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Exploring the Role of Gender and Race in Salary Negotiations

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EXPLORING THE ROLE OF GENDER AND RACE IN SALARY NEGOTIATIONS

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Abstract

Research findings from the negotiation literature have revealed significant differences in the negotiation behaviors of men and women, specifically that women do not negotiate as often or as successfully as men do. This difference has been cited as one of many factors contributing to the persistence of the gender wage gap. A possible explanation for the differences is that men and women are treated differently when they negotiate. Thus, there is evidence that women negotiators tend to receive multiple forms of social and economic punishment (i.e., backlash) for engaging in behavior that is inconsistent with stereotype-based expectations of women in the context of salary negotiations, including lower offers, decreased likeability and shareability, and declined requests for pay increases. These findings may partially explain the persistence of the gender and racial wage gaps today while also being indicative of unfair treatment that women receive in the workplace. While previous research has separately explored issues of gender and race in negotiation, few studies have examined the joint influence of these factors on negotiation outcomes. For this study, intersectionality and expectancy violation theory (EVT) served as the basis for the hypothesis that the backlash for initiating salary negotiations is greater for women of color than for white women. The results, however, did not support the hypothesis that gender and race interact in such a way that women of color experience disproportionate backlash. Nevertheless, the research presented here provides a paradigm for the future study of negotiation from the perspective of the joint effects of gender and race in the context of efforts to bridge the gender wage gap, improve negotiation outcomes for women and persons of color, and promote workplace equity.

Chapter 1. Introduction. The Role of Gender and Race in Salary Negotiations

The fact that salary negotiation outcomes often differ significantly for employees depending on their gender may explain at least in part persistent differences in pay between men and women. Yet while the gender wage gap has been the subject of in-depth investigation for decades, many questions about it remain. In the United States, the gender pay gap is understood as the difference between the median yearly earnings of men and women who are full-time, year-round workers expressed as a ratio (female to male). Comparisons of current pay rates in the United States make clear that women earn significantly less than similarly qualified men (as defined, e.g., in terms of education and years of experience) working in the same profession (American Association of University Women, 2014). The gap has persisted despite advances over time in women's legal and social rights (e.g., the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay act of 2009). As recently as 2015, according to the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR), "female full-time, year-round workers made only 80 cents for every dollar earned by men, a gender wage gap of 20 percent" (IWPR, 2017). Skeptics argue that a sizeable portion of the wage gap is due to factors such as the segregation of women into lower-paying occupations, but, even within traditionally low-wage jobs, women usually earn less than men, as is also the case in fields traditionally dominated by women, such as nursing and teaching (Bulow, 2013). Further, using matched employer-employee data to estimate, economists estimate approximately half of the wage gap is attributable to gender alone (Bayard et al., 2003). Such findings suggest that lingering issues remain to be addressed in order to put an end to the gender gap.

With regard to negotiation, gender-based differences in behavior have frequently been cited (e.g., Babcock, 2003; Barron, 2003; Kulik & Olekalns, 2012) as an explanation for disparities in pay among men and women. Numerous studies have demonstrated that women are

less likely to initiate salary negotiations than men, a phenomenon termed "women don't ask" (Babcock & Laschever, 2003). Explaining this phenomenon is of particular interest and indeed a crucial aspect of narrowing the gender pay gap. Efforts to address gender-based discrepancies in salary negotiation behaviors have often targeted deficits in the negotiator (e.g., lack of assertiveness or negotiation skills). Thus, assertiveness training and negotiation workshops specifically for women have become the norm on college campuses and within many organizations, the goal being to help women to negotiate their salaries effectively so that they achieve parity with their male peers. This kind of training has proved to be of limited usefulness, though, perhaps owing to the power of such non-performance-based factors as discrimination on the basis of, in particular, race and/or gender to deny individuals equal treatment and equal access to employment opportunities whatever the occupation (Colella et al., 2017).

Some research suggests that successful salary negotiations require more than having the skill and/or will to negotiate. Thus Bowles, Babcock, and Lai (2007), investigating whether women's greater reluctance to initiate negotiations could be explained by differential treatment, found evidence that women face more negative judgments than men when they ask for increased compensation; it is these negative judgments to which the term "backlash" refers. Studies of the mechanisms underlying this backlash have looked to expectancy violation theory (EVT) as a potential explanation, which predicts that skill and will are indeed insufficient for successful negotiation. According to this theory, individuals form expectations regarding how others will react (Burgoon, 1978) and react negatively when any of their expectations is violated. From this perspective, gender bias can predispose individuals to view female negotiators as violators of traditional gender norms that type women as non-competitive and communally-oriented as opposed to agentic and assertive—which would mean that failed negotiations, like the wage gap,

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are in part attributable to negative responses to women who negotiate on their own behalf. Additionally, a negative feedback loop seems to exist such that women's experiences of stereotype-based backlash predispose them to failed negotiations and discourage them from even attempting to negotiate (Kennedy & Kray, 2015).

When it comes to assessing differences among the negotiation experiences of various groups of women, the concept of intersectionality is useful. Intersectionality refers to "the interactivity of social identity structures such as race, class, and gender in fostering life experiences, especially experiences of privilege and oppression" (Gopaldas, 2013). Moreover, being considered a minority in multiple respects may compound the disadvantage. The focus on gender differences, however, has meant that relatively little research on negotiating behaviors has explored differences among women attributable to their racial backgrounds.

The present study was accordingly designed to address this gap in the literature. It represents a first attempt to determine whether the backlash as defined above that African-American women experience when negotiating for higher pay differs in form or degree from that experienced by white women. In the following chapter I review the literature on women's negotiation behaviors and the backlash against them, along with theories relevant to the study of the roles of gender and race in negotiation and propose an experiment to test predicted differences the treatment of minority women negotiators. This discussion sheds light on the joint influence of race and gender on the experiences of women of color in the workplace and on the persistence of wage gaps based on gender and race and how they might be addressed.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

Women Don't Ask

As seen in the previous chapter, differences between the negotiation behaviors of men and women appear to play a significant role in the gender wage gap. A 2002 survey exploring the starting salaries of master's degree graduates captured this presumed connection with the findings that the salaries of recent male graduates averaged 7.6%, or almost $4,000, higher than their equally qualified female classmates and that only 7% of female graduates had negotiated their compensation while 57% of male ones had. This study thus revealed a substantial gender-based difference in the negotiation behavior of individuals who were equally skilled and equally educated about the importance of negotiating (Babcock, 2003). Such findings suggest the existence of unseen factors that uniquely impact women negotiators.

These factors could include cognitive barriers to negotiating rooted in the individual experiences of women as oppressed members of society. Instructive in this context is a study by Small et al. (2007) of an ambiguous scenario in which the opportunity to negotiate was not made explicit; specifically, an experimenter offered participants three dollars for completing a board game, and found that nine times more male than female participants sought to negotiate the remuneration, though participants of both genders later expressed dissatisfaction with the initial offer (Study 2). These researchers in follow-up work found that cueing women to negotiate decreased their feelings of intimidation and thereby increased their readiness to negotiate, but a significant gender gap remained. In this case, feelings of intimidation in the face of an implicit negotiation opportunity served as a barrier for women negotiators, while they were less intimidated, and thus more likely to negotiate, in situations in which they believed that doing so might be expected or at least deemed acceptable—though still less likely than men in the same

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situation. Other studies have also highlighted the impact of beliefs and feelings about negotiating on negotiation likelihood (e.g. Barron, 2003).

Beliefs also appear to play a significant role in the decision to negotiate one's pay. Thus Barron (2003), combining quantitative (i.e., simulated negotiations) and qualitative (post-negotiation surveys) data, consistent with previous research, found that male negotiators averaged close to $2,000 more in salary requests than their female counterparts in the absence of differences in such relevant factors as level of education, previous salary, age, estimations of a fair salary, and training in and experience with negotiation. The qualitative results revealed differences between men and women in terms of beliefs relevant to negotiation, specifically regarding their worth, with 85% of men reporting knowing their worth and 83% of women uncertain of theirs; their sense of entitlement, with 70% of men feeling entitled to more than others and 71% of women feeling entitled to the same; and their need to prove themselves, with 64% of men feeling a need to do so in negotiations and 83% of women feeling a need to do so on the job. Women and men thus appear to enter negotiations with different sets of ideas about their own worth and capabilities in comparison with others such that women's beliefs often work against them, but men's beliefs work for them. Barron's work demonstrated that these differences can influence behaviors and outcomes associated with negotiation. The discrepancy alone is noteworthy, but the important point is its seemingly negative impact.

