

5-7-2020

An Examination of the Relationship Between Employers' Personal Dispositions and Their Implicit Gender and Racial Bias during Hiring Processes for Entry-Level Sport Management Positions

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An Examination of the Relationship Between Employers' Personal Dispositions and Their
Implicit Gender and Racial Bias during Hiring Processes for Entry-Level Sport Management
Positions

Junyoung Cho, PhD

University of Connecticut, 2020

The purpose of the study was to examine the relationship between employers' personal dispositions associated with implicit biases (race and gender) and their perceptions of applicants to entry-level sport management positions. Two sections were formulated in relation to the overall conceptual framework. Based on implicit bias, social role theory and intersectionality, section 1 focused on the tendency to prefer higher social status groups (i.e., white men). Section 2 focused on subjective uncertainty reduction theory and social identity theory which posit that employers tend to prefer candidates in the same gender and racial groups. Simulated employment procedures were applied in the present study. In particular, white male, black male, white female, and black female candidates' interview videos and resumes were examined as the vignette. In section 1, social dominance orientation was included as a predictor of employers' implicit gender and racial bias favoring higher social status groups. Emotional intelligence and attributional complexity were included as moderators of the effect of social dominance orientation. Results indicated that social dominance orientation was a significant predictor of employers' preference for higher social status groups. However, the value of emotional intelligence and attributional complexity on

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mitigating employers' implicit gender and racial bias was not supported. In section 2, collective self-esteem was included as a predictor of implicit gender and racial bias associated with in-group favoritism. Emotional intelligence was included as a moderator on the effect of collective self-esteem. Results revealed white employers with higher collective self-esteem show a stronger tendency to racial in-group favoritism as they are more likely to prefer white candidates. The moderating effect of emotional intelligence was not found to be significant. Implications and limitations were discussed.

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Implicit Gender and Racial Bias during Hiring Processes for Entry-Level Sport Management
Positions

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A Dissertation

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

at the

University of Connecticut

2020

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2020

APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

An Examination of the Relationship Between Employers' Personal Dispositions and Their
Implicit Gender and Racial Bias during Hiring Processes for Entry-Level Sport Management
Positions

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the following people, without whom I would not have been able to complete this research, and without whom I would not have made it through my doctoral degree!

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Dr. Jennifer McGarry. Her insight and knowledge into the subject matter steered through this research. Without her guidance, I can't imagine how I get through arduous journey of doctoral course and harsh life in United States as a naïve international student.

My committee, Dr. Laura Burton, Joseph Cooper, Justin Evanovich, and Kevin Thompson, for their support throughout this process.

Joochul Lee, who offered me statistical support. Without him, I would have no content for my dissertation.

My colleagues, Charles Macaulay, Ajhanai Newton, Kolin Ebron, and Sara Rosen, thanks for helping me move forward to complete data collection.

Jun's family: Thank you for taking me in as a son and brother and supporting all for living. I love you all.

Songyi and gomdori: Thank you for always making me happy with your smiling and humors and for your unconditional love. Love you so much!

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Introduction

Several statistics indicate gender and racial disparities in sports organizations. According to the 2019 Gender and Racial Report Card (Lapchick, 2019), 72% of the National Football League (NFL) central office employees are white, and 63% are men. The Major League Baseball (MLB) central office comprises 66% white and 70% male employees. The National Basketball Association (NBA) league office consists of 63% white and 60% male employees. The Major League Soccer (MLS) office demonstrates the best representation of women (38%) and people of color (41%). Lapchick (2019) provided statistics indicating gender and racial disparity at the intercollegiate level as well. They highlighted that, across all positions, white employees constitute more than 70% and male employees, 65%. The sports media is an overwhelmingly white and male-dominated business, as the percentages of white and male employees across positions are above 80%. Given that such gender and racial disparities occur in diverse sports organizations, employers in these sports organizations arguably have a particular sense of what it takes to be employable—it would appear that evaluations of employability tend to be unconsciously gender and racially biased.

Employability is a set of capabilities that ensures attainment and retention of fulfilling work (Hillage & Pollard, 1998; Minten, 2010). To date, employers across industries have identified certain non-technical or soft skills—such as oral communication, teamwork, ethical decision-making, critical thinking, and the ability to apply knowledge in real-world settings—as most important for improving employability compared to technical or vocational skills (Deming, 2017; Hart Research Associates, 2015; Klaus, 2010; Maes, Weldy, & Icenogel, 1997; Mitchell, Skinner, & White, 2010). In the sports industry, relevant studies have identified that communication, decision making, leadership, time management, problem-solving, and work

ethics skills are important competencies of sports managers (Case & Branch, 2003; Horch & Schütte, 2003; Lambrecht, 1986). However, the same attributes are also classified as non-readily observables or implicit during the hiring process (Bravo, Won, & Shonk, 2012). Employers may not be able to effectively observe these skills because there are reliability problems in the traditional interview used as a recruitment method in many sports organizations (Taylor, Doherty, & McGraw, 2015). Traditional interviews are typically unreliable because interviewers usually reach their final decision based on the initial impression, which is unconsciously formed through “thin-slicing” or “blinking” without full inspection and interaction with the job candidates (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1992; Gladwell, 2006). Particularly, job candidates’ gender and race are the most likely characteristics to play significant roles during thin-slicing or blinking (Cable & Judge, 1997; Gladwell, 2006; Judge, Cable & Higgins, 2000; Posthuma, Morgeson, & Campion, 2002; Raza & Carpenter, 1987).

Problem Statement

During the hiring process, employers are likely to be biased regarding candidates’ gender and race and are thereby also likely to assess candidates according to such biases. If employers hold stereotypes about a gender or racial group that is congruent with the assumed necessary attributes for success in certain roles within an organization, biased assessments of candidates is more probable (Bosak & Sczesny, 2011). For example, a stereotype exists that men possess characteristics that are more congruent with being successful managers when compared to women (Collinson & Hearn, 2001; Hoyden, 2000; Schein, 2001). Additionally, racial bias dictates that white employees are perceived as more appropriate for managerial positions than black employees, as white employees are thought to be better listeners and have more integrity (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005). Gender and racial stereotypes may also result in hiring

discrimination in other non-managerial, or entry-level, roles. Grappendorf, Henderson, Burton, and Boyles (2011) revealed that white applicants are more favorably evaluated than black applicants in entry-level hiring processes, as white candidates are perceived to fit the applicable roles better (Grappendorf et al., 2011). Based on the stereotypes described above, candidates in certain gender and racial groups are likely to receive better ratings in the hiring process, which might result in gender and racial disparities in sports organizations.

Employers who make hiring decisions based on their own gender and racial biases may fail in judgment because gender and race are not job-relevant characteristics. Spence (1973) argues that selecting good employees is a lottery since it is impossible to accurately observe applicant job skills during the hiring process in most job markets. Therefore, an employer's ability to distinguish useful information relevant to job skills is essential to "winning the lottery." Useful information should reflect the investment and effort the candidate has extended to acquire job skills. For example, athletic participation may be useful information for employers, as it can predict certain job skills, such as time management or competition endurance, that is rewarding to participating athletes (Dwyer & Gellock, 2018). Contrastingly, certain characteristics inherent to candidates, such as gender and race, do not offer managers the candidates' job skills, as they are not achieved by personal effort and investment. It is, therefore, risky for employers to consider candidates' gender and race as exclusionary factors in the hiring process and, in the U.S., it is illegal.

