racism framework, subtle forms of discrimination are most likely to occur in situations where the evaluation criteria are less straightforward

and justifiable using factors other than race (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986).   In one study (Hodson, et. al., 2005), ambiguity was established using admissible versus inadmissible evidence. Participants assigned to the inadmissible evidence condition were advised to ignore the information that had been ruled inadmissible by the judge. The method in which the evidence was omitted from the transcript made it legible so that participants who deliberately chose to read it could do so. The results of the study supported the aversive-racism framework. When the evidence was inadmissible, participants rated Black defendants as guiltier, recommended longer sentences, and perceived the likelihood of re-offending to be significantly higher compared to White defendants.

In another study (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000), the vagueness of evaluation criteria was manipulated using three levels of candidate qualifications: clearly strong, clearly weak, and ambiguous. Participants were asked to evaluate the candidates' employment potential based on the qualifications listed on their resumes. Candidate race was manipulated with a question asking about the visual impression participants had formed of the candidate by evaluating his or her qualifications. The study found evidence of subtle bias in the racial makeup of candidates recommended for employment. White participants discriminated against Black applicants compared to White applicants when resumes demonstrated moderate qualifications for the position.

The findings from each of these studies suggest that Whites who are being evaluated may be given the benefit of the doubt when their qualifications (or evidence against them) are vague compared to Blacks in the same condition (Dovidio &

Gaertner, 2000; Hodson et. al., 2002). Additionally, these findings highlight the importance of ambiguity in evaluation criteria and the existence of justification not attributable to race in decision making for perpetuating aversive racist behaviors. Such behaviors are more likely to occur when individuals have no norms for guiding their behavior. Thus, the previously hypothesized interaction between dialect and racist attitudes is qualified via higher-order interactions of behavioral norms and qualifications level as follows:

> *Hypothesis 5: There will be a three-way interaction between racist attitudes, dialect, and qualifications level in predicting selection outcomes, such that:*
>
> *5a: Interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect as low as applicants who speak SE dialect when qualifications are weak and will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect as high as applicants who speak SE dialect when qualifications are strong. When qualifications are ambiguous, however, interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect.*
>
> *5b: Interviewers who report strong racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who*

speak SE dialect when qualifications are weak, ambiguous, and strong.

Hypothesis 6: *There will be a three-way interaction between racist attitudes, dialect, and behavioral norms in the form of EEO guidelines, such that:*

6a: Interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect only when guidelines do not exist. When guidelines exist, interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect similarly to applicants who speak SE dialect.

6b: Interviewers who report strong racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect when guidelines exist and when guidelines do not exist.

2.2.3 Summary

The previous section has presented the aversive-racism framework as developed by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986). Essentially, aversive racists openly express values of equality and racial justice. However, negative attitudes that they may have against Blacks and other people of color may conflict with their egalitarian views when there are no guidelines for acceptable behavior, if they are presented with options where there

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is no clear wrong or right, or when they can rationalize judgments using factors other than race.

Prior research has investigated the aversive-racism framework in hiring decisions (e.g., Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). However, this research has considered a dichotomous recommend/not recommend decision as the outcome and did not consider a broader range of potential employment selection outcomes. Additionally, the manipulation of race was direct, using entries on the resumes that clearly identified the ethnicity of the candidates. This study employed a non-direct method of detecting race using sociolinguistic cues and experimentally tested the aversive-racism framework on four employment selection outcomes.

Table 2.1 Summary of Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1a: Applicants who speak SE dialect will be perceived as White.

Hypothesis 1b: Applicants who speak AAVE dialect will be perceived as Black.

Hypothesis 2:   Applicants who speak SE dialect will be perceived as White more frequently than applicants who speak AAVE dialect will be perceived as White.

Hypothesis 3:   Interviewers will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower on employment selection outcomes than applicants who speak SE dialect such that:

Hypothesis 3a: Interviewers will be less likely to recommend a subsequent interview for applicants who speak SE dialect compared to applicants who speak AAVE dialect.

Hypothesis 3b: Interviewers will recommend lower starting salaries for applicants who speak SE dialect compared to applicants who speak AAVE dialect.

Hypothesis 3c: Interviewers will have lower expectations of future potential for applicants who speak SE dialect compared to applicants who speak AAVE dialect.

Hypothesis 3d: Interviewers will be less likely to recommend hiring applicants who speak SE dialect compared to applicants who speak AAVE dialect.

Hypothesis 4:   There will be an interaction between dialect and the report of "modern" racist attitudes in predicting employment selection outcomes such that interviewers who report stronger racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect. Interviewers who report weaker racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect similarly as applicants who speak SE dialect.

Hypothesis 5:	There will be a three-way interaction between racist attitudes, dialect, and qualifications level in predicting selection outcomes such that:
Hypothesis 5a:	Interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect as low as applicants who speak SE dialect when qualifications are weak and will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect as high as applicants who speak SE dialect when qualifications are strong. When qualifications are ambiguous, however, interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect.
Hypothesis 5b:	Interviewers who report strong racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect when qualifications are weak, ambiguous, or strong.
Hypothesis 6:	There will be a three-way interaction between racist attitudes, dialect, and behavioral norms in the form of EEO guidelines, such that:
Hypothesis 6a:	Interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect only when guidelines do not exist. When guidelines exist, interviewers who report weak racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect similarly to applicants who speak SE dialect.
Hypothesis 6b:	Interviewers who report strong racist attitudes will rate applicants who speak AAVE dialect lower than applicants who speak SE dialect when guidelines exist and when they do not exist.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

3.1 Experimental Design

This study investigated the relationships between applicant dialect, perceived race, and employment selection outcomes in an exploration of the aversive racism framework. A between-groups 2 (Standard English, African American Vernacular English Dialect) x 2 (Norms Exist, No Norms Exist) x 3 (Clearly Weak, Clearly Strong, Neither Clearly Weak nor Clearly Strong Qualifications) factorial design was used to answer the research questions. Participants were randomly assigned to one of 12 experimental conditions and their responses captured on four dependent variables. Participants were exposed to one of two auditory stimuli, a speaker who used AAVE dialect and a speaker who used SE dialect. Since SE dialect is widely considered mainstream in sociolinguistics literature, the SE dialect was the vocal stimulus with which the AAVE dialect was compared. Data were collected during a total of 65 half hour experimental sessions conducted over a four week time frame. Each session consisted of one to five participants with dialect randomly assigned across experimental sessions. Each experimental treatment contained between 15 and 25 observations per cell.

The following sections describe the study participants, the experimental procedure, the manipulations, and the measures.

3.2 Study Participants

Participants (n = 198) were students who were enrolled in an upper-level undergraduate organizational behavior, human resource management, or basic management course at a university. Individual instructors determined whether students who participated in the experiment received credit for fulfilling their research requirement and/or received extra credit for a course assignment. As an additional incentive, participants were entered into a drawing for a chance to win an iPod shuffle.

Demographic data on participant age, sex, race, organization level (e.g., management, non-management, top executive), and citizenship were collected and used as control variables. The mean age of the participants was 23 years (SD = 4.7). Fifty-one percent of the subjects were female. The racial composition of the sample was as follows: 41% Caucasian (not of Hispanic origin), 17% African-American, 20% Hispanic or Latino, 18% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 4% Other. The majority (74%) of participants worked at least part-time with an average of five years total work experience. Eighty-nine percent of participants were U.S. citizens.

3.3 Laboratory Procedures

To increase the potential for participants to respond in a more candid fashion, the experimenter was a White (non-Hispanic) male doctoral student. All of the interactions with the participants were with the experimenter until at which time, the researcher (a Black female) entered the room to conduct the debriefing.

Data were collected in a laboratory procedure consisting of three parts. In part one, participants arrived at the behavioral lab in groups of one to five. After collecting the informed consent forms, the experimenter escorted the students into the main room where he explained that the purpose of the study was to evaluate job candidates for the Academic Counselor position. Participants were told that since the Academic Counselor worked closely with students, they would be in a good position to perform this type of evaluation.

In part two, participants were escorted to individual rooms where they were given an envelope containing instructions for reviewing job candidate qualifications, the Academic Counselor job description, and the candidate profile. Some participants also received information about EEO guidelines (See Appendix B). This constituted the manipulation of behavioral norms. The Academic Coordinator job description was adapted from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U.S. Department of Labor, 2006). Participants were instructed to make any notes as needed in order to conduct a more thorough evaluation of the candidate.

After they completed the review of candidate qualifications and either been exposed or not exposed to the behavioral norms, subjects listened to one of two five-second .*wav* files that contained the vocal stimulus. Due to technical limitations, all participants in the same session listened to the same vocal stimulus, either SE or AAVE. The experimenter instructed the participants to click on the computer file and listen only once to a brief portion of the candidate's greeting. The experimenter explained that the

portion of the greeting the subjects would hear was short due to privacy concerns that prevented the recording of the applicant's interview to be shared in its entirety. After listening to the vocal stimulus, subjects were instructed to evaluate the candidate by completing the survey containing the dependent measures (See Appendix C).

In part three, participants reconvened as a group in the main room where they were instructed to complete the job and demographic portion of the questionnaire. Subjects also answered questions designed to gauge their existing knowledge of EEO and fair employment legislation. After completing the survey, subjects were told that the evaluation was over, instructed to place all of their evaluation materials inside the envelope, and thanked for their participation.

To minimize priming of subjects, participants completed the racial attitudes measure only after they were advised that the evaluation was over. They were then debriefed, allowed to enter the drawing for the iPod, thanked for their participation, and excused from the experiment.