Differences in starting salary early on can have far-reaching consequences over the course of an individual's career. In addition to monetary losses, the failure to negotiate may also limit an employee's future job opportunities and perceived value. Applicants with equal experience and performance ratings may be rated differently by employers based on their unique salary histories, as those with higher compensation records are deemed better performers by

employers and are awarded accordingly (Gerhart & Rynes, 1991). Conversely, those who have accepted low pay in the past may be perceived as relatively less valuable.

Nevertheless, women still do not initiate negotiations as often or as successfully as men do. In seeking to explain this fact, the previously mentioned study by Bowles et al. (2007) pointed to evidence of a backlash against women negotiators. Further, evaluators indicated a preference for working with women whom they considered nicer and less demanding and who accepted the compensation offered to them without negotiation. Thus, while negotiating had no significant effect on an evaluators' willingness to work with a male candidate, it significantly decreased their willingness to work with a female candidate. It is precisely because they are positively assessed in the workplace when they are less demanding that "women don't ask." Fear or anticipation of backlash is, then, a plausible explanation for the fact that women do not negotiate as often as men.

In addition, women negotiators often ask for less money, are more willing to accept offers, and make more generous offers to their negotiation partners compared with men (Kulik & Olekalns, 2012). It appears that the tendency of women to engage in more accommodating (relationship-building) behavior than men do may reflect an awareness that competitive behaviors will damage their social outcomes (Greig, 2010). With the gender pay gap being widely publicized, most women are probably aware of the potential backlash from negotiating, which may in turn negatively influence their decision-making, attitudes, and behaviors when it comes to salary negotiations. They are thus compelled to weigh the economic benefits of negotiating against the social costs of doing so (Bowles & Babcock, 2012).

Negotiation Backlash: Gender Stereotyping

To reiterate, the difference between the negotiation behaviors of men and women is likely due in part to the phenomenon of negotiation backlash, which is unique to women. Negotiation backlash is the situation in which women negotiators unjustly receive different, less favorable outcomes than male negotiators. Backlash encompasses both "social and economic punishments for engaging in behavior that is inconsistent with that expected for members of one's social identity group" (Rudman and Fairchild, 2004, p. 157; cf. Hernandez et al., 2018). Consequently, women negotiators tend to end up with compensation at the bottom of the pay range or, in the worst-case scenario, no job at all. Understanding the root of the reactions that lead to such outcomes is crucial, and negotiation backlash is rooted in stereotyping (Fiske et al., 2002). As already discussed, the general idea is that backlash results when women violate expectations regarding how they should behave. Expectations concern general patterns of behavior that are supposedly common for a given group—in other words, stereotypes. Stereotypes have an enormous influence on individuals' beliefs about others and expectations regarding their behavior. Salary negotiations, by nature, defy stereotypical behavior for women and thus lead to backlash, the experience or anticipation of which discourages them from negotiating.

Research on gender bias in the workplace has demonstrated that women may face dislike and social disparagement for success in the workplace, particularly when that success is in male gender-typed work, for example engineering (Heilman et al., 2004). Such women are viewed as the antithesis of the female nurturer, who is by contrast concerned about others; they are considered self-serving and failures as women; and it is this perception that is the main source of backlash (Heilman & Okimoto, 2007). Thus Heilman et al. (2004) found that such negative reactions may negatively impact both overall evaluations—for example, women may receive low

ratings for competence and likeability—and the allocation of rewards within an organization, as participants in the study recommended higher salaries for those who received higher ratings.

Expectancy violation theory (EVT; Burgoon, Coker, & Coker, 1986), which was introduced in the previous chapter, provides a basis for interpreting the consequences when a given behavior is not consistent with what is expected. The fundamental notion is that a given behavior either confirms or disconfirms the observer's beliefs about another individual. When a belief is disconfirmed, this expectancy violation may produce either a negative or positive reaction in observers. As an explanation for why negotiation by women is often unsuccessful, this theory predicts that individuals who belong to groups that are stereotyped in ways that conflict with expectations regarding effective negotiators are more likely to face negotiation backlash from job evaluators. The lack of fit model (Heilman, 1983, 1995, 2001) is consistent with this reasoning, for it accounts for the contrast between the stereotypical view of women as communally-oriented (e.g., warm, kind, and self-sacrificing) on the one hand and agentic attributes and behaviors (e.g., independence, competitiveness, and dominance) that are considered crucial to successfully negotiating one's salary on the other. The lack of fit describes expectations that women are ill-suited to succeed in negotiations.

The stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) offers a framework for the ways in which one group (the ingroup) stereotypes another (the outgroup) according to which the core dimensions of stereotypes are competence and warmth. Outgroups are perceived as competent when they command power and high status, the latter concept referring to an individuals' standing or importance in relation to others within a community. Warmth is based on a group's level of compliance; thus, outgroups are perceived warmly when they do not compete with the ingroup. In other words, individuals receive members of an outgroup more warmly or positively

when they express qualities that indicate subordination and less warmly, which is to say more negatively, when they are perceived as competitive or self-serving.

This model captures the underlying views of "traditional" and "non-traditional" women. The former is characterized as such because they demonstrate behaviors that are congruent with gender stereotypes (e.g., as housewives); they are typically viewed as simultaneously likable (warm) and incompetent. Non-traditional women are characterized as such because they demonstrate behaviors that are incongruent with gender stereotypes (e.g., career women and athletes); they may be viewed as competent, but they are often disliked and sometimes criticized for a perceived lack of warmth. Attitudes about non-traditional women exemplify how deviation from prescribed stereotypes and displays of competence tend to result in unfavorable views and backlash.

According to Kennedy and Kray (2015), women are negatively stereotyped as bad negotiators based on prescribed gender norms, in that people in general (both male and female) tend to associate male characteristics with effective negotiation and female characteristics with ineffective negotiation. These associations place women at a disadvantage even before the negotiation process begins. As discussed above, research on gender stereotypes has shown that women are perceived to be more communally-oriented (e.g., caring, warm, and interdependent) than men, whereas men are perceived to be more agentic (e.g., ambitious, competent, and self-reliant) than women; effective negotiators are expected to be strong, rational, and assertive (i.e., agentic) and ineffective negotiators to be weak, submissive, and accommodating (i.e., communally-oriented; Kulik & Olekalns, 2012). Because initiating salary negotiations represents an ambitious attempt to advocate for oneself, negotiators are agentic by nature, so that women

who engage in salary negotiations may be perceived to violate stereotypical communally-oriented behavior.

According to the stereotype content model, women negotiators may be viewed as competent (or competitive) but not warm, thereby violating prescribed gender stereotypes and eliciting backlash. Stereotypical characteristics of effective and ineffective negotiators closely align with gender stereotypes and favor men, which is to say that behaviors that tend to lead to successful salary negotiation outcomes are more consistent with male gender stereotypes than with female ones. The result is a lack of fit and undue challenges for women negotiators. Similar patterns might also be expected for racial minorities.

Negotiation Backlash: Racial Stereotyping

Racial pay disparities are well documented, with white employees receiving significantly higher pay in proportion to their prior work experience (Weil & Kimball, 1996) and education (Bradbury, 2002) than similarly qualified minorities. The influence of race in the context of negotiations specifically has received relatively little attention, but there has been some research on the impact of racial stereotyping in the workplace in general, including race-based differences in perceptions of leadership effectiveness and potential, again with white leaders receiving disproportionately favorable perceptions (Rosette et al., 2008). In terms of their negotiation experiences, differences between white and minority employees' access to social connections may influence their outcomes (Seidel et al., 2000). These findings make clear the importance of considering not only factors relating to individual job seekers but also interpersonal factors relating to job evaluator as well. Owing to persistent racial stereotypes that typify blacks as lazy and incompetent, a salary negotiation might be perceived as inconsistent with expected behavior

and therefore result in unfavorable outcomes for black negotiators, especially from evaluators who harbor particularly strong prejudices (Hernandez et al., 2018; Devine, 1989).

A study by Hernandez et al. (2018) shed light on the potential impact of the biases of job evaluators on negotiation outcomes. In the initial phase of the study, the researchers found that evaluators who harbored strong explicit racial biases expected black job seekers to be less likely to negotiate their salaries than their white counterparts. Then, looking at the impact of perceived negotiation activity on negotiation outcomes, they found that white evaluators rated as having low explicit bias perceived black job seekers to negotiate in roughly the same manner as white job seekers, while those rated as having high explicit bias perceived them as negotiating more than white job seekers. Specifically, each offer or counteroffer by a black job seeker lowered the starting salary by an average of $300, thereby indicating a backlash against attempts by blacks to negotiate. Not only did personal biases shape expectations of the job seekers' behaviors, then, but it was also the case that, when those expectations were not met, black negotiators faced backlash. In the final phase of the study, in order to account for the lower pay that the black job seekers tended to receive in the end, the researchers examined the concessions made by the applicants by tabulating the number of counteroffers that they received and found that the job evaluators were less likely to make concessions for blacks than for whites (i.e., less likely to accept an offer and more likely to make a counteroffer), therefore confining their salaries to the lower end of the pay range. In this situation, by making a counteroffer, an evaluator indicated that the applicant was unworthy of the proposed pay, so the finding that black job seekers received more counteroffers than their equally qualified white counterparts is indicative of backlash.