As the Racial and Gender Report Card shows, white and male employees continue to dominate sport organization jobs (Lapchick, 2019). It is possible that such gender and racial disparity is coincidental. However, considering that the same phenomenon occurs in various sports organizations, it can be inferred that employers typically form a positive first impression

about white and male candidates, regardless of their actual job skills, and hold onto that when making hiring decisions. If this reasoning reflects reality, the efficacy of the hiring process of the sports organization must be questioned. Moreover, gender and racial disparity may reduce organizational productivity, as workplace diversity potentially serves as an advantageous source for certain traits like creativity (Cunningham, 2011), firm innovation (Hossain, Atif, Ahmed, & Mia., 2019), and improved decision making (Phillips, Northcraft, & Neale., 2006).

While considerable academic attention has been paid to the underrepresentation of women and black individuals in leadership positions within sport organizations (e.g., Cunningham, 2010; Cunningham, 2012; Cunningham, Sagas, & Ashley, 2001; Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Burton, Grappendorf, & Henderson, 2011; Burton, 2015), a paucity of academic efforts has focused on understanding the white and/or male dominance in entry-level positions. Therefore, more academic attention must be paid to understand how white and/or male dominance in entry-level sport management positions has become pervasive and how to address the gender and racial disparity. Particularly, the job interview is a critical setting for identifying employers' implicit gender and racial biases because job candidates' gender and race are more observable in a job interview than in the resume screening stages. However, little academic effort has focused on studying job interview settings. In sum, the purpose of this study is to examine how sport organization employers' racial and gender bias effects their ability to evaluate prospective employees during traditional interviews for entry-level sport management positions and how to address this issue.

Overall conceptual framework

To understand the underrepresentation of black employees in sport organizations, Cunningham (2010) offers a multi-level model that addresses factors at macro, meso, and micro-

levels, as factors at each level influence one another, according to a systems theory approach (Chelladurai, 2009; Kozlowski & Klein, 2000). Burton (2015) also provides a multi-level examination to deconstruct the underrepresentation of women in sport organizations.

Macro-level factors reinforcing gender and racial discrimination include institutionalized practices, political climate, and stakeholder expectations. Institutionalized practices represent systematic racism and sexism that have resulted from legitimated, habituated, and perpetuated institutional behaviors as the normal way to conduct business (Cunningham, 2010). Hegemonic masculinity and white supremacy serve as the operating principles in discriminating against women and black individuals in sport organizations, exemplifying institutional practices. The political climate, or the influence of power, is another factor. More specifically, since white and/or male leaders predominately possess the political power in sport organizations, the achievement of diversity initiatives heavily hinges on their interests. Stakeholder expectations represent a third macro-level factor, as individuals such as alumni and boosters have power and influence in operating organizational activities. Given that racism and sexism are ingrained in society, stakeholders may endorse organizational activities favoring white and/or male employees.

At the meso-level, discrimination represents the most common explanation for the underrepresentation of women and black employees in sport organizations. Greenhaus and colleagues (1990) propose two types of discrimination: (1) access discrimination and (2) treatment discrimination. Access discrimination usually occurs at hiring processes when female and/or black candidates receive fewer chances to enter the organization. Homologous reproduction is closely related to access discrimination. Homologous reproduction occurs when those in power allow only others who are gender and racial in-group members to gain access to

positions and maintain their power and influence. Treatment discrimination refers to an evaluation system disadvantageously applied to female and/or black employees. Leadership stereotypes also operate as a meso-level factor. Based on leadership categorization theory (Lord & Maher, 1991), which posits that people progressively develop mindsets of who can lead and what characteristics leaders should have, whites and/or males are prototyped as better fits for leadership roles than their counterparts in sport organizations. The last meso-level factor is organizational culture. Schein (1990) defined culture as “(a) a pattern of basic assumptions, (b) invented, discovered, or developed by a given group (c) as it learns to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, (d) that has worked well enough to be considered valid and therefore (e) is to be taught to new members as the (f) correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems” (p. 111). Organizational culture has the potential to influence gender and racial equity positively or negatively. Fink and colleagues (2001) noted that cultures in intercollegiate athletic departments in the U.S. value similarity rather than diversity, so whites and/or heterosexual men maintain their status as the majority, while women and black employees are marginalized.

Micro-level factors encompass how individual employees value their experiences and what expectations and intentions they develop under the influences of organizational micro and meso-factors. Given that organizational power, policies, interests, and cultures are formulated to favor white employees and males, marginalized women and black employees in sport organizations face barriers in their careers, as they have few social and human capital sources. Perception and acknowledgement of such barriers lead to lacking aspiration for success, which could result in high turnover intentions.

The multilevel model was developed to capture a deeper understanding of the interactions of micro (individual level such as psychological contexts of individual employees), meso (relational contexts of nested unit level such as socially categorized employee groups), and macro factors (sociocultural and economic level dynamics) influencing individual, organizational, and sociocultural antecedents and outcomes (Hitt, Beamish, Jackson, & Mathieu, 2007; Kim, Wennberg, & Croidieu, 2016; Molina et al., 2019). Kim and colleagues (2016) argue that a meso-level approach provides richness in understanding comprehensive contextual influences in organizational mechanisms. Therefore, this study focuses on the meso-level factors to identify how sport organization employers' racial and gender biases are formulated and affect their ability to evaluate job candidates during traditional interviews for entry-level sport management positions and how this can be addressed. This study thus concentrates on two meso-level factors: (1) access discrimination associated with employers' gender and racial stereotypes endorsing hegemonic masculinity and/or whiteness and (2) access discrimination associated with employers' intention of homologous reproduction. Each factor's influences are examined in two independent studies, respectively.

Study 1

The current study employed implicit bias theory, social role theory, and intersectionality to expound upon how employers' gender and racial biases are formulated by social stereotypes and result in access discrimination against women and black applicants to entry-level positions in sport organizations. Additionally, personal dispositions that are either positively or negatively related to such stereotypes were explored through relevant empirical research.

Conceptual Framework

Implicit bias. Bias can be described as an interpretative human judgement or response that is unfair, unjustifiable, or illegitimate because it neglects the importance of objective evidence regarding the situation (Fiske, 1998; Turner & Reynolds, 2001). Thus, the use of this term involves behavior (discrimination), attitude (prejudice), and cognition (stereotyping) (Mackie & Smith, 1998; Wilder & Simon, 2001). Bias, therefore, influences our judgements, decisions, and understandings and leads us to make inferences in either a favorable or unfavorable manner, which may or may not be accurate. To understand why people are unconsciously vulnerable to bias, it is critical to consider how stereotypes are organized and related to bias in the cognitive process. Stereotypes develop when people's implicit expectancies regarding certain objects influence how incoming information is interpreted and stored. People then typically first look for behaviors that fit stereotypes when making decisions (Lee, 2005). Thus, stereotypes formulated in one's cognition lead to biased decision making. For instance, when employers hold a stereotype, such as "white males are smarter," they are likely to have a positive first impression of white male candidates and bestow them a good rating accordingly. Implicit bias occurs without control or conscious decision; we are unaware that it is happening. Implicit bias can be triggered when we encounter and evaluate people or situations that differ from those in our daily lives without full awareness or conscious control (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995).