3.4 Manipulations

3.4.1 Dialect

For the dialect manipulation, each participant listened to a 5-second recording of the female 'actor' saying, "Hello, I'm calling to interview for the Academic Counselor position." Females were used to minimize potential confounds related to social stereotypes of Black males (e. g., Bonilla-Silva, 2001).

3.4.2 Qualifications and behavioral norms

A key hypothesis of the aversive-racism framework (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) is that differential judgments would be made for candidates in situations where qualifications were neither weak nor strong. Qualification level for this study was manipulated using the candidate profile (resume). In the weak qualifications condition, the profile included information about degree and past work experience that were irrelevant to the Academic Counselor position as indicated on the job description as well as a low GPA. In the ambiguous qualifications condition, the profile included a master's degree in progress in a relevant area of study, a low GPA, and past work experience that reflected one relevant past position and more recent positions that were irrelevant to the Academic Counselor position. In the strong qualifications condition, the profile included completion of a master's degree consistent with the position, a very high GPA, and past work experience that showed a series of jobs in the academic counseling profession (Appendix B). For the behavioral norms manipulation, a one-page sheet of EEO guidelines was included in the candidate evaluation materials to establish the "norm" condition. These guidelines were not included in the "no norm" condition.

3.5 Measures

3.5.1 Racist attitudes

Aversive racist behaviors are characterized by the inconsistency between self-reports of racial attitudes and actual behaviors. Thus, aversive racist behaviors are

inferred rather than measured directly. Accordingly, in this study, racial attitudes were operationalized using scores of "modern" racial prejudice and measured with seven items from McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism (MR) Scale. The scale items were originally developed as "valid, nonreactive measures of anti-Black prejudice" during the post-Civil Rights era in the U.S. when Whites were more likely to report answers that were socially acceptable as opposed to answers that represented their genuine attitudes towards Blacks (McConahay, 1986: 97). Though previous surveys that measured "old fashioned" racial prejudice had a great deal of face validity, they elicited a certain degree of reactivity from survey participants which created the potential to fake their responses. In previous studies testing the relative reactivity of items on the Modern Racism Scale, researchers found that subjects did not perceive the scale items as revealing possible negative attitudes towards Blacks (see McConahay, 1986 for details of the experiments). For that reason, the Modern Racism Scale is widely used in studies exploring racial bias (e.g., Brief et al, 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981; Segrest Purkiss et al, 2006).

The MR scale was administered to some participants prior to the laboratory session to fulfill their research requirement or to receive extra credit points in their classes. Others completed the scale at the end of the laboratory session. Participants responded to a 7-point Likert-type scale (7=*Strongly agree* and 1 = *Strongly disagree*) indicating their agreement with questions such as, "Discrimination is no longer a problem in America," "It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America,"

and "Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically better than they deserve." Higher scores indicated greater levels of modern prejudice. (See Appendix A for the complete list of items.) The MR scale (McConahay, 1986) items were embedded in other measures to minimize reactivity to questions about race. Cronbach's alpha was .85.

3.5.2 Manipulation check questions

To evaluate the success of the experimental manipulations, I tested whether the manipulations of dialect, qualifications, and behavioral norms had the intended effect. To assess whether dialect had the intended effect on the underlying state of perceived race, participants indicated their perceptions of the age; race (1 = *Caucasian*; 2 = *African-American*; 3 = *Hispanic/Latino(a)*; 4 = *Native American*; 5 = *Asian/Pacific Islander*; 6 = *Other*); and gender (1 = *Male*; 2 = *Female*) of the candidate whose qualifications they evaluated. A successful manipulation would result in participants being able to classify speakers of AAVE as Black and speakers of SE as White.

To assess whether participants could accurately distinguish whether the qualifications levels differed, participants responded from 1 (*To a great degree*) to 7 (*Not at all*) to the following two questions, "To what degree was the candidate's educational background (GPA and degree awarded) relevant for Academic Counseling?" and "To what degree did the candidate's work experience show a focus on Academic Counseling as a career?" Coefficient alpha for this scale was .90. To assess whether participants could determine whether or not they received guidelines for

reviewing candidate qualifications, participants responded, "Yes" or "No," to the question, "Were you provided with written Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) guidelines?"

3.5.3 Dependent measures

Items used to measure the dependent variables in this study were patterned after those used in research conducted by Segrest Purkiss et al (2006). *Likelihood of selection for subsequent interview* was measured with three items coded 1 through 7 (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 7 = (*Strongly agree*). Participants indicated their agreement or disagreement with the following questions: "I would probably NOT recommend the candidate for a second interview" (reverse-scored); "It is likely that I would recommend a second interview for this candidate;" and "I plan to recommend this candidate for a second interview." Higher scores indicate a stronger decision to recommend the candidate for a subsequent interview. Cronbach's α for this scale was .94.

Recommendation for hire was assessed using three items. Participants were asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement on a scale of 1= *Strongly Disagree* to 7 = *Strongly Agree* to the following questions: "It is likely that I would recommend hiring this candidate for the position," "I would probably NOT recommend this candidate to be hired for the position" (reverse-scored), and "I would recommend hiring this candidate for the position." (Note: Participants were instructed to consider that the job candidate HAS been selected to receive a second interview when answering this set of questions.) Cronbach's α for this scale was .95.

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Proposed starting salary was measured using two items on the survey. Participants indicated their agreement or disagreement to "I would probably recommend a low starting salary for this candidate" (reverse-scored), and "I would recommend a high starting salary for this candidate." Cronbach's α was .82.

Expectation of future potential was measured using two items on the survey. Participants were instructed to indicate their agreement or disagreement to, "I believe this candidate has potential for achieving higher level positions," and "I would recommend this candidate for promotions to higher level positions." Cronbach's α was .77.

<div align="center">3.6 Construction of Manipulation Variables</div>

3.6.1 Qualifications and norms

A week of piloting was undertaken with undergraduate students (n = 49) to develop materials that reflected three levels of the qualifications variable. Responses on the manipulation check questions indicated problems with the "ambiguous" condition as students provided similar ratings for the ambiguously qualified candidate as they had for the strongly qualified candidate. Participants were taken through the experimental procedure as designed, then once the debriefing ended, the researcher asked members of the experimental groups 1) to rank the resumes in order of qualifications strength, and 2) how they would change the resumes so that there was a clear delineation between the three qualifications levels. They advised that because the "strong" and "ambiguous" candidates possessed master's degrees, they perceived them both to be strongly

qualified regardless of the differences in GPA listed on the resumes. As a result, the "ambiguous" resume was changed to reflect a master's degree in progress while the "strong" resume included completion of the master's degree. Student responses on the behavioral norms manipulation check led to a revision that included a separate and detailed page of EEO guidelines.

3.6.2 Dialectical stimulus

Speakers for this study were 'auditioned' from a group of female faculty at a local high school. Fourteen faculty members volunteered to tape record the same phrase, "Hello I'm calling to interview for the Academic Counselor position," using their natural speaking voices. They were also not made privy to the objective of the study. Four females were selected for use based on the researcher's ability to discern speaker race, AAVE or SE, from dialect.

Untrained "judges" (n = 6) from the Management department faculty, staff, and doctoral students served as evaluators of speaker dialect-perceived race. Past research has found that even untrained people can accurately detect a person's race by hearing his or her voice alone (Purnell et al., 1999). Every attempt was made to ensure the judges were not intimately connected to the current study. Each judge listened to each of the four voices: one whose actual race was White and spoke with an SE dialect, one whose actual race was White and spoke with an AAVE dialect; one whose actual race was Black and spoke with an SE dialect; and one whose actual race was Black and spoke with an AAVE dialect. Judges were requested to indicate whether they perceived

the race of the speakers to be Black, White, or unknown and whether the speakers were male or female. All of the judges perceived the speaker whose actual race was White and spoke with an AAVE dialect as Black. Thus, her voice was chosen as the AAVE vocal stimulus for the study. Eighty-three percent of the judges perceived the speaker whose actual race was White and spoke with an SE dialect as White therefore her voice was chosen as the SE vocal stimulus. Since the overall objective of the vocal stimuli was to capture perceived race from voice, it was not required that the speakers represent their actual races.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

This chapter provides an overview of the data analyzed in this study including descriptive statistics and correlations among the study variables. Following, the success of the experimental manipulations is discussed. Next, the hypotheses developed in Chapter 2 are analyzed using logistic regression and moderated multiple regression (MMR). Finally, a summary of the results is provided.

4.1 Overview of Data

Correlations among the manipulated variables of dialect, behavioral norms, and the outcome variables are presented in Table 4.1. A visual inspection of the table indicates main effects of dialect and qualifications level on the outcomes. The table also provides preliminary support for the existence of the hypothesized relationships between dialect and employment selection outcomes. Speaking with an AAVE dialect is significantly and negatively related to receiving a followup interview ($r = -.33$, $p < .01$); being recommended to receive a high starting salary ($r = -.24$, $p < .01$); expectations of future potential ($r = -.26$, $p < .01$); and receiving a favorable hiring decision ($r = -.34$, $p < .01$). The indication is that job candidates who speak with an AAVE dialect are less likely to receive favorable judgments from interviewers than those who speak with an SE dialect.

Table 4.1 Correlations among Manipulated and Outcome Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6
Manipulations [a]						
Dialect	1.00					
Behavioral norms	.07	1.00				
Outcome variables						
Followup interview	-.33**	.05	1.00 (.94)			
High starting salary	-.24**	.11	.64*	1.00 (.82)		
Future potential	-.26**	.09	.68**	.80**	1.00 (.77)	
Favorable hiring decision	-.34**	.08	.89**	.75**	.79**	1.00 (.95)

[a]Dialect was coded as follows: AAVE = 1; SE = 0. Behavioral norms
was coded as follows: Norms exist = 1; No Norms exist = 0.
*p <.05, ** p < .01.