EVT, as has been seen, explains why women and racial minorities alike experience backlash as a result of negotiating. In support of this theory, Hernandez et al. (2018) found evidence to support their hypothesis that individuals who harbor explicit racial bias expect black job seekers to negotiate less than white job seekers because they see them as undeserving or incompetent. EVT predicts that, when such expectations are violated, those responsible are subject to backlash for their attempts to negotiate. So also, according to the stereotype content model, racial minorities, stereotyped as lacking both warmth and competence, face contempt, prejudice, resentment, anger, and overall negative views of themselves as members of outgroups. A salary negotiation may thus violate expectations because it conflicts with the underlying assumption that the individual initiating it deserves more than he or she is currently receiving. For those perceived as generally undeserving and incompetent, unfavorable outcomes when negotiating is to be expected. In light of these considerations, women who identify as racial minorities—in the present context, black women—may experience greater backlash than either white women or black men. The concept of intersectionality is useful in exploring this understanding of the workplace.

The Combined Effects of Gender and Race: Intersectionality

Their status as members of multiple underrepresented groups may, then, present unique challenges for women of color seeking to negotiate their pay. In light of the argument that disadvantage increases with each of an individuals' subordinate group identities (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), it is to be expected that significant differences exist between white and non-white women negotiators. Indeed, feminist scholars (e.g., Frankenberg, 1993; Lorber, 2000) have challenged the treatment of women as a unified category on the basis of significant internal differences in race or ethnicity, and black feminism emerged as a response to the need to

consider the unique position of black women in society and specifically in the workplace. As noted by Patricia Hill Collins in her influential book *Black Feminist Thought*, "the assumptions on which full group membership are based—whiteness for feminist thought, maleness for Black social and political thought, and the combination for mainstream scholarship—all negate Black women's realities" (1990, p. 12). Hill Collins captures the idea that the experience of the black woman is distinct from that of her counterparts in terms of gender or race (i.e., the white woman and the black male) in that her group membership represents what Mae King (1975) called a "double whammy" of disadvantage, in that gender issues are intensified by race. From this perspective, then, those with membership in multiple stigmatized groups experience discrimination differently and potentially to a greater extent than those who belong to only one such group (Shaw et al., 2012).

Research has demonstrated that this double whammy often extends to the workplace in the form of pay differences and mistreatment. Thus, Berdahl and Moore (2006) found support for what is often referred to as the "double jeopardy" hypothesis in a series of studies of workplace harassment across five organizations showing that minority women experienced significantly more harassment relating to their gender and ethnicity than either majority women or minority men did. Thus, minority women may be subject to unique pressures in the context of salary negotiations that may influence their behaviors and may indicate differential treatment in negotiations owing to their membership in multiple outgroups—specifically backlash, underperformance, and failure to negotiate at all.

The Combined Effects of Gender and Race: Stereotypes of Black Women

Stereotypes commonly encountered by black women include (1) the mammy (2) the welfare queen, and (3) the angry black woman. These stereotypes may influence both the degree

of backlash that black women face as negotiators and the "women don't ask" phenomenon. The mammy represents the "figure of acceptable black womanhood" (Harris-Perry, 2011, p.92). Rooted in the history of black women as domestic workers for white families, this stereotype characterizes them as accommodating, lacking in personal needs or desires, and unwavering in their commitment to others. The mammy construct obviously draws heavily on the common stereotype of women in general as accommodating, but the additional history of racial segregation assigns the mammy to a status even lower than that of majority women. In work settings, black women may play the mammy role order to ensure economic security, displaying behavior that is extremely accommodating and other-serving (Hill Collins, 2014). Engagement in salary negotiation, however, is likely to be perceived as a violation of the stereotype-based expectation that black women are accommodating and communal, thus resulting in backlash against black woman negotiators.

The welfare queen stereotype is distinct from the mammy but tends to operate similarly in workplace settings. This stereotype is rooted in the historical utilization of government assistance by black women, which has over time become stigmatized and opposed by those who believe that such assistance supports "unworthy black people who lack a suitable work ethic" (Harris-Perry, 2011, p. 82). Though it characterizes black women as impoverished recipients of unearned entitlements and dependent burdens, those who are successful are not exempt from this stereotype. In the workplace, this form of stereotypical thinking often manifests in attitudes about affirmative action, including the view that successful black women have unfairly been awarded jobs that should have gone to more worthy whites, especially white men (Hill Collins, 2014). Thus, black women negotiators may be viewed as not only violating expectations but doing so thanks to preferential treatment.

The angry black woman is perhaps the best-known of these stereotypes, as it often appears in film and other media. This stereotype may play a specific role in black women's reluctance to negotiate owing to concern about being perceived as harsh, argumentative, emasculating, overly ambitious, unfeminine, and strong; thus, it is often deployed against black women who "dare to question their circumstances, point out inequities or ask for help" (Harris-Perry, 2011, p. 110). In the workplace, then, black women may avoid salary negotiations in an effort to avoid activating or exacerbating their association with the angry black woman stereotype. From the perspective of EVT, the angry black woman is the antithesis of what society has prescribed womanhood to be and can be expected to elicit backlash in negotiation contexts.

In sum, women are less likely than men to negotiate and, when they do, they face backlash owing to stereotype-based expectations of how women should behave (i.e., non-aggressively). Negotiators who belong to minority groups may likewise experience backlash owing to expectancy violations (i.e., being tolerant and not self-serving). Black women face a unique combination of racist and sexist biases, and the act of engaging in salary negotiations violates both gender and racial stereotypes and generates backlash against them. To demonstrate the connection between negative stereotyping of women and people of color and their subsequent avoidance of or underperformance in negotiating, it is necessary to show that the negative experience perceived as backlash in the negotiation process is in fact felt disproportionately by members of outgroups. The present study concentrates on the differential treatment of negotiators (i.e., it is evaluator-focused) rather than on the act of negotiating itself (i.e., being negotiator-focused) to gain particular insight into the relationship between the perceptions of evaluators and negotiator outcomes.

The Current Study

The findings presented here contribute to the literature by shedding light on the extent to which membership in multiple outgroups—as is the case with black women—results in significantly greater backlash than is experienced by those belonging to a single outgroup (e.g., white women and black men) owing to negative stereotyping and the associated backlash. In order to explore this idea, I created four job profiles including candidates who did and did not negotiate and had equivalent qualifications in terms of work experience and all other factors except gender and race. Participants in this part of the study were asked to rate the candidates in terms of hireability, sociability, and competence based on their profiles. Overall, I theorized that black female negotiators would receive less favorable outcomes—that is, greater backlash—than all other negotiators owing to the perception just discussed, namely that they violate stereotypical expectations in terms of both gender and race.

The first hypothesis (Figure 1) was formulated to replicate previous findings demonstrating differences in negotiation outcomes based on gender, in which male negotiators received significantly less backlash than female negotiators.

> Hypothesis 1: A significant multivariate interaction of gender and negotiation behavior will occur with respect to the hireability, sociability, and competence ratings of job candidates. Women who negotiate will receive lower ratings than those who do not relative to the observed difference between men who do and do not negotiate.

Figure 1. Hypothesized Relationship between Gender and Negotiation on the combined DVs

The second hypothesis (Figure 2) was formulated to replicate previous findings demonstrating differences in negotiation outcomes based on race (Hernandez, 2018), in which black candidates received significantly greater backlash for negotiating than white candidates. This research expands on the previous finding which only considered male candidates of both races, by considering differences among both races, despite gender.