Social role theory. Social role theory (SRT) posits that perceivers' beliefs about social groups mirror "experiences with group members in their typical social roles—that is, in roles in which these group members are overrepresented relative to their numbers in the general population" (Koenig & Eagly, 2014, p. 372). SRT was developed to identify gender role

stereotypes and their influences on society. Wood and Eagly (2012) suggested that men and women's social roles are limited by socially formulated stereotypical characteristics. Particularly, SRT proposes that certain behaviors or qualities are demonstrated by each gender (i.e., descriptive gender stereotype) and that expectations for the roles that men and women play in society (i.e., prescriptive gender stereotype) exist. Descriptive stereotypes of men are represented by agency denoting "achievement orientation (e.g., competent, ambitious, task-focused), inclination to take charge (assertive, dominant, forceful), autonomy (e.g., independent, self-reliant, decisive), and rationality (e.g., analytical, logical, objective)" (Heilman, 2012, p. 115). Conversely, descriptive stereotypes of women are congruent with communal characteristics denoting "concern for others (e.g., kind, caring, considerate), affiliative tendencies (e.g., warm, friendly, collaborative), deference (e.g., obedient, respectful, self-effacing), and emotional sensitivity (e.g., perceptive, intuitive, understanding)" (Heilman, 2012, p. 115). Prescriptive gender stereotypes then entrench normative expectations for men's and women's behavior according to the descriptive gender stereotypes. The application of SRT to race is useful for framing stereotypical roles endorsing whiteness in society. Black people have traditionally been stigmatized as lazy, poor, unintelligent, hostile, violent, and dishonest (Brown, Boniecki, & Walters, 2004; Klonis, 2005; Spencer et al., 1998; Tan, Zhang, Zhang, & Dalisay, 2009), whereas white people have been stereotyped as wealthy, intelligent, motivated, and productive (Dasgupta, McGhee, Greenwald, & Banaji 2000; Klonis, 2005; Niemann, Jennings, Rozelle, Baxter, & Sullivan, 1994). In the workplace, several researchers posit that white employees are considered more appropriate for, and successful in, managerial positions than black employees, as they conform to the characteristics of a prototypical manager, such as being ambitious,

industrious, and competent to perform tasks (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Elling & Knoppers, 2005; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008; Tomaskovic-Devey & Stainback, 2007).

Intersectionality. Intersectionality is a theoretical framework to comprehend how the various aspects of one's gender and racial—among other—identities may combine to create social stereotypes. Crenshaw (1989) coined this term to describe the oppression of African American women. She argues that the oppression African American women's experiences cannot be understood in independent terms of being either black or a woman; rather, it must be interpreted by including the interaction between the two identities. Collins (1990) proposes the concept of the matrix of domination by arguing that intersectionality defines a social position in the race and gender hierarchy, since individuals possess varying amounts of penalty and privilege, depending upon their gender and racial identities. The matrix of domination, therefore, denotes that everyone can be an oppressor, an oppressed person, or simultaneously an oppressor and oppressed. Collins (1990) further states that in this system, for example, white women are privileged by their race but penalized by their gender. Alternatively, in situations where social factors other than gender and race are controlled, white men are presumably the most socially privileged individuals.

Social dominance orientation. Social dominance orientation (SDO) theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) posited that it is ubiquitous that societies comprise, maintain, and stabilize group-based hierarchies, a term that refers to the phenomenon that people in higher-status group tend to dominate others in lower status groups. Pratto and colleagues (1994; 2006) dubbed this phenomenon and demonstrated that social-dominance-oriented people typically support thoughts and policies that enhance the legitimacy of the social hierarchy, such as restrictive immigration policies, whereas those lower within social dominance orientation ratings tend to favor thoughts

and policies that attenuate the social hierarchy, such as affirmative action. Therefore, a tendency is linked to social dominance orientation when people, regardless of their social group status, favor the high-status group (Sidanius, 1993; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In short, some people support the social hierarchy not to elevate their own groups' status, but because they simply believe that people in higher-status groups are indeed smarter than members of low-status groups. They consequently justify that people in higher-status groups deserve to occupy higher positions (Levin, Federico, Sidanius, & Rabinowitz, 2002).

Ho and colleagues (2012) proposed two sub-dimensions of social dominance orientation; the first is the dominance sector, which represents a preference for active and overt oppressions over subordinate groups by dominant groups. The second sub-dimension is the egalitarianism sector, which represents opposition to equality between groups and the preference for subtle hierarchy-enhancing ideologies, beliefs, and social policies. Under the social role theory and social dominance orientation frameworks, it can be assumed that people with strong tendencies towards social dominance orientation will support the white and/or male-dominated hierarchy-enhancing policies in workplaces. Relevant studies provided evidence indicating that a high tendency towards social-dominance orientation is positively related to sexist attitudes, such as conformity to masculinity (Christopher & Wojda, 2008; Fox & Tang, 2014), and racist attitudes, such as conformity to hegemonic whiteness (Michinov, Dambrun, Guimond, & Méot, 2005; Unzueta, Everly, & Gutiérrez, 2014), as well as being positively related to derogation to hierarchy-attenuating practices (Steward & Cunningham, 2015).

Emotional intelligence. Through academic efforts to explore ways to address implicit bias, emotional intelligence has been identified as a personal disposition negatively related to implicit bias. In job interview settings, interviewers are likely to be biased by their own

emotional attachment to certain candidates, which could possibly lead to judgment errors due to their unfair candidate evaluation (Baron, 1993; Fox & Spector, 2000). EI is a concept representing a personal tendency to recognize and control emotional attachments in advance. More specifically, according to Salovey and Mayer (1990) who first introduced the concept, the notion of emotional intelligence refers to “the subset of social intelligence that involves the ability to monitor one’s own and others’ feelings and emotions, to discriminate among them and to use this information to guide one’s thinking and actions” (p. 189). Mayor and Salovey (1990) propose three categories to determine emotional intelligence level: (1) the appraisal and expression of emotion, (2) the regulation or control of emotion, and (3) the utilization of emotion in adaptive ways. In short, emotional intelligence can be briefly defined as a capacity to reason one’s emotions (Mayer et al., 2004). A prominent scholar on emotional intelligence, Daniel Goleman (1995), highlighted that emotional intelligence facilitates exercises for the capacity to liberate individuals from impulse-driven actions.