The other variable of interest in this study was modern racism as measured by participants' scores on the Modern Racism (MR) scale. Table 4.2 presents the means, standard deviations, and sample sizes for participant responses on the MR scale by participant race. A significant difference was found for participant race on the report of modern racism scores $F(3, 195) = 12.14$, p < .001, partial $\eta^2 = .16$. Based on the results of Tukey's HSD tests, Black participants reported significantly lower racism scores than Whites, Hispanics, and Asian participants. Interestingly, Asian participants reported higher racism scores than White participants although not significantly different. No other differences between the demographic groups were significant.

Table 4.2 Means and Standard Deviations of Modern Racism Scores
by Participant Race

| | Participant Race | | | |
	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Mean	2.8[b]	1.7[a]	2.8[b]	3.2[b]
s.d.	1.09	0.8	1.3	1.0
n	79	34	39	35

Note: Means with different subscripts differ significantly (p < .05)
according to Tukey's test for pairwise comparisons between
means.

4.2 Success of Experimental Manipulations

This study contains three experimental manipulations: dialect, behavioral norms, and qualifications level. In order for the dialect manipulation to be successful, subjects should be more likely to perceive speakers of Standard English (SE) dialect as Caucasian/Not of Hispanic origin and speakers of African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) as African-American. A logistical regression analysis (Table 4.5) revealed that the subjects accurately classified the dialects 89% of the time, χ^2 (1,186) = 125.90, p < .05; *pseudo* R^2 = .492, p < .05. These results indicate that the dialect manipulation was effective. These results also provide support for hypotheses 1a and 1b.

For the behavioral norms manipulation to be effective, participants should be able to accurately indicate whether they received Equal Opportunity Employment (EEO) guidelines when evaluating the candidate. Logistical regression analysis was

used to check the success of the behavioral norms manipulation (Table 4.3). On the response measure indicating receipt of behavioral norms in the form of EEO guidelines, there was only a significant main effect for behavioral norms (β = 4.14, p < .001; pseudo R^2 = .51). Based on the odds ratio, we can say that participants in the behavioral norms condition were 15 times more likely to indicate that they did indeed receive EEO guidelines for use in their evaluation of the candidate. Thus, the behavioral norms manipulation was judged to be effective.

Table 4.3 Success of Behavioral Norms Manipulation

Step	Variables[b]	b	s.e.	Odds Ratio	Pseudo-R2	p	Percent Correct	Improvement
	Dependent variable: Receipt of norms							
Beginning							54.3%	
1	Dialect	-19.26	10377.78	.00		1.00		
	Dummy Qual1 (Strong)	-.31	1.06	.08		.77		
	Dummy Qual 2 (Weak)	-.25	1.06	.06		.81		
	Behavioral Norms	4.14***	1.06	15.23		.00		
	Dialect * Behavioral Norms	18.09	10377.78	.00		1.00		
	Dialect * Dummy Qual 2	18.82	10377.78	.00		1.00		
	Behavioral Norms * Dummy Qual 2	.69	1.66	.17		.68		
	Dialect * Behavioral Norms * Dummy Qual 2	-18.90	10377.78	.00		1.00		
	Dialect * Dummy Qual 1	19.02	10377.78	.00		1.00		
	Behavioral Norms * Dummy Qual 1	-.19	1.51	.02		.90		
	Dialect * Behavioral Norms * Dummy Qual 1	-17.69	10377.78	.00		1.00		
					.51		88.3%	34.0%

[a] 197 cases were used in this analysis.

Finally, for the qualifications manipulation to be effective, participants should be able to distinguish between the candidate's qualification level as weak, strong, or somewhere in between weak and strong (e.g., ambiguous). ANOVA procedures were used to check the success of the qualifications manipulation. On the response measure assessing participant's judgments of qualification level, the only significant effects were those for weak qualifications level $F(1, 198) = 207.40$, p < .001, partial η^2 = .53 and

strong qualifications level $F(1, 198) = 56.90$, p < .001, partial $\eta^2 = 23$. Qualification

level in the strong condition was evaluated to be higher than that in the ambiguous

condition and higher still than that in the weak qualification condition.

Table 4.4 Success of Qualifications Manipulation

Dependent Variable: Qualifications Level

Variable	F	Sig.
Dialect	2.09	.150
Behavioral norms	.18	.669
Dummy Qual1 (Strong)	56.89***	.000
Dummy Qual 2 (Weak)	207.40***	.000
Dialect * Behavioral norms	.38	.538
Dialect * Dummy Qual2	.50	.482
Behavioral norms * Dummy Qual2	2.20	.140
Dialect * Behavioral norms * Dummy Qual2	.70	.404
Dialect * Dummy Qual1	.93	.335
Behavioral norms * Dummy Qual1	2.28	.133
Dialect * Behavioral norms * Dummy Qual1	.14	.709

$R^2 = .724$

Adjusted $R^2 = .707$

4.3 Test of Hypotheses

4.3.1 Hypothesis 1a, 1b, 2 (Dialect and Perceived Race)

Hypothesis 1a proposed that job applicants who spoke Standard English (SE)

dialect would be perceived as White. Similarly, hypothesis 1b predicted that job

applicants who spoke African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) would be

perceived as Black. Logistic regression analysis was chosen as the analytical method

for hypotheses 1a and 1b, that dialect would predict perceived race, since the predicted outcome is a dichotomous one. Additionally, logistic regression is robust for accommodating control variables and for dummy coding of categorical predictors (Hair et al, 1998). Table 4.5 presents the results of the logistic regression analysis. The chi-square statistic for the omnibus test was significant at $p < .05$, indicating that the model with predictors was significantly better than the null (without predictors) model. With the null model, the most accurate prediction of race is to classify both speakers as White. By doing so, race is accurately predicted 61% of the time. With the control variables added, the percent correctly classified is improved to 65%. Finally, when dialect is added to the model, perceived race is accurately predicted 88.7% of the time, an improvement of 27.7% (see Table 4.5).

The Wald test uses a chi-square distribution which shows a significant beta for dialect (5.27, $p < .001$). The statistical significance of the beta indicates that dialect is a unique contributor in predicting perceived race even after controlling for participant sex, citizenship, age, and race. The odds ratio represents the strength of the predictor and the change in odds of the outcome that results from one unit change in the predictor(s) (Hair et al., 1998). In interpreting the odds ratio for these results, we can say that when individuals speak AAVE dialect, they will be 49 times more likely to be classified as Black.

Table 4.5 Results of Logistic Regression Analysis[a]

Step	Variables[b]	b	s.e.	Odds Ratio	Pseudo-R2	p	Percent Correct	Improvement
	Dependent variable: Perceived race							
Beginning							61.0%	
1	Control variables							
	Dummy Org (Non-Mgt vs Mgt)	.41	.37	1.20		.27		
	Dummy Race1 (Black vs White)	-.12	.49	.06		.81		
	Dummy Race 2 (Hispanic vs White)	-.11	.45	.06		.81		
	Dummy Race 3 (Asian vs White)	-.55	.92	.37		.55		
	Dummy Race 4 (Other vs White)	.42	.88	.23		.63		
	Participant Sex (Female vs Male)	-0.77*	.33	5.42		.02		
	Participant age	.03	.03	.63		.43		
	Participant Citizenship (U.S. vs Non U.S.)	1.77*	.80	4.88		.03		
					.08		65.0%	4.0%
2	Control variables							
	Dummy Org (Non-Mgt vs Mgt)	.12	.64	.04		.85		
	Dummy Race1 (Black vs White)	1.07	.91	1.38		.24		
	Dummy Race 2 (Hispanic vs White)	.21	.80	.07		.80		
	Dummy Race 3 (Asian vs White)	.27	1.16	.05		.82		
	Dummy Race 4 (Other vs White)	-1.35	1.14	1.41		.24		
	Participant Sex (Female vs Male)	-1.10	.56	3.91		.05		
	Participant age	.03	.05	.46		.50		
	Participant Citizenship (U.S. vs Non U.S.)	1.55	1.11	1.96		.16		
	Dialect	5.27***	.75	49.47		.00		
	Behavioral Norms	.93	.57	2.71		.10		
	Dummy Qual1 (Strong vs Ambiguous)	.52	.66	.62		.43		
	Dummy Qual2 (Weak vs Ambiguous)	.84	.68	1.53		.22		
	Behavioral Norms * Dialect	-17.67	4494.05	.00		1.00		
	Dialect * Dummy Qual2	21.41	6035.57	.00		1.00		
	Dialect * Dummy Qual1	21.51	5813.04	.00		1.00		
	Behavioral Norms * Dummy Qual2	.08	1.87	.00		.97		
	Behavioral Norms * Dummy Qual1	.72	1.55	.22		.64		
	Behavioral Norms * Dialect * Dummy Qual2	19.12	17275.32	.00		1.00		
	Behavioral Norms * Dialect * Dummy Qual1	20.05	16989.49	.00		1.00		
					.54		88.7%	27.7%

[a] 177 cases were included in this analysis.
[b] The variable was significant predictor in the step in which it was entered.
*p < .01
***p <.001

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An estimate of the percent variance that the predictors (race, sex, age, citizenship, and dialect) account for in perceived race can be obtained by using pseudo r-square. Using the Cox & Snell R-square, 53% of the variance in perceived race can be predicted using the variables in the model. These results clearly suggest that listeners, regardless of race, sex, citizenship and age, can accurately detect race from speaker dialect. Thus the hypotheses, that speakers of AAVE dialect would be perceived as Black and speakers of SE dialect would be perceived as White, were supported.