Hypothesis 2: A significant multivariate interaction of race and negotiation behavior occurs with respect to the hireability, sociability, and competence ratings of job candidates. Thus, black candidates who negotiate receive lower ratings than those who do not relative to the observed difference between white candidates who do and do not negotiate.
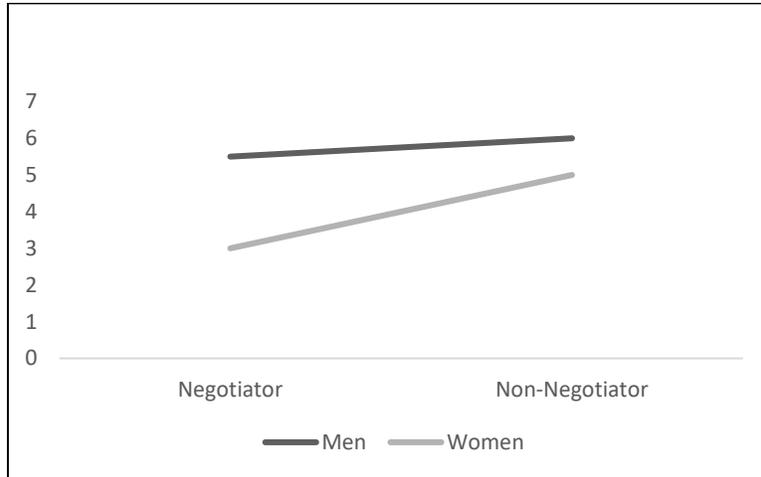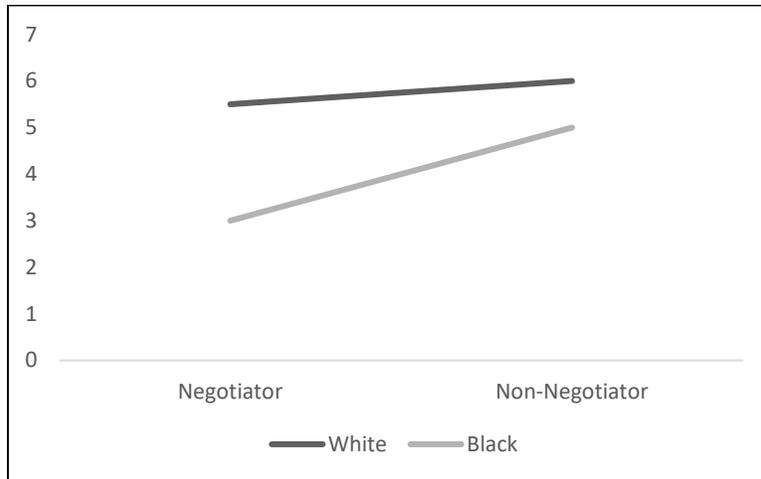
Figure 2. Hypothesized Relationship between Gender and Race on the combined DVs

Concerning the joint effects of gender and race on negotiation outcomes, I hypothesized, based on the literature on intersectionality, an additive effect as a result of which the influence of both gender and race would lead to more extreme differences between negotiation and non-negotiation conditions for black female candidates relative to all other groups. . White males, by contrast, belonging simultaneously to two ingroups, were expected to receive more favorable outcomes when negotiating relative to not negotiating than the other groups (i.e., black and white women and black men). There has been little research on which to base strong hypotheses here; thus, it was not immediately clear whether white women and black men would have different patterns of hireability, sociability and competency ratings when negotiating or not, as both have single minority status. In accordance with previous findings of gender differences in negotiation outcomes, it is expected that white women might experience less backlash than black women, but more than black men. I accordingly formulated a last hypothesis as follows.
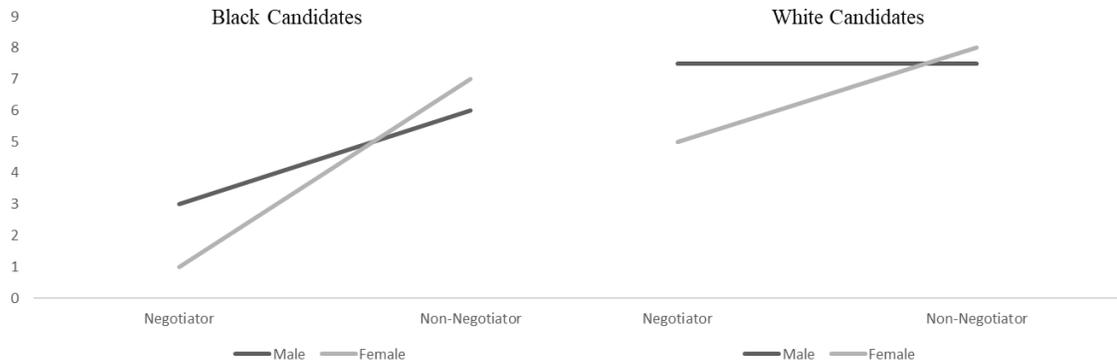
Figure 3. Hypothesized Relationship between Gender, Race and Negotiation on the Combined DVs

Hypothesis 3: A significant multivariate interaction of race, gender, and negotiation behavior occurs with respect to the hireability, sociability, and competence ratings of job candidates. Thus, black females will receive lower ratings when they negotiate (relative to not negotiating) than members of the other groups. White females are expected to receive lower ratings when they negotiate than males of both races, but not black females. Black males are expected to receive lower ratings when they negotiate than white males, but greater than females of both races. Finally, the difference in the ratings of white men who do and do not negotiate is expected to be smaller than is the case for the other groups.

To further explore the impact of race and gender on negotiation outcomes, two supplementary hypotheses were formed. First, I expected that the double-minority status of black women would mean that they are subject to greater backlash than white women, as expressed in the following hypothesis.

Hypothesis 3a: A significant multivariate interaction of race and negotiation behavior occurs with respect to the hireability, sociability, and competence ratings of female

candidates. Thus, black women who negotiate receive lower ratings than black women who do not, relative to the observed difference between white women who do and do not negotiate.

Because black males are racial minorities but belong to the gender ingroup and white males belong to both the racial and gender ingroups, I expected differences in the degree of negotiation backlash experienced by black as opposed to white men and formulated an additional hypothesis more directly replicating the results of Hernandez (2018).

Hypothesis 3b: A significant multivariate interaction of race and negotiation behavior occurs with respect to the hireability, sociability, and competence ratings of male candidates. Thus, black men who negotiate receive lower ratings than black men who do not relative to white men who do and do not negotiate as a consequence of backlash.

Chapter 3. Methods

Participants

The participants in this study were 285 male and female undergraduate students from the Psychology Department at Louisiana State University (LSU) who were recruited using the university's online Psychology Research Participation System (SONA). As an incentive for participation in the study, the system awarded the participants one research credit. The sample size for this study was arrived at by tripling the sample size of the study by Bowles et al. (2007) discussed above, which used a similar paradigm with half the conditions. Initially, 312 individuals were considered for the study, but 27 were excluded for failure to recognize the gender, race, and/or negotiation manipulation. Of the retained participants, 76.8% were female and the mean age was 19.14 (SD = 1.87); 66% were white, 16.8% black, 9.5% Asian, 5.6% Hispanic/Latinx, and 2% identified as "other"; and 47.7% reported being employed at the time of the experiment.

Design

The experiment utilized a 2 (Race: White or Black) x 2 (Gender: Male or Female) x 2 (Negotiation: Ask or No Ask) between-subjects design. To increase its external validity, five potential job types were included (Job Type: Executive Administrative Assistant, Graphic Designer, IT Support Specialist, Marketing Associate, or Therapist). These job types were used owing to their frequency in work industries (i.e., marketing, counseling/therapy, technology, business, and design). The dependent variables were 1) willingness to hire a candidate ("Hireability"), as assessed by a two-item measure; 2) job candidate competence; and 3) job candidate sociability, the latter two being assessed by nine-item measures on a

seven-point scale. Participants were randomly assigned to one of eight conditions among which the five job types were distributed equally.

Procedure

The participants completed the job interview task in a laboratory setting. For this task, they were instructed to adopt the role of a hiring manager at a large company and to review a job candidate packet for an entry-level position. The packets included the materials described immediately below. After reviewing the packets, participants filled out a set of questionnaires in order to communicate their perceptions of the candidate's sociability, competence, and hireability (see appendices). After completing the questionnaires, the participants submitted all of the materials in exchange for a memory retention questionnaire, which served as a manipulation check.

Materials

Job candidate review packet. These packets included (1) a document providing a job description, (2) a screenshot of the candidate's online LinkedIn profile (linkedin.com), and (3) questions and answers from an interview with the candidate, as detailed below. Each participant received 1 of 40 packets that together represented the 8 experimental conditions and 5 job types.

Job description. The job description (JD) listed the qualifications, essential functions, and duties for each of the five entry-level positions (executive administrative assistant, graphic designer, IT support specialist, marketing associate, or therapist). It was designed to serve as a tool for the participants to use in determining the eligibility of the job candidate. The content was adopted from the National Center for O*Net Development (O*Net, 2018) in order to ensure the authenticity of the position descriptions and stylistic consistency. As indicated above, each of the five types of JD was held constant across the eight conditions.