There are two conceptual approaches to understanding emotional intelligence. The trait model of emotional intelligence is used to understand emotional intelligence as “a constellation of emotion-related self-perceptions and dispositions (e.g., emotion perception emotion management, empathy, impulsivity) assessed through self-report questionnaires” (Petrides & Furnham, 2006, p. 554). Contrarily, the ability model digests emotional intelligence as individuals’ capacity to reason about their emotions and emotional situations, which is typically measured by maximal performance items with answers deemed correct or incorrect (Petrides & Furnham, 2000; Pérez, Petrides, & Furnham, 2005). Given that the trait and ability models are distinct from each other regarding their approaches to understanding emotional intelligence, it is important to clarify which model is more appropriate to use for the current study. O’Connor and

colleagues (2019) suggested using the trait model of emotional intelligence when the purpose of the research is to examine behavioral tendencies and/or emotional self-efficacy regarding whether individuals are competent at managing and regulating emotions. Consistent with their suggestion, the trait model of emotional intelligence is useful for identifying employers' ability to regulate their emotional attachments associated with implicit gender and racial bias to certain job candidates.

Given that emotionally intelligent people are more aware of their emotional status and can control it, emotional intelligence can presumably mitigate one's implicit bias as derived from emotional attachment. Empirical findings support the role of emotional intelligence in mitigating implicit bias. Buontempo and Brockner (2008) demonstrated that the ability to understand emotion reduces the possibility of the ease of recall bias, which refers to the tendency to judge situations or people's behavior by mental shortcuts relying upon easily recalled memories. Athota and colleagues (2009) asserted that unidimensional emotional intelligence enhances moral reasoning and the cognitive ability to use one's standards and values to more properly judge socio-moral problems (Rest, 1979). Recent research by Onraet and colleagues (2017) examined the relationship between unidimensional EI and subtle racial prejudice. They posited that low-emotional intelligence individuals are prone to conform to societal norms and ideologies. Their results revealed that emotional intelligence is negatively related to the tendency to dismiss racial minorities' perspectives, which implies that emotional intelligence is negatively related to factors that enhance higher-status group favoritism, such as social dominance orientation. Results also demonstrated that individuals with high emotional intelligence have a greater ability to experience empathy. Given that a lack of empathy is the basis for social

dominance orientation (Sidanius et al., 2013), it can be inferred from this result that emotional intelligence and social dominance orientation have a negative relationship.

Attributional complexity. Like emotional intelligence, attributional complexity has been found to reduce the possibility of judgment errors derived from implicit bias. Davis and Kraus (1997) found that high cognitive complexity, which refers to the tendency to think thoroughly about others' behavior, can determine the extent to which individuals make accurate judgments. Likewise, in their research, low levels of dogmatic or rigid thinking enable individuals to better perceive behaviors not easily noticeable to others. Such a high level of social information detecting skills is considered AC. Fletcher and colleagues (1986) illustrated that attributional complexity encompasses the capability to generate more causes in one's causal accounts from a greater amount of information gained by deeper and more complex human interactions. Relevant studies demonstrated that people with high attributional complexity are less likely to be racially biased, as attributional complexity is positively related to the need for cognition—an individual's desire for effortful cognitive activities (Tam, Au, & Leung, 2008)—and racial complexity—the ability of individuals to identify racism as a pervasive societal issue (Reid & Foels, 2010).

Literature Review

Social stereotypes and access discrimination in sports organizations. Employers' biases, associated with social stereotypes, are linked to the issue of hiring discrimination in workplaces. Melton and Cunningham (2016) examined whether stigma related to obesity affects applicants' evaluation in a sports organization. Findings revealed that thinner applicants received better evaluations than heavier applicants. Additionally, evaluators with high social dominance orientation showed more negative views against obesity than those with low social-dominance orientation.

Relevant studies have identified that employers' gender and racial biases based on social stereotypes account for the underrepresentation of female and black employees in sport organizations. Burton and colleagues (2009) identified that masculinity is regarded as the most important managerial role for an athletic director, which implies that women are subject to facing access discrimination for leadership positions in sport organizations. Burton and colleagues (2011) identified that such social stereotypes endorsing masculinity operate as access discrimination against women. Their study's findings revealed that sport organization employers typically rate the female candidate lower than the male candidate for the athletic director position. These findings affirm that women are more likely to be discriminated against due to social stereotypes during hiring processes for leadership positions. As discussed earlier, meso-level factors can affect micro-level factors. Harris and colleagues (2015) identified that female sport management undergraduates perceived potential access and treatment discriminations as well as barriers throughout their future careers in the sports industry, which might reproduce the underrepresentation of women in entry-level positions in sport organizations. Such self-limiting behaviors can be attributed by stereotype threat, the phenomenon that negative stigmatized identity or stereotypes about a social group in a particular task can result in lower quality of task performance exhibited by members in the social group (Steele, 1997). More specifically, when women feel or experience stereotype threat in sport leadership positions, they come to see the positions as not viable option in their careers so that they can have a lack of interests (Walker & Bopp, 2011). Lowered vocational interests is associated with low self-efficacy and outcome expectations, which could result in reproduced underrepresentation of women (Cunningham et al., 2005).

Racial discrimination due to social stereotypes has been identified in previous studies. Rosette and colleagues (2008) identified that “being White” was seen as a prototype for leadership positions and accordingly White leaders were perceived to be more effective than racially minoritized leaders. Empirical evidence supported that racial stereotypes contribute to treatment discrimination against black candidates. Sartore and Cunningham (2006) identified that both the unqualified and qualified Whites were rated more promotable than their black counterparts for leadership positions in sport organizations when white employers are the decision makers. According to systems theory, as discussed earlier, it is assumed that such treatment discrimination associated with racial stereotypes could affect black candidates’ perception of potential access discrimination, which may result in black candidates’ self-limiting behaviors. McDowell and colleagues (2009) identified that the segregation of black employees from administrative and senior level sport management positions results from lack of aspiration in the face of institutionalized discrimination, including less access to social capital than white peers.

While considerable empirical evidence supports the influences of employers’ gender and racial bias associated with social stereotypes on the underrepresentation of female and black employees for leadership positions in sport organizations, it is empirically anecdotal at entry-level sport management positions. Considering implicit racial bias, Grappendorf and colleagues (2011) found that white applicants received more favorable evaluations than black applicants for an entry-level sports management position. Contrastingly, the literature has not supported the existence of implicit gender bias for an entry-level sports management position. Results from one study (Grappendorf & Burton, 2014a) revealed that sport management faculty tend not to perceive a male student as a better fit for an entry-level sports management position than a

female student. Another study (Grappendorf & Burton, 2014b) provided evidence indicating that no significant difference in hiring preference scores existed between male and female athletes for an entry-level position in the financial industry. Therefore, implicit gender bias in hiring processes for entry-level positions is still anecdotal.