The number of (miss) classified cases were derived using data from the Classification table (Table 4.6 below). Of the 107 exposures to SE dialect, 15 (14%) were classified as African-American. On the other hand, only five of the 68 (7%) exposures to AAVE dialect were classified as Caucasian, thus supporting the second hypothesis that listeners will misclassify speakers of SE dialect more frequently than they will speakers of AAVE dialect.

Table 4.6 Predictions of Perceived Race using Dialect[a]

			Predicted		
			PERCEIVED RACE		Percentage Correct
	Observed		White	Black	
Step 1	DIALECT	SE	92	15	86.0
		AAVE	5	63	92.6
	Overall Percentage				88.6

a. The cut value is .500

4.3.2 Hypothesis 3a, 3b, 3c, 3d (Main Effect of Dialect)

The third set of hypotheses predicted a main effect of dialect on judgments of job applicants on four employment selection outcomes. Specifically, hypotheses 3a – 3d proposed that interviewers would: 3a) be less likely to recommend applicants who spoke AAVE dialect for a second interview; 3b) recommend lower starting salaries for applicants who spoke AAVE dialect; 3c) have lower expectations of future potential for applicants who spoke AAVE dialect; and 3d) be less likely to recommend hiring applicants who spoke AAVE dialect compared to applicants who spoke SE dialect.

A four-step hierarchical regression analysis was conducted. In the first step, the covariates were entered to control for potential differences in evaluations due to participant organization level, race, sex, age, and citizenship. In the second step, the manipulated and the modern racism variables were entered. In the third step, all two-way interactions were entered. In the fourth step, all three-way interactions were entered. *Note*: the four-way interaction term was entered in a fifth step to determine if it accounted for any significant increase in variance. Table 4.7 presents the results of the regression analyses.

Table 4.7 Results of Hierarchical Regression Analysis

	Employment Selection Dependent Variables											
	Second Interview			High Starting Salary			Future Potential			Recommendation to Hire		
Independent Variables	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2	β	R^2	ΔR^2
Step 1												
Age	-.08			-.14			-.08			-.11		
Sex (Female vs Male)	.83			.06			.10			.07		
Dummy Race (Black vs White)	.01			.00			.02			.05		
Dummy Race (Hispanic vs White)	.12			.17			.10			.14		
Dummy Race (Asian vs White)	-.11			-.05			-.06			-.01		
Dummy Race (Other vs White)	.18			.20			.20			.17		
Citizenship (U.S. vs Non-U.S.)	.01			-.05			-.02			-.05		
Dummy Org (Non-Mgt vs Mgt)	-.08	.04		-.04	.07		-.11	.05		-.10	.06	
Step 2												
Dialect (AAVE vs SE)	-.32***			-.22***			-.24***			-.31***		
Behavioral Norms (Norms vs No Norms)	.06			.12*			.10			.08		
Dummy Qual1 (Strong vs Ambig)	.28***			.40***			.38***			.32***		
Dummy Qual2 (Weak vs Ambig)	-.28***			-.29***			-.24**			-.33***		
Racist attitudes	-.14	.39	0.35***	-.06	.49	0.42***	-.05	.40	0.35***	-.14*	.49	0.43***
Step 3												
Dialect x Norms	.03			.02			.03			.06		
Dialect x Dummy Qual1	.22			.25			.30			.25		
Dialect x Dummy Qual 2	-.03			.27			.25			.11		
Dialect x Racist attitudes	.05			.07			.01			.05		
Dummy Qual1 x Racist attitudes	-.10			-.12			-.13			-.13		
Dummy Qual2 x Racist attitudes	-.40*			-.03			-.17			-.25		
Norms x Racist attitudes	-.17			.13			.08			-.03		
Norms x Dummy Qual1	-.18			-.16			-.12			-.21		
Norms x Dummy Qual2	-.19	.45	0.06*	-.12	.52	.04	-.11	.44	.04	-.23	.54	.05
Step 4												
Dialect x Racist attitudes x Norms	.36			.03			-.04			.22		
Racist attitudes x Dummy Qual1 x Norms	.44			.39			.53			.57		
Racist attitudes x Dummy Qual2 x Norms	.68			.37			.67			.62		
Dialect x Dummy Qual1 x Norms	-.14			.10			.15			.04		
Dialect x Dummy Qual 2 x Norms	.06	.48	.03	.71	.55	.03	.35	.46	.02	.23	.56	.02
Step 5												
Dialect x Racist attitudes x Dummy Qual1 x Norms	-.04			-.17			-.26			-.15		
Dialect x Racist attitudes x Dummy Qual2 x Norms	.16	.48	.00	.08			.09	.47	.01	.04	.57	.00
F(Full model)	5.054***			6.809***			4.934***			7.146***		
df	29			29			29			29		
Adjusted R^2	188			187			188			188		

Note: SE = 0, AAVE = 1; Norms = 1; No Norms = 0; Female = 1; Male = 0; U.S. = 1; Non-U.S. = 0

*p < .05; **p < .01; *** p < .001

As shown in Table 4.7, the first step in the analysis (control variables entered) did not account for any significant change in variance across any of the dependent measures. Step 2 accounted for a significant increase in variance in predicting the likelihood of receiving a second interview ($R^2 = .39$, $p < .001$); a high starting salary ($R^2 = .49$, $p < .001$); future potential ($R^2 = .40$, $p < .001$); and recommendation to hire ($R^2 = .49$, $p < .001$). The analysis revealed a main effect of dialect on receiving a second interview ($\beta = -.32$, $p < .001$); a high starting salary ($\beta = -.22$, $p < .001$); future potential ($\beta = -.24$, $p < .001$); and recommendation to hire ($\beta = -.31$, $p < .001$). Table 4.8 presents the means and standard deviations of employment selection outcomes by dialect. The speaker in the AAVE dialect condition received lower mean ratings than the speaker in the SE dialect condition across all dependent measures.

Table 4.8 Means and Standard Deviations of Employment Selection Outcomes
by Dialect

	Likelihood of interview			High starting salary			Future potential			Hire recommendation		
	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD	n	M	SD
Dialect												
AAVE	87	4.07	1.63	87	6.97	3.00	87	3.76	1.47	87	3.81	1.84
SE	98	5.34	1.90	98	8.42	2.87	98	4.52	1.46	98	5.06	1.70

Though not hypothesized, a main effect of qualifications level on the outcome variables was also found. Based on this analysis, speaking with an AAVE dialect has a negative effect on an individual's likelihood of receiving a second interview, being recommended for a high starting salary, expectations of future potential, and on the ultimate hiring recommendation.

4.3.3 Hypothesis 4 (Interaction of "Modern" Racist Attitudes and Dialect)

Hypotheses 4 proposed that interviewers' modern racist attitudes would moderate the relationship between applicant dialect and interviewer judgments. Specifically, interviewers who hold stronger modern racist attitudes (as exhibited by higher scores) would judge applicants who spoke AAVE dialect lower on employment selection outcomes than they would judge applicants who spoke SE dialect. Step 3 in the analysis (Table 4.7) did not account for any significant increase in variance, providing no evidence of a moderating effect of modern racism on the relationship between applicant dialect and interviewer judgments of applicants. Thus, hypothesis 4 was not supported. Although not hypothesized in the current analysis, a significant (p < .05) *qualifications level x racist attitudes* interaction was found. In order to better understand the nature of this interaction, regression lines were plotted using procedures developed by Aiken and West (1991) and Aguines (2004) (see Figure 4.1).
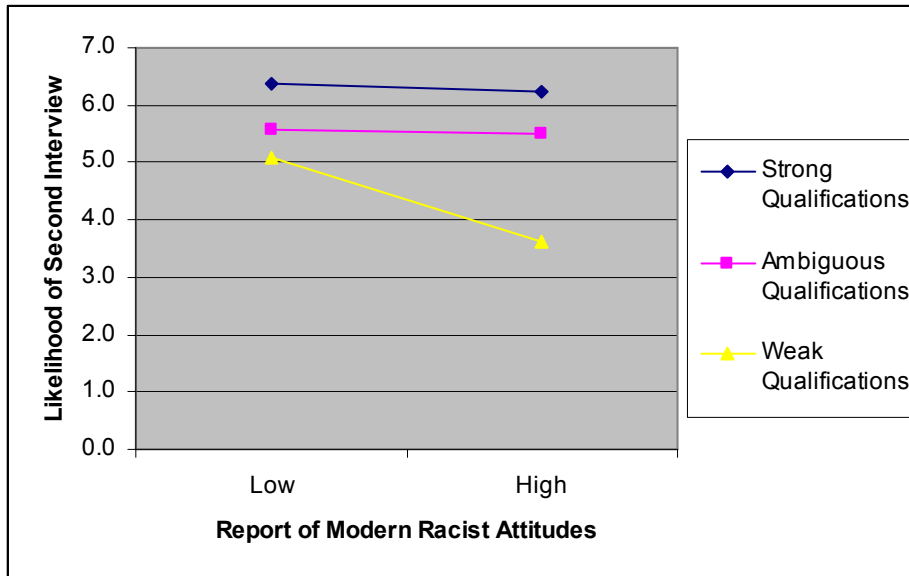
Figure 4.1 Interaction of Modern Racist Attitudes and Qualifications Level
on the Likelihood of Receiving a Second Interview

The figure suggests that modern racist attitudes have very little effect on the likelihood of receiving a second interview when qualifications are either strong or ambiguous. However, the likelihood of receiving a second interview decreases only when qualifications are low and modern racist attitudes are high. When modern racist attitudes are low, the main effect of qualifications level can clearly be seen. Candidates with strong qualifications have a higher likelihood of receiving a second interview than those with ambiguous and weak qualifications.