LinkedIn profile. The content of the LinkedIn profile was held constant across conditions per job type except for the candidate's profile picture and name, each of which suggested a specific race and gender. These profiles included education level (a four-year college degree), relevant experience and skills, the candidate's name, and a headshot. Candidate qualifications were commensurate with those included in the job description (O*Net, 2018) such that each candidate was qualified for the job. The first names of the candidates were adopted from a study that used "African-American-sounding" and "White-sounding" names in the investigation of discrimination encountered when seeking employment (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2006). Specifically, that study found differences in callbacks in favor of applicants with white-sounding names, suggesting that respondents distinguished the race of applicants solely based on the names given as expected by the researchers. The present study used the white-sounding names of "Sarah" and "Matthew" and the African-American-sounding names of "Keisha" and "Tremayne." The last names were similarly selected, being adopted from a study of rental discrimination (Carpusor & Loges, 2006) in which "McDougall" served as a white-sounding last name and "Jackson" as an African-American sounding last name. The corresponding candidate headshots also reflected each candidate's race (black or white) and gender (male or female). I obtained these images from the Chicago Face Database, which provides normed images of male and female faces of individuals of various ethnicities ranging in age from 17 to 65 years, selecting for similarity in respect to attractiveness appropriate age for recent college graduates.

Interview questions and responses. A list of 10 common interview questions and answers (IQAs) were obtained from Indeed.com for inclusion on an IQA form that was constant within each job type except for the final IQA, which constituted the negotiation manipulation. This two-part question read, "Is there anything I haven't told you about the job or company that

you would like to know? Have you received the salary and benefits package?" The following are

samples of the candidate responses in the ask (negotiation) and no ask (non-negotiation)

conditions, respectively:

> Yes, I received the salary and benefits package. The benefits information was very clear. Geographically, I am totally unconstrained. I am happy to work anywhere, as long as I have got interesting stuff to do. What was not clear to me, however, was whether that salary represented the top of the pay range. I understand that there is a range in terms of how much junior marketers are paid in their first placement. I would like to be paid at the top of that range. I would also like to be eligible for an end-of-year performance bonus.

> Yes, I received the salary and benefits package. The benefits information was very clear. Geographically, I am totally unconstrained. I am happy to work anywhere, as long as I have got interesting stuff to do. I do have one question that I'd like to ask. What would you say are the biggest rewards of the job and working for this company? (Bowles et al., 2007)

Job candidate survey. The job candidate survey consisted of a set of questionnaires

assessing the participants' perceptions of the various candidates' sociability, competence, and

hireability. Demographic information was also collected. I based the questions (e.g., "How likely

would you be to hire the applicant for the job?") on Rudman and Glick's (1999) competence,

social skills, and hireability indexes. The participants were instructed to indicate the extent to

which each statement matched their impression of the candidate on a Likert scale ranging from 1

(very unlikely) to 7 (very likely).

Memory retention questionnaire. The memory retention questionnaire served as an

attention check, that is, as an assessment of the degree to which the participants were engaged in

the task. It also served as a manipulation check, ensuring that the participants were aware of the

negotiation, race, and gender manipulations. This questionnaire consisted of six multiple-choice

items designed to assess the accuracy of the participant's recollection of the candidate that he or

she had reviewed with respect to (1) the job being applied for and qualifications for the job (e.g.,

"What type of job was being applied for?"); (2) the name, race and, gender of the applicant (e.g., "What race was the applicant?"); and (3) the negotiation or lack thereof (e.g., "What did the candidate include in their question at the end of the interview?"). Participants who incorrectly indicated a candidate's race, gender, and/or negotiation behavior were screened out immediately, as were those who scored less than three of six correct answers overall.

Chapter 4. Results

Exploratory Factor Analysis

I conducted a principal axis factors factor analysis on the 20 items of the hireability, sociability, and competence measures with varimax rotation (orthogonal) in order to verify the distinctiveness of the hireability, sociability and competency constructs. It was noted though that because hireability was only measured with two items, the distinctiveness of the hireability construct could not be accurately captured by a factor analysis. The Principal Axis factors method was utilized as it was recommended as best practice (Fabrigar et al, 1999) in situations where the assumption of multivariate normality is violated. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's test of sphericity verified that all 20 items were suitable for factor analysis. The KMO measure indicates the proportion of variance in the variables that may be attributable to underlying factors. Bartlett's test of sphericity yielded an overall KMO of 0.89, the proximity of which to 1 indicating its appropriateness for the factor analysis.

I performed an initial analysis to obtain eigenvalues for each factor. Three factors had values that exceeded Kaiser's criterion of 1 and together explained 50.18% of the variance in the hireability, sociability, and competence scores. I also used Cattell's (1966) scree test to determine the number of factors, but the scree plot was somewhat ambiguous and showed inflections that would justify retaining either three or four factors. Due to the limitations of the hireability measure, which contained only 2 items, I retained 2 rather than 3 factors.

The factor loadings after rotation are presented in Table 1 (Appendix A). Examination of the loading matrix revealed that all 9 items of the sociability measure (Items 10-18) clustered together on Factor 1, thus confirming that the sociability measure items were independent of the

items of the hireability and competence measures. Also, all 9 of the competency items clustered

together on Factor 2, confirming its independence from the other factors. While the

distinctiveness of this construct could not be confirmed with the Factor Analysis, both hireability

items (Items 19 and 20) loaded more onto Factor 2.

Main Analysis

A series of MANOVAs was performed on the three dependent variables of hireability,

competence, and sociability. The independent variables were gender (male and female), race

(black and white), and negotiation behavior (ask and no ask). An initial sample size of 313 was

reduced to 278 with the removal of 35 cases. One case was removed owing to excessive missing

data, and 26 others were removed owing to poor performance on the manipulation/attention

check (i.e., the participants scored 50% or below or missed one or more of the three

manipulations). Seven other cases were identified as outliers using linear regression and removed

for Mahalanobis distances exceeding the threshold of 16.27, the maximum allowable critical

value based on a total of three dependent variables. The evaluations of the assumptions of

linearity, homogeneity of covariance, and absence of multicollinearity proved satisfactory.

Examination of normality plots revealed that the assumption of multivariate normality was

violated, but, owing to the large sample size, the multivariate central limit theorem makes

MANOVA robust to this violation. Table 2 shows the mean ratings of hireability, sociability, and

competence for each condition of the study.

Table 2. Mean Hireability, Sociability and Competency Ratings of Job Candidates by Race and Gender

Gender	Race	Negot.			Non-Negot.		
		Hire	Soc	Comp	Hire	Soc	Comp
M	B	5.8 (.84)	5.49 (.65)	5.88 (.55)	6.00 (.94)	5.81 (.84)	5.85 (.53)
	W	6.13 (.84)	5.54 (.87)	6.26 (.52)	5.82 (.67)	5.32 (.83)	5.87 (.50)
F	B	5.97 (.74)	5.63 (.92)	5.89 (.59)	6.09 (.60)	5.56 (.77)	6.12 (.48)
	W	6.1 (.70)	5.63 (.92)	6.12 (.50)	6.03 (.85)	5.70 (.73)	5.99 (.54)

Note. The table contains average hireability, sociability and competency ratings. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. Hire = Hireability Scores; Soc = Sociability Scores; Comp = Competency Scores.

Hypothesis 1

A 2x2 between-subjects MANOVA was performed on the three dependent variables of hireability, competence, and sociability in order to test the hypothesis that women face a greater backlash for negotiating than men. The independent variables were gender (male and female) and negotiation (ask and no ask). The results of the MANOVA showed no significant differences in the combined DV scores attributable to the interaction of gender and negotiation behavior (F $(3, 272) = 1.81$, p= .15, $\eta p^2 = .02$). The relevant means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3 and displayed in Figure 4.

Table 3. Mean Hireability, Sociability and Competency Ratings of Job Candidates by Gender

Gender	Negotiate			Non-Negotiate		
	Hire	Soc	Comp	Hire	Soc	Comp
M	5.97 (.85)	5.52 (.86)	6.08 (.57)	5.90 (.80)	5.54 (.86)	5.86 (.51)
F	6.04 (.72)	5.63 (.80)	6.00 (.55)	6.06 (.73)	5.63 (.75)	6.06 (.51)

Note. The table contains average hireability, sociability and competency ratings of male and female candidates. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. Hire = Hireability Scores; Soc = Sociability Scores; Comp = Competency Scores.
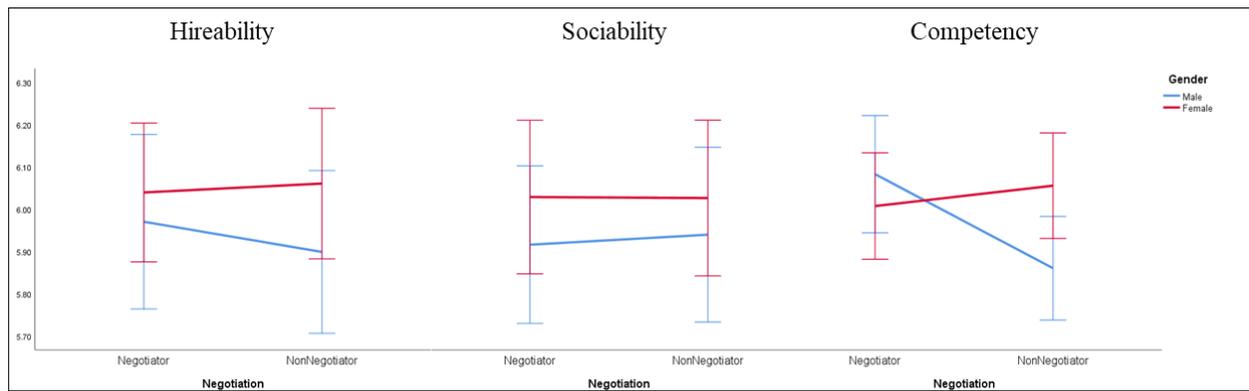
Figure 4. Mean Scores of Job Candidates by Gender. Figure 4 plots the mean scores and 95% CIs for male and female candidates separately for the three DVs: hireability, sociability, and competency.