Regarding methodology, the previous studies applied simulated employment procedures by using mock resumes as a vignette to manipulate research variables and control for confounding factors. However, some aspects of existing research methods are overlooked. First, previous studies did not address individual variability in their sample groups, since they used convenience sampling for data collection within the between-subject design. The primary concern of using convenience sampling is that results might be biased due to the sample possibly not being homogeneous (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016). In short, individual variability may weaken the results of comparisons between groups. Suppose that, in a study, two employers are in a job interview setting; Employer A typically gives a score of at least four out of five, while Employer B never gives more than a three when evaluating candidates. They are assigned to two different job candidates (white male, black female) as evaluators. Each candidate's job skills are controlled as identical, so the only differences between them are their gender and race. Then, the evaluation scores of the two job candidates are compared to identify the preferred candidate. The results demonstrate that the score of the white male candidate is higher than that of the black female. In this scenario, we cannot generalize that the white male candidate is more preferred than the black female candidate, because the difference of scores could stem from the tendency of employers rather than the difference of candidates' gender and race. Additionally, the mock resume used by previous studies as a vignette has limitations in clearly distinguishing candidates' gender and racial identities. Additionally, screening can probe only the initial stages

of the hiring process, ending with employers' decisions to invite candidates for in-person interviews (Bendick & Nunes, 2012). McGovern and Tinsley (1978) highlighted that while the use of a mock resume allows for more rigor in the specification of interviewees' characteristics, it dismisses the actual interview interaction that provides more realistic information about the job interviewees.

Physical attractiveness and nonverbal cues. The primary confounding factors in a mock interview vignette are physical attractiveness and nonverbal cues, since understanding the effects of these factors is critical for predicting the outcome of full interview ratings (Dipboye, 2005; Morrow, 1990; Watkins & Johnston, 2000). Physical attractiveness has long been considered a desirable property for employees, and it can significantly impact first impressions (Frieze, Olson & Russell, 1991; Henderson, Grappendorf & Burton, 2009; Marlowe, Schneider & Nelson, 1996; Watkins & Johnston, 2000). Literature in the sports field provides evidence indicating that obesity (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007) and disability (Wright & Cunningham, 2017) lower the chances of being hired into sports organizations. It has been also found that positive nonverbal behaviors, such as eye contact, smiling, nodding, hand gestures, and speaking rate, affect positive recruiter evaluations (Frauendorfer & Mast, 2015; Nguyen & Gatica-Perez, 2015). Further, a standard American English accent was found to positively determine employability (Deprez & Morris, 2010; Deprez & Morris, 2013).

Research Questions

Implicit bias denotes that people tend to unconsciously distort information to conform to social stereotypes. SRT explains how gender or racial stereotypes endorse the superiority of being either male and/or white. Intersectionality emphasizes that the intersection between being a man and being white places white males in the highest status positions within the hierarchical

societal system. Social dominance orientation has been found to be a factor positively related to implicit gender and racial bias while emotional intelligence and attributional complexity have been found to be factors that indirectly mitigate employers' implicit gender and racial bias.

Based on this conceptual framework, the following research questions drove Study 1: (1) To what extent do employers' social dominance orientations affect their implicit gender and racial biases during job interviews for entry-level sport management positions? (2) To what extent do employers' emotional intelligence and attributional complexity mitigate their implicit gender and racial biases during job interviews for entry-level sport management positions?

Hypotheses

H1: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, employers with higher social dominance orientation will give the white male candidate higher evaluation scores than other candidates.

H2: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, employers with higher social dominance orientation will give the black female candidate lower evaluation scores than other candidates.

H3: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, employers' emotional intelligence will influence the relationship between employers' social dominance orientation and their preference for the white male candidate over other candidates.

H4: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, employers' attributional complexity will influence the relationship between employers' social dominance orientation and their preference for the other candidates over the black female candidate.

Method

This study employed the experimental vignette methodology (EVM) to test hypotheses; EVM is useful for experimental control over manipulated antecedents, as well as when outcome variables are assessed by self-reported perception scales (Aguinis & Bradley, 2014). Additionally, EVM is a methodological strategy used to assess employers' implicit gender and racial bias, which cannot be easily assessed via direct measurement due to participants' lacking awareness or the risk of response biases associated with a socially desirable responding threat. The research design of this study is consequently comprised of the development of a mock interview video as a vignette and the distribution of the video vignette to online survey participants so they can evaluate each interviewee. Participants are then asked to provide their personal dispositions of social dominance orientation, emotional intelligence, and attributional complexity, as well as their demographic information. To control for individual variability, this study adopts a within-subject design, since this design type yields a substantial increase in statistical power when compared to a between-subject design (Keren & Lewis, 2014).

Participants and procedures. To develop the mock interview video, four actors were recruited with equal levels of employability skills but with different races (white/black) and genders (male/female) from doctoral students in a sport management program in a major university in the Eastern U.S. To control for confounding factors on employability, I set selection criteria other than race and gender, including (1) native English speaker and (2) equal levels of educational background and professional experience. In order for interviewees' employability skills to be identical, each received detailed information via email one week before their interviews. In the detailed information, each actor was assigned the same two interview questions with different, but equivalent answers. The Genos emotional intelligence inventory (Gignac, Palmer, Bates, & Stough, 2006), developed for workplace settings, was used to

formulate interview answers. Two latent variables—emotional self-management and the emotional management of others—were selected to create the interview questions. Then, using the 20 items that comprise each variable, this study developed four different answer types. For example, the first interview question (e.g., describe how you manage yourself at work) was developed to assess emotional self-management skills. The first actor answered the question with the eighth item of the emotional self-management scale in the Genos EI inventory (i.e., “I am experienced to handle stressful situations at work effectively”). The second actor answered the same question with “I demonstrate confident moods and emotions at work,” which is the sixth item of the Genos EI emotional self-management scale. Each item has identical power to explain the total variance of EI. In this sense, the emotional intelligence of each actor was controlled even though each answer looked differently.

Each actor received \$10 after completing the interview. The average time of each video was 1 minute 30 seconds, which is a sufficient length for employers to develop initial impressions (Ambady & Rosenthal, 1993; Dougherty, Turban, & Callender, 1994; Willis & Todorov, 2006). Mock resumes were also designed to control for potential confounding factors, such as name, education level, professional experience, and generic job skills. The mock interview videos and resumes were viewed by online survey participants.

To recruit online survey participants who represented the population of employers in sports organizations, this study used Amazon’s Mechanical Turk (MTurk) online labor market. The population was composed of individuals who were currently involved in the sports industry in the U.S. and directly related to the recruitment and evaluation of entry-level employees. A total of 318 subjects completed the online survey. To address the inattentiveness of subjects in the original dataset, subjects who completed the survey within 10 minutes and who answered

with consistent numbers for all items, including reverse code items, were eliminated. After applying these exclusion criteria, 17 subjects were eliminated. Therefore, a total of 301 subjects were used for data analysis, which is an acceptable sample size based on the rules of thumb (Bentler & Chou, 1987; Nunnally & Bernstein, 1967; Wang & Wang, 2019). Generally, the average respondent was in their early thirties, white (48%) or black (52%), male (82%), and highly educated (94%). Table 1 illustrates details about the demographic information of the sample. Online participants were asked to review and watch each interviewees' resume and video and evaluate them individually. Next, they were asked to rate self-perceived social dominance orientation, emotional intelligence, and attributional complexity. The ideal completion time was estimated as 60 minutes, which was calculated by averaging durations from two pilot testers' data. All participants who completed the entire survey were compensated with \$6, as 10 cents per minute is considered ideal (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011).