4.3.4 Hypothesis 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b (Higher-Order Interactions)

Hypotheses 5a and 5b predicted that interviewer racist attitudes, applicant dialect, and the ambiguity of qualifications would interact to predict employment

selection outcomes. None of the beta coefficients reached statistical significance (see Step 4, Table 4.7). Thus, there is no support for a higher-order interaction as predicted in hypotheses 5a and 5b.

Hypotheses 6a and 6b predicted that interviewer racist attitudes, applicant dialect, and behavioral norms would interact to predict employment outcomes. The addition of the interaction terms in Step 4 (Table 4.7) did not account for any incremental variance in predicting the employment selection outcomes ($\Delta R^2 = .03$, $p > .05$). Thus, no support was found for hypotheses 6a and 6b.

4.4 Summary of Results

Table 4.9 presents a summary of results for the hypotheses tested in this study. A discussion of these results will follow in Chapter 5 along with implications, limitations, and suggestions for future research.

Table 4.9 Summary of Results

	Predictor Variable(s)	**Dependent Variable**	**Results**
H1a	SE Dialect	Perceived White	Support
H1b	AAVE Dialect	Perceived Black	Support
H2	Dialect	Perceived Race	Support
H3a	Dialect	Interview	Support
H3b	Dialect	Starting Salary	Support
H3c	Dialect	Future Potential	Support
H3d	Dialect	Hire Decision	Support
H4	Dialect x Racist attitudes	Selection Outcomes	No Support
H5a-b	Dialect x Racist Attitudes x Qualifications	Selection Outcomes	No Support
H6a-b	Dialect x Racist Attitudes x Norms	Selection Outcomes	No Support

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the results of the analytical tests of hypotheses along with practical and theoretical implications. The discussion is organized into two sections according to the primary areas of investigation. The first section will discuss findings and implications related to the effects of sociolinguistic cues on the selection process. In the next section, findings related to the aversive racism framework will be discussed. Finally, there will be a conclusion along with limitations and suggestions for future research.

5.1 Sociolinguistic Cues and Employment Selection

An extensive body of research has found support for the differential treatment of individuals based on characteristics of their voices (i.e., dialect and accent) (e.g., Carlson & McHenry, 2006; Massey & Lundy, 2001; Purnell et al., 1999; Rodriguez et al., 2004; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006). In order for such treatment to be administered, however, listeners must be able to make the connection between the vocal characteristics of speakers and speaker race. This is especially important in telephone interviews where there is no face-to-face interaction. The results of the current study confirm the existence of such a connection and add to this growing body of literature.

The first three hypotheses of the current study posited a direct relationship between speaker dialect and perceived race. Specifically, hypothesis 1a predicted that

speakers who used a Standard English dialect would be perceived as White, and hypothesis 1b predicted that speakers who used an African-American Vernacular English dialect would be perceived as Black. Approximately 89% of subjects in the current study accurately predicted the race of the speakers they heard during the experimental procedure, independent of the listeners' organization level, sex, age, or race. The ability of subjects to detect race from dialect also was not limited to citizens of the U.S. as originally expected. While the majority of existing studies have been conducted in the United States using domestic samples, it was questioned whether the ability to detect race from dialect was limited to U.S. listeners. Results showed that this was not the case. In fact, no substantial difference between U.S. citizens and non-citizens was found between each group's ability to detect race from dialect.

Hypothesis 2 addressed the misperception of race using dialectical cues given off by speakers. While the majority of listeners can accurately perceive one's race based on dialectical cues, it is well documented that at times, these perceptions can be incorrect (e.g., Hall, 1995; Thomas & Reaser, 2004). The current study hypothesized that the error would occur more frequently for speakers of Standard English dialect compared with those who speak African-American Vernacular English dialect. This prediction was supported by the data. Thirteen percent of subjects perceived the speaker of SE dialect as a race other than White, while only 9% of subjects mistook the speaker of AAVE dialect as a race other than Black.

Detecting race from dialect has far reaching implications for employment selection beyond the ability to do so. A race-recognizable dialect can either enhance or diminish a job applicant's opportunity to move forward in the selection process. For instance, though there may be no differences in overall qualification level between candidates who "sound Black" and those who "sound White" over the telephone, those who "sound Black" may be deemed less qualified and therefore less likely to receive a follow-up interview. In this case, job candidates are "screened out" of the process. On the other hand, having a race-recognizable dialect could provide a benefit. For firms seeking to diversify their employee base or enhance their organizational image as a fair employer, job candidates who "sound Black" during telephone interviews may provide employers with unique opportunities to "screen in" candidates with the social background(s) they desire. This explanation is highly unlikely given the significant main effects of speaking with an AAVE dialect on employment outcomes found in this study. In either case, the judgment of employability is based not on job-related criteria but on cues about race.

Hypotheses 3a through 3d proposed that applicant dialect would directly affect the kind of judgments job candidates would receive. Applicants who speak AAVE dialect would be less likely to receive a follow-up interview, would be recommended for lower starting salaries, would have lower expectations of future potential, and would be less likely to receive a favorable hiring decision compared to applicants who speak SE dialect. These predictions were supported by the data. Significant differences were

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found between the ratings of candidates who spoke SE dialect compared to those who spoke AAVE dialect. Participants were asked to rate the 'candidate' on a scale of 1 (low) to 7 (high) on four employment selection outcomes. As Table 4.8 shows, the study participants rated the candidate who spoke SE dialect 5.3 (s.d. 1.9) compared to the candidate who spoke AAVE dialect 4.1 (s.d. 1.6) on the likelihood of receiving a follow-up interview; 8.4 (s.d. 2.9) to 7.0 (s.d. 3.0) on receiving a high starting salary; 4.5 (s.d. 1.5) to 3.8 (s.d. 1.5) on future potential; and 5.1 (s.d. 1.7) to 3.8 (s.d. 1.8) on receiving a favorable hiring decision. These findings are consistent with existing research that has found lower ratings for Blacks on job and career-related outcomes compared with Whites (e.g., Greenhaus et al., 1990). The current study extends this line of research and confirms others that call attention to not only the negative effects of being Black on career-related outcomes, but on being *perceived as Black* through one's speech (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004).

5.2 Aversive Racism Effects

One of the most interesting facets of this study was the application of the aversive-racism framework (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) to the research design. Recall that a central tenet of aversive racism is the inconsistency between what many Whites in the U.S. report are their feelings towards Blacks and other minorities in this country and how they behave under certain conditions. Because of their expressed egalitarian views, aversive racists may engage in discriminatory behavior if they can justify that behavior using criteria that is not related to race. Since this study emphasized *perceived* rather

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than *explicit* race effects, I believed this would be conducive for investigating the conditions under which this "well-intentioned" form of racism would occur (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1981: 209).

Hypotheses 4 proposed that the relationship between the perceived race of job applicants and their judgments would depend on the degree of modern racist attitudes of interviewers. This interaction was not supported by the data throughout any of the outcome variables (see Table 4.7). Problems with the racism measure used in this study could partially explain the lack of findings. In the current study, the Modern Racism (MR) (McConahay, 1986) items were concealed with other items and presented under the guise of a "social attitudes" survey. Though the MR scale is widely used (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1983; Schnake & Ruscher, 1998; Segrest Purkiss et al., 2006; von Hippel, Silver, & Lynch, 2000) as a more non-reactive measure of racial attitudes, scale items may be more transparent to survey participants than desired. Therefore, participants in the current study may have responded to the items on the social attitudes survey in ways they believed were socially desirable. In fact, some research suggests that more implicit measures of racial attitudes may be needed to capture the unconscious nature of modern racism (Migetz, 2004).

Alternatively, there may be a more straightforward explanation. When they introduced the concept of aversive racism, Dovidio and Gartner (1986) characterized college students as highly liberal with egalitarian views. It has been more than a decade since that research was conducted. One might like to believe that college students of

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today are even more liberal and tolerant of others, thus reducing the gap somewhat between expressed and actual racial attitudes. This does not appear to be so given the results of this study. This is an area for future investigation using more appropriate measures of contemporary forms of racism.

Hypotheses 5a, 5b and 6a, 6b proposed that individuals who scored high on modern racism and who encountered candidates who spoke using an AAVE dialect, would rate the candidate lower on employment selection outcomes when qualifications were ambiguous and when behavioral norms were not present. These proposed higher-order interactions between racial attitudes, perceived race, and behavioral norms, and between racial attitudes, perceived race, and qualifications level were not supported by the data. Although statistical analyses did not support this interaction, written comments provided by the participants indicated that speakers of SE dialect were indeed given more of a benefit of the doubt regardless of qualification level. Participants seemed to judge the speaker of SE dialect less harshly than they did the speaker of AAVE dialect in the clearly weak condition. As part of the candidate evaluation, participants were asked to indicate, on a scale of 1 (low) to 7 (high), whether they would hire the candidate they evaluated. They were also asked to write in a reason for their decision on the response measure. The candidate who spoke SE dialect and possessed weak qualifications, as indicated by the resume, received an average rating of 3.8; twenty-five percent of participants in that experimental condition rated this candidate a 6 of 7. Participants who indicated they would hire this candidate

commented that, "She sounded like she knows what she wants," "She sounds intelligent and friendly," and "She sound[ed] extremely eager and dedicated to get the job." On the other hand, the candidate who spoke AAVE and with clearly weak qualifications received an average rating of 2.3; the highest rating was a 5 of 7, given by only one of the participants in this condition.