Hypothesis 2

A 2x2 between-subjects MANOVA was performed on the three dependent variables of hireability, competence, and sociability in order to test the hypothesis that black candidates face a greater backlash for negotiating than white candidates. The independent variables were race (black and white) and negotiation (ask and no ask). The MANOVA showed a significant difference in the linear combination of DVs attributable to the interaction of race and negotiation behavior, (Wilks' Lambda= 2.96, F (3, 272) = 2.96, p= .033, ηp^2 = .032) providing partial support for Hypothesis 2. Univariate follow-up tests revealed that this result is primarily driven by differences in competency ratings (F (1, 277) = 8.78, p = .003, $\eta p^2 =$ .031) with no significant differences in sociability (F (1, 277) = 1.23, p = .263, $\eta p^2 =$ .005) or hireability ratings (F (1, 277) = 3.68, p = .056, $\eta p^2 =$ .013). As shown in Figure 5, black candidates who negotiated were rated less competent (*M* = 5.88) than those who did not (*M* = 5.99) relative to the difference between competence ratings of white candidates who negotiated (*M* = 6.20) and those who did not (*M* = 5.93). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 4 and displayed in Figure 5.

Table 4. Mean Hireability, Sociability and Competency Ratings of Job Candidates by Race

	Negot.			Non-Negot.		
Race	Hire	Soc	Comp	Hire	Soc	Comp
B	5.89(.79)	5.56(.65)	5.88(.57)	6.05 (.77)	5.68 (.81)	5.99 (.52)
W	6.12(.76)	5.59(.89)	6.20(.51)	5.91 (.76)	5.49 (.80)	5.93 (.52)

Note. The table contains average hireability, sociability and competency ratings of male and female candidates. Standard deviations are provided in parentheses. Hire = Hireability Scores; Soc = Sociability Scores; Comp = Competency Scores; B = Black; W = White.
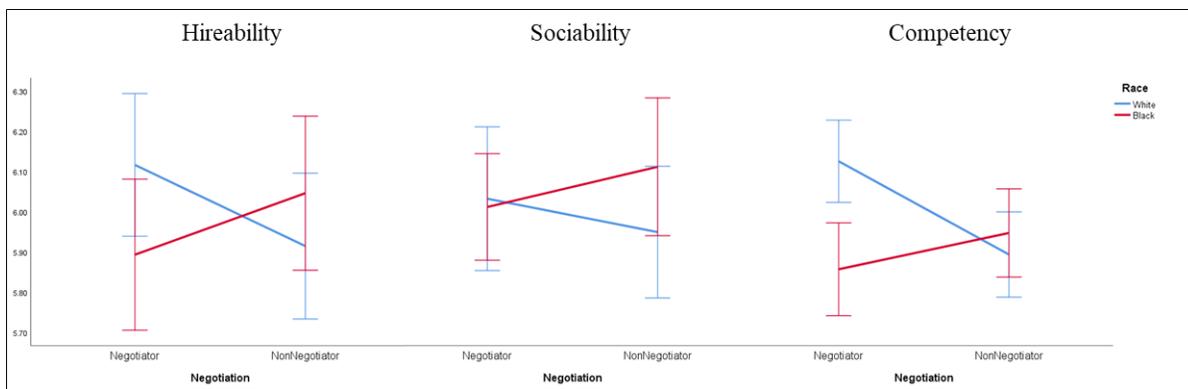

Figure 5. Mean Scores of Job Candidates by Race. Figure 5 plots the mean scores and 95% CIs for black and white candidates separately for the three DVs: hireability, sociability, and competency.

Hypothesis 3

A final 2 x 2 x 2 MANOVA was performed to test the hypothesized three-way interaction between race, gender, and negotiation, that BW would receive more and WM less backlash than the other groups. The independent variables were race (black and white), gender (male and female), and negotiation (ask and no ask). No significant differences were found in the scores attributable to race, gender, or negotiation behavior (Wilks' lambda = .99, F (3, 268) = 1.22, p = .30, ηp^2 = .01). The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2 and displayed in Figure 6.
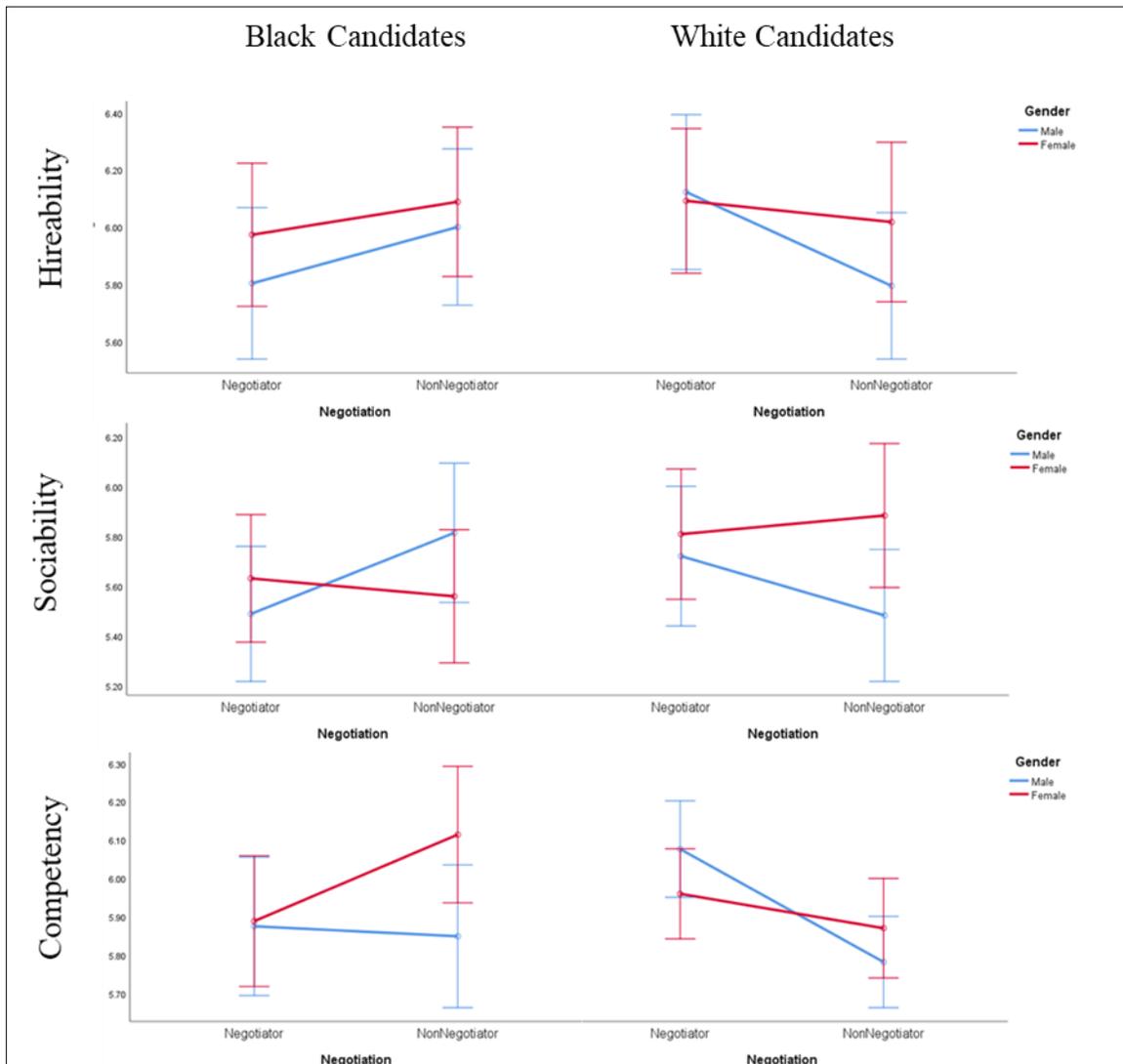
Figure 6. Mean Scores of Job Candidates by Gender and Race. Figure 6 plots the mean scores and 95% CIs for male and female candidates of both races separately for the three DVs: hireability, sociability, and competency.