Table 1

Sample Demographics (N=301)

Categories	Sample (301)
Age	
Mean	31.62
Standard deviation	5.41
Range	22-64
Gender	
Male	82% (246)
Female	18% (55)

Race

White	48% (144)
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Black	52% (157)
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Education

High school graduate	1% (3)
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Some college but no degree	2% (5)
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Associate degree in college (2-year)	2% (7)
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Bachelor's degree in college (4-year)	56% (169)
---------------------------------------	-----------

Master's degree	38% (115)
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Sports organization

Governmental bodies	26% (79)
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National sports organizations	7% (20)
-------------------------------	---------

Local sports organizations	10% (31)
----------------------------	----------

School sports	9% (26)
---------------	---------

College and university sports	19% (56)
-------------------------------	----------

Professional sports organizations	8% (23)
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Sports facilities	13% (40)
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Sporting goods manufacture and retail	2% (6)
---------------------------------------	--------

Sports media	7% (20)
--------------	---------

Job

Sales	6% (19)
-------	---------

Marketing	18% (53)
-----------	----------

Finance and accounting	11% (34)
------------------------	----------

Customer service	30% (91)
Human resources	3% (9)
Production	7% (20)
Technology and equipment	9% (27)
Operation	16% (47)
Work experience in sports management	
Less than 1 year	3% (9)
1 - 3 years	37% (112)
4 - 6 years	44% (131)
7 – 10 years	13% (40)
More than 10 years	3% (9)
Work experience in current positions	
Less than 1 year	3% (9)
1 - 3 years	43% (129)
4 - 6 years	39% (116)
7 – 10 years	14% (41)
More than 10 years	2% (6)

Research Variables

Dependent variables. Four dependent variables were measured in this study: hiring recommendations, competence evaluation, candidate likeability, and total evaluation. Several studies using experimental research methods for job candidate evaluation and recruitment

decision-making have used these variables (Grappendorf et al., 2011; Heilman, Kaplow, Amato, & Stathatos, 1993; Higgins & Judge, 2004). Hiring recommendation (HR) ($a = .92$) measures the likelihood that online survey participants would recommend hiring the interviewee on a 7-point Likert type scale (1 = do not recommend at all; 7 = highly recommend). Competence evaluation (CE) ($a = .96$) is a composite score of three separate 7-point Likert scale items: “all in all, how qualified do you think this candidate is for this position?” (1 = not at all qualified; 7 = very qualified); “how do you expect this candidate to perform on this job?” (1 = very poorly; 7 = very well); and “how would you rate the candidate’s potential to move up in the company?” (1 = very little; 7 = great deal). Likeability (LIK) comprises a single 7-point Likert scale item ($a = .73$): “how much do you think you would like this candidate as a person?” (1 = very little; 7 = great deal). The score of the total evaluation was equal to the sum of all evaluation scores.

Control variable. Physical attractiveness has long been considered a desirable property for employees, and it can significantly impact employers’ first impressions of them (Frieze et al., 1991; Henderson et al., 2009; Marlowe et al., 1996; Watkins & Johnston, 2000). Therefore, physical attractiveness can bias the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables. However, the physical attractiveness of each candidate cannot be manipulated, unlike other characteristics. To reduce the confounding threat of physical attractiveness to the internal validity of this research, a physical attractiveness rating was considered in the research model as a control variable by including a 7-point Likert scale item, “How do you rate this applicant’s physical attractiveness?” (1 = very unattractive; 7 = very attractive), in the survey.

Independent variable 1: Social dominance orientation. The most used scale for social dominance orientation is the 16-item SDO scale (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), which is called SDO6. All items on this scale are rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly

agree). Sidanius and Pratto (1999) demonstrate that the psychometric properties of the SDO6, as unidimensional scales, have high levels of internal and cross-time reliability ($\alpha = .83$) in six different samples. Ho and colleagues (2012) conducted factor analyses of SDO6. They suggest that it is best conceptualized as consisting of two distinct factors measuring support for group-based dominance hierarchies (SDO-D, eight items) and opposition to group-based equality (SDO-E, eight items). SDO-D constitutes support for group-based dominance hierarchies, in which dominant groups actively oppress subordinate groups. SDO-E constitutes a preference for systems of group-based inequality that are maintained by an interrelated network of subtle hierarchy-enhancing ideologies and social policies. In contrast to SDO-D, which represents support for blatant and overt social dominance actions like the active or even violent maintenance of oppressive hierarchies, SDO-E represents individuals' support for ideologies that subtly legitimate inequality and their opposition to inclusive policies, such as affirmative action (Ho et al., 2012). Ho and colleagues also provide evidence of adequate reliability and good internal validity for both subscales of the SDO6 ($\alpha = .87$ for SDO-D; $\alpha = .90$ for SDO-E). In this study, subscale scores were computed as the mean of the items associated with each factor (2012).

Independent variable 2: Emotional intelligence. This study adopted the trait model of emotional intelligence to assess employers' self-perceived traits for perceiving and controlling their emotional attachments for its appropriateness when the purpose of the research is to examine behavioral tendencies (O'Connor, Hill, Kaya, & Martin, 2019). Therefore, tests framed by the trait model of emotional intelligence are developed via validated self-report items. Hall and colleagues (1998) devised the Schutte Self-Report Emotional Intelligence (SSREI) model based on Salovey and Mayer's original emotional intelligence model (1990). They identified

that, by removing 29 items and re-analyzing data, the modified model produces an adequate one-factor solution. The 33-item scale has an adequate internal consistency reliability ($r = 0.87\text{--}0.90$) and acceptable test-retest reliability ($r = 0.78$). These self-reported statements require respondents to rate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). A limitation of self-report scales is their susceptibility to faking, as participants can easily come across as highly emotionally intelligent by answering questions in strategic, socially desirable ways. However, this limitation is generally predictable when respondents are concerned that someone of importance, such as a supervisor or potential employer, can access the test results (O'Connor, Hill., Kaya, & Martin, 2019). When emotional intelligence is used for research purposes or self-development, participants are less likely to fake their answers. (Tett, Freund, Christiansen, Fox, & Coaster, 2012).

Independent variable 3: Attributional complexity. The original 28-item attributional complexity scale (ACS) asked participants, using a 7-point Likert scale, to indicate agreement with each item (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). The 7-item attributional complexity scale short-form (ACS-S) was devised from the 28-item original version (Fletcher et al., 1986). To develop a briefer version of the original scale, Fletcher—the developer of ACS—and his colleague conducted a factorial analysis with three separate samples in unpublished research. The results demonstrate that ACS-S is an acceptable alternative to the original scale, as ACS-S has a good convergent validity with ACS ($r = .86$) and internal reliability ($\alpha = .81$). Additionally, the results of a principal component analysis provide evidence for a single-factor model, with one factor explaining 46.7% of the variance and the remaining factors explaining less than 12.9%.