Though not hypothesized, this study found a significant interaction between modern racist attitudes and qualifications level on the likelihood of receiving a second interview (see Table 4.7). Specifically, candidates with weak qualifications were less likely to receive a second interview especially when evaluators scored higher on modern racism scores. This is an interesting finding that is inconsistent with the aversive racism framework (e.g., Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) that suggests lower judgments of ambiguously qualified candidates when evaluators score lower on modern racism scores. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this interaction between modern racist attitudes and qualifications level is that all weakly qualified candidates regardless of dialect (AAVE or SE) were judged similarly by individuals who scored higher on modern racism. It is possible that some people are simply predisposed to judge others who do not meet certain normative criteria (e.g., weak qualifications, non-dominate group members) lower than those who do. Future research should investigate the role of affect (negative and positive) in the relationship between qualifications, modern racism, and selection outcomes.

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5.3 Limitations

A major limitation in this study is the potential threat to the generalizability of these findings. An inherent disadvantage with experimental designs is the reduced realism that researchers substitute for increased precision over the study variables (Cook & Campbell, 1979). The use of a student sample may also lead some to question whether these results would hold in the broader population. Brief et al. (2000: 92) noted that although the external validity of such studies might be questionable, these methods support the theoretical explanations for how job candidates may be treated in the "real world." Moreover, nearly three-quarters of students who participated in this study currently worked either full- or part-time and had experience with the selection process either as an applicant or as an interviewer. Finally, past research (e.g., Cargile, 2000; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Segrest, 1999) has used student samples in studies on sociolinguistic judgments and in tests of the aversive racism framework. Future research should consider exploring these relationships in a field setting, perhaps with a firm engaged in a large-scale recruiting program.

As noted earlier, some participants completed the social attitudes measure prior to coming to the laboratory sessions while others did not complete the measure until after the sessions had ended. It is possible that participants who completed the survey after the laboratory session were primed to issues of race, thereby influencing their responses on the survey and biasing these results. Thus, we would expect higher scores for the pre-laboratory participants. A post-hoc comparison of the mean modern racism

scores of participants who completed the survey prior to the session (n = 289) and those who completed it afterwards (n = 198) found slightly higher scores for pre-laboratory participants (2.83, s.d. 04) compared to post-laboratory scores (2.68, s.d. 1.2) although the upper limit is negligible.

The dialectical measures could also bias these results. Some of the participants commented that the speaker who used AAVE dialect sounded boring and not excited about being interviewed for the position. The speaker who used SE dialect, although she did not possess the level of qualifications needed for the position, was deemed by participants to 'sound' as if she wanted the job although she was not qualified to hold the position based on her resume (see Appendix B). Perhaps participants were cuing in on the perceived 'personality' of the speaker rather than on her race. Future research should use the matched-guise technique with a similar design to rule out potential confounds of vocal quality.

5.4 Conclusion

Today's employment environment is changing rapidly and is characterized by increased diversity from both a global and domestic perspective. It is well documented that the majority of future workers in the United States will be people of color. Understanding the nature and sources of potential bias towards these new workers is paramount to organizations if they expect to do well. Two forces work in tandem to create an environment that is conducive to increased interviewer bias in employment selection situations: 1) stereotypical judgments of job candidates, which I suggest, can

be heavily influenced by how candidates sound; and 2) the changing nature of discrimination in this country. The findings in this study are sobering, however we can look at this issue from another, more promising, perspective as an opportunity to gain a deeper knowledge of the 'not-so-obvious' factors that potentially serve as racial cues.

This study explored the use of dialect as a signal of an individual characteristic – a sociolinguistic cue. I argued in this study that interviewers would likely access negative stereotypes about Blacks when they heard job candidates speaking with an AAVE dialect. *Miriam-Webster* defines the word cue as "a sensory signal used to facilitate memory or organize responses." In the above instance, dialect would serve as cue to interviewers of a job candidate's race.

Though this study narrowly defined dialect as speech differences between Black and White job candidates, there are many dialects and linguistic styles used in the United States. In fact, many Americans think of strangers as "cultured" or "refined" simply because they speak in what is recognized as a British accent (Cargile, 2000). Though such assumptions are often invalid, they nevertheless exist. There may also be other linguistic properties such as geographic background, social class, or sexual orientation (factors not included in this study) that may cue judgments. Future research should explore differences in accent, geographic location, and sexual orientation to determine the effect that linguistic cues in these social contexts have on the likelihood of job candidates being considered for follow-up interviews and other career outcomes.

This research has important implications for human resource management practice, prospective job candidates, and organizational behavior and HR scholarship. Employers who practice contemporary forms of prejudice and racism present a unique challenge for HRM practice. When racism presented itself in a much more obvious fashion, it was easier to target the behaviors and try to alleviate them by using direct methods (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Many organizations have designed their diversity awareness and training programs on this premise. Because aversive racists already believe that they are operating in egalitarian and non-prejudiced ways, typical methods of alleviating discriminatory behavior will not work (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). This study did not find support for aversive forms of racism as hypothesized by Gaertner and Dovidio (1986). However, the significant main effect of dialect on employment outcomes found in this study offer evidence that old-fashioned racism may still exist or at least, may still influence behavior. HRM practice must develop new methods to detect and guard against concealed practices in hiring situations such as screening out candidates based on factors such as dialect. Recruiters and other decision makers should be trained to recognize that dialect is a valid cue for race and has the potential to elicit bias in telephone interviews especially.

This research has important implications for job applicants themselves. Many immigrants to this country have recognized that the road to improved career opportunities depend on their ability communicate in a style of English that is widely spoken in the U.S (Jordan, 1996). An increasing amount of these individuals are using

foreign accent reduction programs to help achieve this goal. Applicants who speak with an AAVE dialect can benefit from realizing that how they sound during telephone interviews may affect evaluator decisions as much or more than qualification level. Similar to job applicants with "ethnic-sounding" names (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), candidates who "sound Black" may suffer from the same kind of bias.

Researchers must seek out additional methods of measuring contemporary forms of bias and other harmful racial attitudes. For example, using surveys that ask individuals directly about their racial attitudes are often clouded by efforts to respond as they believe they should. Moreover, if people sincerely believe that they are not biased, their responses will reflect that belief regardless of how disjointed their beliefs and behaviors. Behavioral methods of gathering this type of information are sorely needed if we are to understand the nature of unconscious bias. "The message that emerges from these findings suggests that as employment discrimination has changed in recent years, so should the conceptualization of the attitudes used to predict it" (Ziegert & Hanges, 2005: 561).

APPENDIX A

SOCIAL ATTITUDES SCALE

SR #_____ (Leave blank)

Last 4 digits of Social Security # _____
(PLEASE PROVIDE THIS NUMBER SO THAT YOU MAY RECEIVE CREDIT FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH STUDY)

INSTRUCTIONS:

Over the next several pages are rating scales on which you will be asked to indicate your level of agreement with several statements. Please place an "x" in front of the number that best represents your opinions for each statement. For example:

I am excited about being here today.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree   ☐$_1$ ☒$_2$ ☐$_3$ ☐$_4$ ☐$_5$ ☐$_6$ ☐$_7$ Agree

The rating shown above would indicate that you disagree, but not extremely, with the statement.

Please read the statements carefully and make your decisions quickly. Long deliberations do not enhance the quality of judgments.

(Your responses will be anonymous and kept confidential.)

Section A.

The following statements below ask how you feel about interpersonal relationships, social interactions, and group relations in organizations. Read each statement and mark the box that best reflects your agreement or disagreement with the statement.

Rate each item below from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree by checking the appropriate box.

1. I have a good sense of why I have certain feelings most of the time.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

2. I have a good understanding of my own emotions.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

3. I really understand what I feel.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

4. I always know whether or not I am happy.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

5. I always know my friends' emotions from their behavior.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

6. I am a good observer of others' emotions.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

7. I am sensitive to the feelings and emotions of others.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

8. I have a good understanding of the emotions of people around me.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

9. I always set goals for myself and then try my best to achieve them.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

10. I always tell myself I am a competent person.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

11. I am a self-motivated person.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

12. I would always encourage myself to try my best.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

13. I am able to control my temper and handle difficulties rationally.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

14. I am quite capable of controlling my own emotions.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

15. I can always calm down quickly when I am very angry.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

16. I have good control of my own emotions.

Strongly Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly Agree

Section B.

Please rate each item below from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree by checking the appropriate box.

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

Strongly   Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

9. It would be good if groups could be equal.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

10. Group equality should be our ideal.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

13. We should have increased social equality.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

16. No one group should dominate in society.

Strongly
Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Strongly
Agree

(Please continue to the next page)

Section C.

Please rate each item below from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree by checking the appropriate box.

1. It is easy to understand the anger of Blacks in America.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

2. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect for gays and lesbians than they deserve.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

3. Discrimination against Black people is no longer a problem in the United States.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

4. It is easy to understand the anger of Hispanics in America.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

5. Black people should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

6. Black people have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

7. Discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

8. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree ☐₁   ☐₂   ☐₃   ☐₄   ☐₅   ☐₆   ☐₇ Agree

9. Parents are too easy on their children nowadays.

Strongly
Disagree ☐₁　☐₂　☐₃　☐₄　☐₅　☐₆　☐₇ Strongly Agree

10. Women should not be allowed to drink in cocktail bars.

Strongly
Disagree ☐₁　☐₂　☐₃　☐₄　☐₅　☐₆　☐₇ Strongly Agree

11. Black people are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

Strongly
Disagree ☐₁　☐₂　☐₃　☐₄　☐₅　☐₆　☐₇ Strongly Agree

12. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect for Blacks than they deserve.