Hypothesis 3a

A 2x2 between-subjects MANOVA was performed on the hireability, sociability, and competence scores of women candidates to test the supplementary hypothesis that black women (BW) experience greater backlash for negotiating than white women (WW). The independent variables were race (black and white) and negotiation (ask and no ask). The results of the

MANOVA showed no significant differences in the combined DV scores attributable to the interaction of race and negotiation behavior (Wilks' Lambda= .96, F (3, 136) = 1.86, p = .14, ηp^2 = .04).

While the multivariate test was not significant, univariate follow-up tests found a significant difference in competence ratings (F (1, 141) = 3.93, p = .049, ηp^2 = .03) in the predicted directions (see figure 5). BW who negotiated received less favorable competence ratings (M= 5.89) than BW who did not negotiate (M= 6.12), while the opposite was true for WW (M= 6.12, M= 5.99, respectively). Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 2 and displayed in Figure 6.

Hypothesis 3b

A 2x2 between-subjects MANOVA was performed on the hireability, sociability, and competence scores of male candidates to test the supplementary hypothesis that black men (BM) receive greater backlash for negotiating than white men (WM). The independent variables were race (black and white) and negotiation (ask and no ask). The results of the MANOVA showed no significant differences in the combined DV scores of male candidates attributable to the interaction of race and negotiation behavior, (Wilks' Lambda = .96, F (3, 130) = 2.05, p = .11, ηp^2 = .05). The means and standard deviations are presented in Table 3 and displayed in Figure 6.

Chapter 5. Discussion

This study contributes to the literature on the impact of race and gender in the workplace by demonstrating the race and gender-based differential treatment of negotiators from the unique perspective of the combined influence of these factors in the negotiation process. Thus, the consideration of race here sheds light on the potential role of intersectionality in negotiation backlash. Hypothesis 2 was supported, revealing significant differences in competency ratings for candidates due to the interaction of race and negotiation. The results did not, however, support the double-jeopardy hypothesis, according to which gender and race jointly influence negotiation outcomes for women of color in a unique way, and in this respect differ from reports in previous studies that female negotiators experience greater backlash than male ones (Bowles et al., 2007). Finally, there was no support for the hypothesis that black women experience more backlash than any other groups and white men less. Further, the results were inconsistent with the hypothesis that black women experience a greater backlash for negotiating than white women or that black men experience a greater backlash for doing so than white men.

These results suggest, then, that neither gender, taken independently or gender and race jointly, is responsible for significant differences in negotiation backlash. In terms of race, results replicate previous findings in which black negotiators received significantly greater backlash than white negotiators (Hernandez, 2018). Race and negotiation behavior together impacted competency, but not hireability or sociability ratings for candidates. This difference is congruent with expectations based on the stereotype content model, where competence is based on the perceived capability of a group. Competence is typically perceived to be higher in groups that are perceived as powerful and high status (whites, males). Thus, the findings are in line with racial stereotypes which typify minorities as lower in competence than more dominant groups. Such

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perceptions leave minority groups more susceptible to negotiation backlash, because they are stereotyped in ways that are incongruent with negotiation behaviors. While this study found some support for race-based differences in negotiation backlash, gender backlash and joint gender and race-based backlash remain unseen. This divergence from the significant findings of previous robust studies should naturally be taken with a grain of salt, for certain limitations may explain some of the distinctive results.

To begin with, the results would have been more robust had a bias measure for evaluators been included. The social dominance orientation scale (Pratto, 1994), for example, which measures preferences for hierarchical group relations and group-based dominance linked to discriminatory behavior toward low-status groups, has been utilized in previous studies that reported negotiation backlash against racial minorities. Hernandez et al. (2018) expected that individuals would evaluate negotiators differently depending on the extent of their biases in the context of group relations. Bias may mediate the relationships among backlash, gender, race, and negotiation so that individuals who are biased against women and minorities generate a greater backlash against those who negotiate comparable to the effect reported for race alone.

Second, there were several external validity concerns. In this respect, it is first important to consider the potential impact of the characteristics of the sample. The subject pool was largely homogenous, consisting as it did predominantly of white, undergraduate females with limited work experience. The limited age range and work experience of this demographic group thus could skew the sample. Lack of experience might mean that subjects fail to appreciate the significance of a salary negotiation. Future studies would therefore benefit from creating more diverse and representative samples that include working adults with considerable knowledge of and exposure to the process of salary negotiations. Additionally, use of MBA students might be

another way to ensure that participants are more cognizant of the negotiation experience. In all cases, it would be helpful to include a measure of the participants' negotiation experience and knowledge.

The artificial nature of the negotiation manipulation represents an additional constraint. Negotiations are complex social exchanges involving the interaction of two or more individuals, due to the simplicity of the study design it is likely to have failed to capture many of the complexities of the negotiation experience. Future studies could benefit from the use of more realistic negotiation manipulations than those used here, such as videos or role-playing scenarios.

In any case, the findings presented here suggest numerous avenues for future research. Thus, other studies could increase the generalizability of the findings by incorporating multiple groups of women from various ethnic backgrounds in order to determine whether they experience backlash differently. It might be worthwhile to see whether minority women are treated as a unified group or whether some subgroups are treated differently than others. Additionally, research focusing on the experiences of minority men might prove fruitful. Exploration of how the experiences of minority men differ from that of minority women are of interest. Alternatively, a multilevel approach, for example examining the influence of the organizational justice climate on negotiation backlash, could also prove productive. This study contributes to the literature by highlighting the importance of considering gender and race simultaneously in matters pertaining to discrimination and bias in the workplace. The study sought to illustrate the role of intersectionality in salary negotiation outcomes, by demonstrating adverse treatment for women and minority negotiators. Subsequent findings should build on this

initial effort by providing more robust evidence to help explain gender- and race-based

differences in salary negotiation outcomes.

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Appendix A

Table 1

Factor Loadings for Exploratory Factor Analysis of Sociability, Hireability and Competency Measures

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Items	Sociability	Competency
C1. How likely is it that the applicant is competent enough to perform the job?	.24	**.54**
C2. How likely is it that the applicant is an independent worker?	.05	**.37**
C3. How likely is it that the applicant is confident?	.08	**.31**
C4. How likely is it that the applicant is determined?	.17	**.47**
C5. How likely is it that the applicant possesses sufficient computer skills to perform the job?	.09	**.45**
C6. How likely is it that the applicant has sufficient analytical skills to perform the job?	.19	**.61**
C7. How likely is it that the applicant is ambitious?	.12	**.42**
C8. How likely is it that the applicant is competitive?	-.12	**.50**
C9. How likely is it that the applicant works well under pressure?	.18	**.55**
SS1. How likely is it that the applicant will be kind to others on the job?	**.78**	.01
SS2. How likely is it that the applicant will be supportive to others on the job?	**.76**	.13
SS3. How likely is it that the applicant will be sincere to others on the job?	**.75**	.17
SS4. How likely is it that the applicant will be helpful to others on the job?	**.65**	.24
SS5. How likely is it that the applicant will be liked by others on the job?	**.76**	.15
SS6. How likely is that the applicant will be friendly to others on the job?	**.81**	.12
SS7. How likely is it that the applicant will be popular among their peers on the job?	**.55**	.16
SS8. How likely is it that the applicant will be a good listener?	**.44**	.32
SS9. How likely is it that the applicant will be sensitive to the needs of others?	**.50**	.15
H1. How likely would you be to hire the applicant for the job?	.48	**.56**
H2. How likely is it that others would hire the applicant for the job?	.33	**.59**

Note. Factor Loadings > .40 are in boldface. Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax.

Appendix B

JOB DESCRIPTION

Job Title: Executive Administrative Assistant	**Job Functions: Administrative Support**
Industry: Business	**Seniority Level: Entry Level**
Employment Type: Full-Time	

General Summary: The Executive Administrative Assistant will provide high-level administrative support by conducting research, preparing statistical reports, handling information requests, and performing clerical functions such as preparing correspondence, receiving visitors, arranging conference calls, and scheduling meetings. May also train and supervise lower-level clerical staff.

Qualifications:
- Four-year College degree required.
- Customer and Personal Service — Knowledge of principles and processes for providing customer and personal services. This includes customer needs assessment, meeting quality standards for services, and evaluation of customer satisfaction.
- Administration and Management — Knowledge of business and management principles involved in strategic planning, resource allocation, human resources modeling, leadership technique, production methods, and coordination of people and resources.
- Service Orientation — Actively looking for ways to help people.
- Time Management — Managing one's own time and the time of others.
- Problem Sensitivity — The ability to tell when something is wrong or is likely to go wrong. It does not involve solving the problem, only recognizing there is a problem.
- Category Flexibility — The ability to generate or use different sets of rules for combining or grouping things in different ways.