Demographic variables. Demographic variables included employers' race, gender, age, education, types of organization, job position, work experience in the sports industry, and work experience in this job position.

Results

The normality and homogeneity of variance were tested using R-package and found to be acceptable, as shown in Chart 1. Chart 1

Normal Plot and Residual vs Fitted values

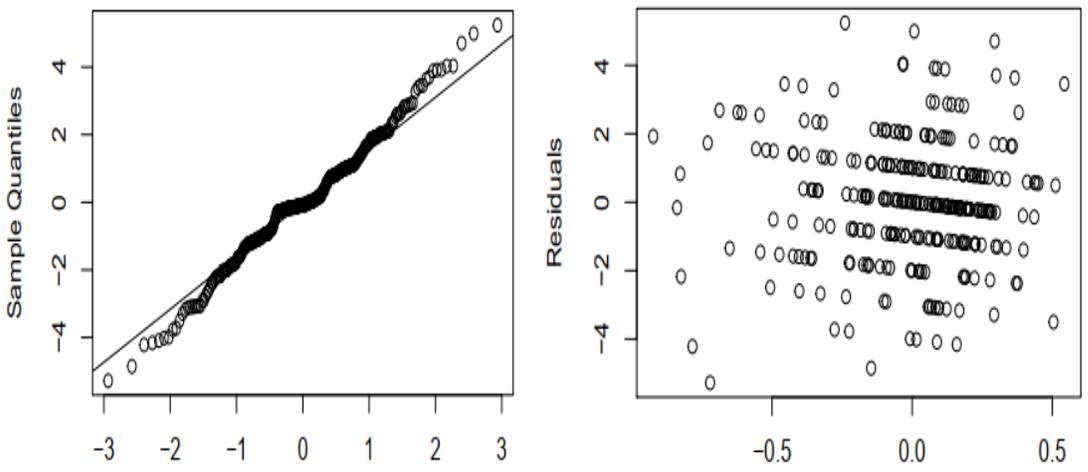


Table 2 Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1 CAND1.HR	-															
2 CANDICE	.55**	-														
3 CAND1.LIK	.46**	.58**	-													
4 CAND2.HR	.25**	.30**	.38**	-												
5 CAND2CE	.35**	.53**	.40**	.45**	-											
6 CAND2.LIK	.28**	.32**	.34**	.45**	.54**	-										
7 CAND3.HR	.40**	.40**	.35**	.33**	.35**	.30**	-									
8 CAND3CE	.43**	.58**	.46**	.41**	.59**	.39**	.46**	-								
9 CAND3.LIK	.34**	.47**	.51**	.32**	.37**	.39**	.50**	.59**	-							
10 CAND4.HR	.32**	.36**	.25**	.32**	.33**	.30**	.34**	.29**	.29**	-						
11 CAND4CE	.31**	.52**	.46**	.37**	.51**	.42**	.33**	.52**	.48**	.47**	-					
12 CAND4.LIK	.33**	.42**	.45**	.42**	.40**	.34**	.28**	.44**	.39**	.53**	.59**	-				
13 SDOD	.33**	.35**	.29**	.27**	.31**	.23**	.31**	.37**	.38**	.15**	.21**	.21**	-			
14 SDOE	-.36**	-.47**	-.47**	-.35**	-.45**	-.40**	-.33**	-.55**	-.46**	-.22**	-.42**	-.38**	-.28**	-		
15 EI	.47**	.67**	.58**	.42**	.57**	.47**	.44**	.66**	.57**	.40**	.58**	.49**	.36**	-.60**	-	
16 AC	.45**	.62**	.52**	.43**	.51**	.42**	.39**	.62**	.56**	.36**	.52**	.49**	.55**	-.55**	.75**	-
Mean	5.73	17.15	5.82	5.60	17.00	5.78	5.61	17.12	5.76	5.73	17.25	5.84	42.19	21.76	0.00	0.00
SD	1.13	2.51	1.12	1.19	2.60	1.11	1.18	2.56	1.19	1.11	2.62	1.12	10.93	5.92	0.95	0.87

Notes. CAND1 = White male candidate. CAND2 = Black male candidate. CAND3 = White female candidate. CAND4 = Black female candidate. LIK = Likability. HR = Hiring recommendation. CE = Competence evaluation. SDOD = Dominance sector of Social dominance orientation. SDOE = The egalitarianism sector of social dominance orientation. EI = Emotional intelligence. AC = Attributional complexity. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

The reliability and validity of each scale were tested by conducting factorial analysis with R. The results demonstrate that all the scales have acceptable levels of reliability (higher than 0.7 Cronbach α) and validity (lower than 0.3 proportion of variance). Multiple linear regression in R was used to test the hypotheses. Social dominance orientation, emotional intelligence, and attributional complexity are included in the multiple regression model as individual predictors. The significance level (α) of 0.05 is applied to all tests. The multi-collinearity of all models was found to be negligible (lower than 10).

The findings revealed no factors that predicted the evaluation differences between the white male candidate and the black male candidate. However, SDO-E was found to be a significant predictor of the evaluation difference between the white male candidate and the white female candidate. A one-level increase of SDO-E predicted that the total evaluation score difference between the white male candidate and the white female candidate increased by 0.092 points, as shown in Table 3. Social dominance orientation was found to be a significant factor for predicting the evaluation difference between the white male candidate and the black female candidate. A one-level increase of SDO-D predicted that the hiring recommendation score difference between the white male candidate and the black female candidate increased by 0.018 points, as shown in Table 4. The results partially support Hypothesis 1.

Table 3

Estimates of Coefficients^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	-4.661	1.736	-2.685	0.007 **
WM.PA ^b	1.316	0.231	5.68	0.000 ***
WF.PA ^c	-0.815	0.21	-3.873	0.000 ***

SDOE^d	0.092	0.042	2.176	0.030 *
SDOE:EI ^e	0.007	0.013	0.550	0.582
SDOE:AC ^f	-0.001	0.014	-0.112	0.911

Residual standard error: 3.189 on 295 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.1237, Adjusted R-squared: 0.1089

F-statistic: 8.33 on 5 and 295 DF, p-value: 0.000

a. Dependent variable: Difference of total evaluation score between the white male and white female

b. WM.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the white male c. WF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the white female

d. SDOE: The egalitarianism sector of SDO

e. SDOE:EI: Interaction effect between SDOE and emotional intelligence

f. SDOE:AC: Interaction effect between SDOE and attributional complexity

Table 4

Estimates of Coefficients^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	-1.028	0.682	-1.507	0.132
WM.PA ^b	0.151	0.092	1.638	0.102
BF.PA ^c	-0.108	0.083	-1.301	0.194
SDOD^d	0.018	0.008	2.300	0.022 *
SDOD:EI ^e	0.000	0.003	0.142	0.887
SDOD:AC ^f	-0.002	0.003	-0.523	0.601

Residual standard error: 1.294 on 295 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.037, Adjusted R-squared: 0.021

F-statistic: 2.298 on 5 and 295 DF, p-value: 0.045

-
- a. Dependent variable: Difference of hiring recommendation score between the white male and black female
- b. WM.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the white male c. BF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the black female
- d. SDOD: The dominance sector of SDO
- e. SDOD:EI: Interaction effect between SDOD and emotional intelligence
- f. SDOD:AC: Interaction effect between SDOD and attributional complexity

SDO-E was found to be a significant predictor of the evaluation difference between the white male candidate and the white female candidate. However, unlike what this study expected, a one-level increase of SDO-E predicted that the hiring recommendation score difference between the black male candidate and the black female candidate decreased by -0.037 points as shown in Table 5. Likewise, a one-level increase of SDO-E predicted that the competence evaluation score difference between the white female candidate and the black female candidate decrease by -0.069 points, as shown in Table 6. These results partially reject Hypothesis 2.