Strongly
Disagree ☐₁　☐₂　☐₃　☐₄　☐₅　☐₆　☐₇ Strongly Agree

Section D. Demographics

These questions ask about YOU and your job.

1. Are you CURRENTLY employed?　☐₁Yes　☐₂No
   If yes, skip to question # 3.

2. If no, have you worked in the PAST?　☐₁Yes　☐₂No
   If no, skip to question #9.
   If yes, answer the following questions thinking about your most RECENT/PAST job/employer.
   …………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Do you work FULL TIME or PART TIME (indicate one):　☐₁Full-time　☐₂Part-time

4. Years of WORK EXPERIENCE: _____ (If more than 6 months, indicate 1 year)

5. HOW MANY EMPLOYEES work for your company (check one)?
   ☐₁ <10　　☐₂ 10-19　　☐₃ 20-49　　☐₄ 50-99　　☐₅ 100-499

   ☐₆ 500-999　☐₇ 1,000-4,999　　☐₈ 5,000-9,999　　☐₉ 10,000 +

6. What type of INDUSTRY do you work in (for example, education, technology, retail, etc)?_____

7. What ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL is your job? (Check the one that is closest):

$\square_1$Non-managerial $\square_2$Manager/Supervisor $\square_3$Top executive

8. What is your job title? _____

9. Your RACE:

$\square_1$Caucasian/White (not of Hispanic origin)
$\square_2$African American/Black
$\square_3$Hispanic/Latino/Latina
$\square_4$Native American
$\square_5$Asian/Pacific Islander
$\square_6$Other (please specify (_____)

10. U.S. CITIZEN (Please check one): $\square_1$Yes $\square_2$No
If no, please indicate your country of origin _____

11. SEX: (check one): $\square_1$Male $\square_2$Female

12. AGE: _____

END OF SURVEY

THANK YOU FOR TIME AND YOUR HONEST AND ANONYMOUS RESPONSES!

Please fold your survey, place it in the envelope provided, seal it, and take it to Room 209 Business Bldg. Place all surveys in the box marked, "Surveys."

APPENDIX B

MATERIALS FOR QUALIFICATIONS REVIEW

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REVIEW OF JOB CANDIDATE QUALIFICATIONS

In this envelope is a job description for the Academic Counselor job. This description describes the primary duties and responsibilities for the position as well as any additional skills necessary to perform the job successfully. Please review the description carefully, making sure that you understand what is required of the job. You may make notes on the job description as needed.

Also included is an actual resume of a candidate who has applied for the Academic Counselor job. Please note that the name of the candidate has been changed to protect the anonymity of the candidate. Your job is to compare the requirements listed on the job description to the candidate's qualifications as shown on the candidate's resume. There are two items of information on the resume that you should use to assess the candidate's qualifications. These items are education and work experience.

You may refer back to the job description and make any notes on the resume as needed. You will have 3 minutes to complete your review of the candidate qualifications. If you have any questions, please ask them at this time.

NOW BEGIN YOUR REVIEW

(*Review qualifications)*

WHEN YOU'VE FINISHED, PLEASE WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

(*Behavioral Norms*)

Equal Employment Opportunity

Guidelines for Pre-Employment Inquiries and Applications for Employment

Employers wanting to select qualified and capable individuals through effective, fair and lawful recruitment and selection processes are sometimes confused about the legality or appropriateness of some pre-employment inquiries. Although determining appropriate and nondiscriminatory questions to ask when conducting pre-employment interviews or to include on employment applications is not always an easy task, there are laws, guidelines and policies that provide guidance in this area.

General Questions Employers Should Ask Themselves:

- Will the answers to this question, if used in making a selection, have a disparate effect in screening out minorities or members of one sex?

- Will the response to this question screen out qualified candidates because of their disability before their actual ability to do the job is evaluated? (Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA)

- Is this information really necessary to judge an applicant's competence or qualifications for the job in question?

- Is this question permitted on the basis of a bona fide occupational qualification?

- Is the employer a federal contractor or program subject to special employment/selection guidelines?

- Is the job part of a special affirmative action hiring program or consent decree and therefore subject to special employment/selection considerations?

JOB DESCRIPTION: ACADEMIC COUNSELOR

Responsible for counseling students regarding educational issues such as course and program selection, class scheduling, school adjustment, study habits, and career planning. Maintains accurate and complete student records, school policies, and administrative regulations. Confers with professors, other counselors, and administrators to resolve students' behavioral and academic problems. Refers students for tutoring center and/or other resources as needed. Observes and evaluates students' performance and behavior. Must have demonstrated skills in providing career and academic support counseling for college students. May be responsible for teaching courses as deemed necessary by the department. Prefer candidates who have completed a Master's degree in a relevant field.

Jane Doe
100 Medford Lane
Dallas, TX 75261
(214) 800-1234
Email: jdoe@utd.edu

EDUCATION   The University of Texas at Dallas, Dallas, Texas
                   May 2006. GPA: 2.5
                   B.S. in Geology

WORK
EXPERIENCE   July 2004 – Present
                   Park Services Worker
                   Fort Worth Zoo
                   Fort Worth, TX

                   May 2002 – July 2004
                   Technical Assistant
                   Radio Shack, Dallas, TX

                   April 2000 – May 2002
                   Geologist Intern
                   Smith County Government, Tyler, TX

TECHNICAL
SKILLS   Proficient in the use of Word, Excel, and PowerPoint

REFERENCES   Available upon request

JOB CANDIDATE PROFILE
(Neither Clearly Weak nor Clearly Strong version)

Jane Doe
100 Medford Lane
Dallas, TX 75261
(214) 800-1234
Email: jdoe@utd.edu

EDUCATION

The University of Texas at Dallas, Dallas, Texas
Expected: May 2008. GPA: 2.8
M.Ed. Concentration: Counselor Education

The University of Texas at Dallas, Dallas, Texas
May 2004. GPA: 3.0
B.S. in Curriculum and Instruction

WORK
EXPERIENCE

July 2004 – Present
Data Entry Clerk
K-Force Temporary Staffing
Dallas, TX

May 2002 – July 2004
Collections Representative
AmeriCredit, Dallas, TX

April 2000 – May 2002
Academic Counselor I
Tarrant County Community College
Fort Worth, TX

HONORS AND
AWARDS   Recipient of the "Top Collector of the Month" award, June 2004

TECHNICAL
SKILLS   Proficient in the use of Word, Excel, and PowerPoint

REFERENCES   Available upon request

JOB CANDIDATE PROFILE
(Clearly Strong version)

Jane Doe
100 Medford Lane
Dallas, TX 75261
(214) 800-1234
Email: <u>jdoe@utd.edu</u>

EDUCATION	The University of Texas at Dallas, Dallas, Texas May 2006. GPA: 4.0 M.Ed. Concentration: Counselor Education The University of Texas at Dallas, Dallas, Texas May 2004. GPA: 3.8 B.S. in Curriculum and Instruction
WORK EXPERIENCE	July 2004 – Present Academic Counselor III University of North Texas Denton, TX May 2002 – July 2004 Academic Counselor II Dallas Community College Dallas, TX April 2000 – May 2002 Academic Counselor I Dallas Community College Dallas, TX
HONORS AND AWARDS	Recipient of the "Counselor of the Year" award – 2003
TECHNICAL SKILLS	Proficient in the use of Word, Excel, and PowerPoint
REFERENCES	Available upon request

APPENDIX C

MATERIALS FOR CANDIDATE EVALUATION

SR #_____ (Please leave blank)

Last 4 digits of Social Security # _____
*(PLEASE PROVIDE THIS NUMBER SO THAT YOU MAY RECEIVE CREDIT FOR
PARTICIPATION)*

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CANDIDATE EVALUATION

The voice you are about to hear is the greeting of an actual job candidate who has called in for a telephone job interview. The portion you will hear is very brief due to privacy concerns that did not allow us to tape the entire interview. Regardless of the length of the portion of the interview you will hear, listen carefully and try to imagine what the speaker is like, just as you might if you were talking to a stranger on the telephone, overhearing a conversation behind you in the hallway, or hearing someone on the radio.

After you've listened to the candidate's greeting, you will be asked to make judgments on several hiring decisions. Different people have different impressions and form different opinions. So, of course, there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. Please answer the questions in their printed order. Make your decisions carefully, but quickly. Long deliberations do not enhance the quality of judgments. If you have any questions, please ask them at this time.

NOW LISTEN CAREFULLY AND
TRY TO IMAGINE WHAT THE CANDIDATE IS LIKE.

LISTEN ONLY ONE TIME

NOW TURN THE PAGE AND MAKE YOUR JUDGMENTS.

Section A.

Please circle the number that best represents your opinions for each set of adjectives.

In my OPINION, the candidate whose qualifications I evaluated seemed to be:

1. old	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	young
2. unintelligent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	intelligent
3. successful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	unsuccessful
4. poor	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	wealthy
5. educated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	uneducated
6. untrustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	trustworthy
7. ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	not ambitious
8. competent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	incompetent
9. industrious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	lazy
10. overly emotional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	emotional
11. cooperative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	uncooperative
12. bad	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	good

Section B.

Please rate your level of agreement with each of the following statements from (1) strongly disagree to (7) strongly agree as they apply to the candidate whose qualifications you evaluated.

1. It is likely that I would recommend hiring this candidate for the position.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

2. It is likely that I would recommend a second interview for this candidate.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

3. I would probably NOT recommend this candidate to be hired for the position.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

4. I plan to recommend this candidate for a second interview.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

5. I would probably NOT recommend this candidate for a second interview.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

For the following questions, assume the candidate whose qualifications you evaluated WAS selected for a second interview.