Essential Work Activities (include, but are not limited to the following):
- Execute sales or other financial transactions.
- Make travel, accommodations, or entertainment arrangements for others.
- Prepare research or technical reports.
- Maintain medical records.
- Prepare documentation for contracts, transactions, or regulatory compliance.
- Manage clerical or administrative activities.
- Answer telephones to direct calls or provide information.
- Coordinate operational activities.
- Prepare business correspondence.
- Distribute incoming mail.

Appendix C

Candidate Images

The following images were used to represent a: white female (WF), black female (BF), white male (WM) and black male (BM) job candidate. The images were included in the candidates LinkedIn Profile (Appendix C). The normed images were obtained from the Chicago Face Database. The following gender and race congruent candidate names were used: Sarah McDougall (WF), Keisha Jackson (BF), Matthew McDougall (WM) and Tremayne Jackson (BM) (Carpusor & Loges, 2006; Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2006).

Appendix D

LinkedIn Profile

Keisha Jackson

Recent Louisiana State University Graduate

Baton Rouge, Louisiana Area | Executive Office

Previous   JTI Corporation

Education   Louisiana State University

Summary

Recent LSU Graduate seeking Entry-Level position.

Experience

Executive Assistant

JTI Corporation

January 2017 – May 2018 (1 year 5 months) | Baton Rouge, Louisiana Area

Education

Louisiana State University

Bachelor's degree, Business Administration and Management, General

2015 – 2018

Skills

Customer Service   **Sales**   Office Administration   **Time Management**   Clerical Skills

Creative Problem Solving

Appendix E

Interview Notes

Instructions: Please review the following Interview questions and responses from the job candidate's interview.

1. What is your greatest strength?

   I have an extremely strong work ethic. When I'm working on a project, I strive to go beyond simply meeting deadlines. I prefer to complete the project well ahead of schedule. In fact, last summer I earned a bonus for completing three of my assignments one week ahead of time.

2. What new ideas do you think you can bring to this company?

   I can bring dedication and a drive to succeed to this company. I've always been appreciative of what the organizations I have worked for have done for me, as well as what I can do for them. I'm a loyal and dedicated employee who wants to do my absolute best for the company I work for.

3. Beyond basic duties, tell me about what role you see the administrative assistant serving in the office?

   The administrative assistant might seem like someone whose job is simply keeping everything filed and organized and scheduled. But they actually are the building block of the entire office, making everyone's lives function more smoothly and with good access to information when they need it

4. What do you enjoy most about being an administrative assistant?

   The joy of being an administrative assistant is being at the center of the action, all the time. I always know what's going on in the office, and that gives me a chance to assist at making any important events happen more smoothly.

5. Is there anything I haven't told you about the job or company that you would like to know? Have you received the salary and benefits package?

   Yes, I received the salary and benefits package. The benefits information was very clear. Geographically, I am totally unconstrained. I am happy to work anywhere, as long as I have got interesting stuff to do. What was not clear to me, however, was whether that salary represented the top of the pay range. I understand that there is a range in terms of how much junior marketers are paid in their first placement. I would like to be paid at the top of that range. I would also like to be eligible for end-of-year performance bonus.

Appendix F

Interview Notes

Instructions: Please review the following Interview questions and responses from the job candidate's interview.

1. What is your greatest strength?

   I have an extremely strong work ethic. When I'm working on a project, I strive to go beyond simply meeting deadlines. I prefer to complete the project well ahead of schedule. In fact, last summer I earned a bonus for completing three of my assignments one week ahead of time.

2. What new ideas do you think you can bring to this company?

   I can bring dedication and a drive to succeed to this company. I've always been appreciative of what the organizations I have worked for have done for me, as well as what I can do for them. I'm a loyal and dedicated employee who wants to do my absolute best for the company I work for.

3. Beyond basic duties, tell me about what role you see the administrative assistant serving in the office?

   The administrative assistant might seem like someone whose job is simply keeping everything filed and organized and scheduled. But they actually are the building block of the entire office, making everyone's lives function more smoothly and with good access to information when they need it

4. What do you enjoy most about being an administrative assistant?

   The joy of being an administrative assistant is being at the center of the action, all the time. I always know what's going on in the office, and that gives me a chance to assist at making any important events happen more smoothly.

5. Is there anything I haven't told you about the job or company that you would like to know? Have you received the salary and benefits package?

   Yes, I received the salary and benefits package. The benefits information was very clear. Geographically, I am totally unconstrained. I am happy to work anywhere, as long as I have got interesting stuff to do. I do have one question that I'd like to ask. What would you say are the biggest rewards of the job and working for this company?

Appendix G

<div align="center">Questionnaires</div>

<div align="center">Job Candidate Survey</div>

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please indicate to what extent the statement matches your impression of the applicant. (Circle One)

Please use the following scale: 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Extremely)

<u>Competence</u>

How likely is it that the applicant is competent enough to perform the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant is an independent worker?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant is confident?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant is determined?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant possesses sufficient computer skills to perform the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant has sufficient analytical skills to perform the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant is ambitious?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant is competitive?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant works well under pressure?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please indicate to what extent the statement matches your impression of the applicant. (Circle One)

Please use the following scale: 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Extremely)

Social Skills

How likely is it that the applicant will be kind to others on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be supportive to others on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be sincere to others on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be helpful to others on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be liked by others on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely

5. Extremely likely

How likely is that the applicant will be friendly to others on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be popular among their peers on the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be a good listener?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that the applicant will be sensitive to the needs of others?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

Instructions: For each of the statements below, please indicate to what extent the statement matches your impression of the applicant. (Circle One)

Please use the following scale: 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Extremely)

Hireability

How likely would you be to hire the applicant for the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

How likely is it that others would hire the applicant for the job?

1. Not at all likely
2. Somewhat unlikely
3. Neutral
4. Somewhat likely
5. Extremely likely

Demographics

Instructions: Please answer the following demographic questions.

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your classification? (Circle One)
   a. Freshman
   b. Sophomore
   c. Junior
   d. Senior
   e. Graduate Student
   f. Other _____

3. Are you currently employed?
   a. Yes
   b. No

4. What is your gender?
   a. Male
   b. Female
   c. Other _____

5. What is your race?
   a. White/Caucasian
   b. Black/African American
   c. Asian
   d. Hispanic
   e. Middle Eastern
   f. Other _____

Appendix H

Subject Number: _____

Memory Retention Questionnaire

Instructions: Carefully read the following questions and circle your answer to each.

Job Description

1. What type of job was being applied for?

   a) Executive Administrative Assistant

   b) Graphic Designer

   c) IT Support Specialist

   d) Marketing Associate

   e) Therapist

   f) Unsure/Don't Recall

2. Which of the following was a qualification for the job?

   a) Service Orientation — Actively looking for ways to help people.

   b) Originality — The ability to come up with unusual or clever ideas about a given topic or situation, or to develop creative ways to solve a problem.

   c) Instructing — Teaching others how to do something.

   d) Sales and Marketing — Knowledge of principles and methods for showing, promoting, and selling products or services. This includes marketing strategy and tactics, product demonstration, sales techniques, and sales control systems.

   e) Active Listening — Giving full attention to what other people are saying, taking time to understand the points being made, asking questions as appropriate, and not interrupting at inappropriate times.

   f) Unsure/Don't Recall

Applicant Profile

3. What was the name of the applicant you evaluated?

   a) Sarah McDougall

NOTE: PROCEED TO THE BACK OF THE PAGE

    b) Keisha Jackson

    c) Matthew McDougall

    d) Tremayne Jackson

    e) Unsure/Don't Recall

4. What race was the applicant?

    a) White

    b) Black

    c) Asian

    d) Hispanic/Latino

    e) Unsure/Don't Recall

5. What gender was the applicant?

    a) Male

    b) Female

    c) Unsure/Don't Recall

Interview Notes

6. What did the candidate include in their question at the end of the interview?

    a) The candidate asked about on-the-job training.

    b) The candidate asked to be paid at the top of the pay range.

    c) The candidate asked about the rewards of working for the company.

    d) The candidate did not have any questions at the end of the interview.

    e) Unsure/Don't Recall

VITA

Chelsea D. Hightower, a native of Tallahassee, Florida, received her bachelor's degree in Psychology at the University of Central Florida (UCF) in 2014, she continued her education at UCF in pursuit of a master's degree in Clinical Psychology. Through her work in community mental health settings, Chelsea grew interested in studying and helping to alleviate employee and work-related issues. As her passion grew, she made the decision to enter graduate school in Industrial and Organizational Psychology at Louisiana State University. She will receive her master's degree in August 2019 and begin work in pay equity consulting as she completes her doctorate.