6. I would recommend this candidate for promotions to higher level positions.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

7. I would probably recommend a low starting salary for this candidate.

   Strongly   Strongly
   Disagree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ Agree

8. I believe this candidate has potential for achieving higher level positions.

Strongly Disagree	$\square_1$	$\square_2$	$\square_3$	$\square_4$	$\square_5$	$\square_6$	$\square_7$	Strongly Agree

9. I would recommend a high starting salary for this candidate.

Strongly Disagree	$\square_1$	$\square_2$	$\square_3$	$\square_4$	$\square_5$	$\square_6$	$\square_7$	Strongly Agree

10. I would hire this candidate.

Strongly Disagree	$\square_1$	$\square_2$	$\square_3$	$\square_4$	$\square_5$	$\square_6$	$\square_7$	Strongly Agree

11. Please state your reason(s) for your answer to the above # 10?

_____

**Please indicate the annual STARTING SALARY you would recommend for the candidate whose qualifications you evaluated. (*Check one)*

_____ < $25,000
_____ $25,000 - $29,000
_____ $30,000 - $39,000
_____ $40,000 - $49,000
_____ $50,000+

Section C.

Please give YOUR IMPRESSIONS about the candidate whose qualifications you evaluated.

1. Estimated AGE (in years): _____; Don't know_____
2. Perceived RACE (select one):
   _____Caucasian/White (not of Hispanic origin)
   _____African American/Black
   _____Hispanic/Latino/Latina
   _____Native American
   _____Asian/Pacific Islander
   _____Other (please specify_____)
3. Perceived GENDER (select one): _____Male; _____Female; _____Don't know

Turn over to next page

Section D.

Please answer the following questions about the PROCEDURE.

1. Were you provided with written Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) guidelines?

   _____ Yes; _____ No

2. To what degree did the candidate's educational background (GPA and degree awarded) prepare her for the Academic Counseling position?

   To a great   Neither   Not
   degree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ at all

3. To what degree did the candidate's work experience show a focus on Academic Counseling as a career?

   To a great   Neither   Not
   degree $\square_1$ $\square_2$ $\square_3$ $\square_4$ $\square_5$ $\square_6$ $\square_7$ at all

YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE CANDIDATE EVALUATION.

PLEASE WAIT FOR FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS

Section E: Demographics

Please answer the following questions about YOU and your job.

13. Are you CURRENTLY employed? ☐₁Yes   ☐₂No
    If yes, skip to question # 3.

14. If no, have you worked in the PAST? ☐₁Yes   ☐₂No
    If no, skip to question #9.
    If yes, answer the following questions thinking about your most RECENT/PAST job/employer.
    ……………………………………………………………………………………………

15. Do you work FULL TIME or PART TIME (indicate one): ☐₁Full-time   ☐₂Part-time Write in number of hours worked, on average, per week. _____

16. Years of WORK EXPERIENCE: _____ (If more than 6 months, indicate 1 year)

17. HOW MANY EMPLOYEES work for your company (check one)?

    ☐₁ <10   ☐₂ 10-19   ☐₃ 20-49   ☐₄ 50-99   ☐₅ 100-499

    ☐₆ 500-999   ☐₇ 1,000-4,999   ☐₈ 5,000-9,999   ☐₉ 10,000 +

18. What type of INDUSTRY do you work in (for example, education, technology, retail, etc)?_____

19. What ORGANIZATIONAL LEVEL is your job? (Check the one that is closest):

    ☐₁Non-managerial   ☐₂Manager/Supervisor   ☐₃Top executive

20. What is your job title? _____

21. Your RACE:

    ☐₁Caucasian/White (not of Hispanic origin)
    ☐₂African American/Black
    ☐₃Hispanic/Latino/Latina
    ☐₄Native American
    ☐₅Asian/Pacific Islander
    ☐₆Other (please specify_(_____)

22. U.S. CITIZEN (Please check one):   ☐₁Yes ☐₂No

    If no, please indicate your country of origin _____

23. SEX: (check one):   ☐₁Male   ☐₂Female

24. AGE: _____

Section F

The following statements refer to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Equal Employment Opportunity laws (federal legislation governing how job applicants should be treated). Please indicate your KNOWLEDGE of this legislation by writing "True" or "False" before each statement.

_____1. Training in EEO legislation is essential for managers and supervisors since the company can be held accountable and legally responsible for hiring decisions.

_____2. Managers cannot be sued for discrimination since they merely act as agents of the employer.

_____3. Managers are permitted to discriminate on the basis of religion.

_____4. Managers are permitted to discriminate since Title VII of the Civil Rights Act provides for exemptions to discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or sex.

_____5. Managers are permitted by the Courts to discriminate based on race if they can successfully defend their decision as a BFOQ (a bonafide occupational qualification).

_____6. According to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, managers are able to set different cutoff test scores on the basis of race and sex.

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE EXPERIMENT

THANK YOU! for your time and participation with this research project. Please be assured that your answers will be kept *completely confidential and anonymous*. If you have any questions about this research, my phone number is (817) 272-3870 or (817) 466-1748. Or you may send an email to me at fcocchiara@uta.edu.

Sincerely,

Faye Cocchiara

APPENDIX D

APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROTOCOL

December 20, 2006

THE UNIVERSITY
OF TEXAS
AT ARLINGTON

Office of Research
egrity and Compliance

Box 19188
202 E. Border, Suite 201
Arlington, Texas
76019

T 817.272.3723
F 817.272.1111
www.uta.edu/research

Faye Cocchiara
Gary McMahan, PhD
Business Administration, Management
19647

RE: Minor Modification Approval Letter

Title: *Employment Selection Process*

IRB No.: 06.323s

The UTA Institutional Review Board (UTA IRB) Chair (or designee) reviewed
and approved the modification(s) to this protocol on **December 19, 2006** in
accordance with Title 45 CFR 46. 110(b)(2). The modification(s), indicated
below, was deemed minor and appropriate for expedited review.

- Protocol modified to add title *Employment Selection Process*.
- Delete title *Sociolinguistic Cues as an Antecedent to Aversive
  Racist Behaviors in the Employment Selection Process*.

Pursuant to Title 45 CFR 46.103(b)(4)(iii), investigators are required to, "
promptly report to the IRB *any* proposed changes in the research activity, and
ensure that such changes in approved research, during the period for which IRB
approval has already been given, **are not initiated without IRB review and
approval** except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the
subject."

The modification approval will additionally be presented to the convened board on
January 16, 2006 for full IRB acknowledgment [45 CFR 46.110(c)]. All
investigators and key personnel identified in the protocol must have documented
Human Subjects Involved in Research (Tier II) Training or other UTA approved
compliance education in the responsible conduct of human subject research on file
with the UTA Office of Research Integrity and Compliance (ORIC).

The UTA Office of Research Integrity and Compliance appreciates your
continuing commitment to the protection of human research subjects. Should you
have questions or require further assistance, please contact this office by calling
(817) 272-2775 or (817) 272-3723.

Sincerely,

Roger Mellgren, PhD
Professor
IRB Chair

October 26, 2006

Faye Cocchiara
Gary McMahan, PhD
Business Administration, Management
Box 19647

RE: Expedited Approval of Protocol

Title: *Sociolinguistic Cues as an Antecedent to Aversive Racist Behavioral in the Employment Selection Process*

IRB No.: 06.323s

The University of Texas at Arlington Institutional Review Board (UTA IRB) has determined that this research is eligible for expedited review in accordance with Title 45 CFR 46.110(a)-(b)(1), 63 FR 60364 and 63 FR 60353. The IRB Chairman (or designee) approved the protocol effective October 3, 2006. IRB approval for the research shall continue until October 2, 2007. In order for the research to continue beyond the first year, Continuation (annual) Review must be completed within the month preceding the date of expiration indicated above. A reminder notice will be forwarded to the attention of the Principal Investigator (PI) at that time.

The approved subject sample size is 285 subjects.

Important Note: The IRB approved and stamped informed consent document (ICD), showing the approval and expiration date of the article must be used when prospectively enrolling volunteer participants into the study. The use of a copy of any consent form on which the IRB-stamped approval and expiration dates are not visible, or are replaced by typescript or handwriting is prohibited. The signed consent forms must be securely maintained on the UTA campus for the duration of the study plus three years. The complete study record is subject to inspection and/or audit during this time period by entities including but not limited to the UTA IRB, Research Compliance staff, OHRP and by study sponsors (if the study is funded).

Please be advised that as the principal investigator, you are required to report local adverse (unanticipated) events to this office within 24 hours. In addition, pursuant to Title 45 CFR 46.103(b)(4)(iii), investigators are required to, " promptly report to the IRB **any** proposed changes in the research activity, and to ensure that such changes in approved research, during the period for which IRB approval has already been given, are **not initiated without prior IRB review and approval** except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject."

All investigators and key personnel identified in the protocol must have documented *Human Subjects Involved in Research (Tier II) Training* or *CITI Training* on file with this office.

If applicable, approval by the appropriate authority at a collaborating facility is required prior to subject enrollment. If the collaborating facility is *engaged in the research*, an OHRP approved Federalwide Assurance (FWA) may be required for the facility (prior to their participation in research-related activities). To determine whether the collaborating facility is engaged in research, go to: http://www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/assurance/engage.htm

The UTA Office of Research Integrity and Compliance appreciates your continuing commitment to the protection of human research subjects. Should you have questions or require further assistance, please contact this office by calling (817) 272-2335 or (817) 272-3723.

Sincerely,

Dr. Roger Mellgren
Professor
UTA IRB Chair

Encl (if applicable):
    Consent Form(s)
    Questionnaire(s) or Survey(s)
    Recruitment Advertisement
    Project Summary

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