Table 5

Estimates of Coefficients^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	0.323	0.685	0.472	0.637
BM.PA ^b	-0.120	0.080	-1.490	0.137
BF.PA ^c	0.179	0.090	1.991	0.047 *
SDOE^d	-0.037	0.017	-2.128	0.034 *
SDOE:EI ^e	-0.006	0.005	-1.127	0.260
SDOE:AC ^f	0.004	0.006	0.751	0.453

Residual standard error: 1.33 on 295 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.041, Adjusted R-squared: 0.024

F-statistic: 2.526 on 5 and 295 DF, p-value: 0.029

a. Dependent variable: Difference of hiring recommendation score between the black male and black female

b. BM.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the black male c. BF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the black female

d. SDOE: The egalitarianism sector of SDO

f. SDOE:EI: Interaction effect between SDOE and emotional intelligence

g. SDOE:AC: Interaction effect between SDOE and attributional complexity

Table 6

Estimates of Coefficients^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	2.787	1.349	2.065	0.039 *
WF.PA ^b	0.387	0.155	2.491	0.013 *
BF.PA ^c	-0.637	0.157	-4.05	0.000 ***
SDOE^d	-0.069	0.032	-2.131	0.033 *
SDOE:EI ^e	-0.011	0.01	-1.143	0.254
SDOE:AC ^f	-0.011	0.011	0.991	0.322

Residual standard error: 2.452 on 295 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.082, Adjusted R-squared: 0.067

F-statistic: 5.32 on 5 and 295 DF, p-value: 0.000

a. Dependent variable: Difference of competence evaluation score between the white female and black female

b. WF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the white female c. BF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the black female

d. SDOE: The egalitarianism sector of SDO

e. SDOE:EI: Interaction effect between SDOE and emotional intelligence

f. SDOE:AC: Interaction effect between SDOE and attributional complexity

Finally, a one-level increase of SDO-D predicted that the hiring recommendation score difference between the white female candidate and the black female candidate increased by 0.017 points, as shown in Table 7. The results partially support Hypothesis 2. EI and AC were not found to be a significant moderator in all models.

Table 7

Estimates of Coefficients^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	-2.037	0.642	-3.173	0.001 **
WF.PA ^b	0.124	0.083	1.485	0.138
BF.PA ^c	0.088	0.083	1.058	0.290
SDOD^d	0.017	0.008	2.029	0.043 *
SDOD:EI ^e	0.000	0.003	-0.038	0.969
SDOD:AC ^f	-0.004	0.003	-1.016	0.310

Residual standard error: 1.3 on 295 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.037, Adjusted R-squared: 0.021

F-statistic: 2.309 on 5 and 295 DF, p-value: 0.044

a. Dependent variable: Difference of hiring recommendation score between the white female and black female

b. WF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the white female c. BF.PA: Physical Attractiveness of the black female

d. SDOD: The dominance sector of SDO

e. SDOD:EI: Interaction effect between SDOD and emotional intelligence

f. SDOD:AC: Interaction effect between SDOD and attributional complexity

Discussion

The purpose of this study has been to determine which types of personal dispositions affect employers' implicit gender and racial biases associated with social stereotypes that result

in access discrimination against women and black individuals during job interviews for entry-level sport management positions. In this study, employers with high SDO-D ratings gave the white candidates higher evaluation scores than the black female candidate, after controlling for candidates' physical attractiveness and other essential job skills. Ho and colleagues (2012) noted that people with high SDO-D ratings typically possess biases, such as beliefs in traditional gender or racial roles, and engage in differential treatment according to these biases.

Alternatively, they overtly advocate hierarchical social power structures, which are undergirded by the social role theory. The current study's findings contribute to the empirical reaffirmation of the tendency of SDO-D being related to sexism and racism, in particular against black female candidates. This study found that employers with high SDO-D ratings believe that both white male and female candidates are inherently better suited for entry-level jobs than black female candidates. Sears, Haley, and Henry (2008) found that SDO-D is associated with overtly negative attitudes towards black people and the belief that black people are inherently inferior to white people. Our findings support the existence of this overt disparagement towards black females among SDO-D-oriented people. The findings also contribute to intersectionality confirmation. More specifically, after applying intersectionality, the finding that access discrimination deriving from the employers' tendency of SDO-D only affects the black female candidate and not the black male and white female candidates may be shaped by the interaction between their gender and racial minority identities. Davis (2016) supported this by arguing that black women face unique challenges throughout their career development in workplaces. Berdahl and Moore (2006) highlighted that black women are the primary targets of access and treatment discrimination and that their sexual and racial minority identities make them face double jeopardy. Empirically, black women's race and gender have negatively affected their

careers (Borland & Bruening, 2010; Catalyst, 2010; Davie, 2016). In short, this study provides empirical evidence supporting that black women are the most discriminated social group in sport organizations, and employers' SDO-D is the main factor for this phenomenon. Borland and Bruening (2010) identified that access discrimination against black people results from the fact that there are few minority hiring decision makers. To eradicate such barrier, they suggested enhancing the social capital of black women by increasing social networks and role models as career mentors. Therefore, this study offered a strategy that could lead to increasing the number of female hiring managers. Cunningham (2008) contended that an increase in the number of women in management positions within sport organizations is a strategy to achieve a greater level of gender diversity. He went on to argue that such diversity could lead then to constructing coalitions serve to facilitate diversity initiatives. Acosta and Carpenter (2006) provided empirical evidence that gender and racial minorities are more supportive to diversity initiatives than their majority counterparts. This study's next findings provide evidence corroborating the feasibility of this strategy.

In this study, the white male candidate received higher evaluation scores than the white female when employers' SDO-E ratings were high, after controlling for candidates' physical attractiveness. Ho and colleagues (2012) assert that people with high SDO-E ratings tend to oppose hierarchy-attenuating policies, such as affirmative action, with the belief that these policies are counterproductive to achieving merit-based organizational policies and processes. Thus, SDO-E can be interpreted as the tendency of advocating for meritocracy. The meritocratic principle holds that power and resources should be distributed exclusively based on performance (Powell, 2016). When the meritocratic principle works as well as intended, discrimination can be avoided (Scully, 1997). However, whether meritocratic practices reduce the influence of

homologous reproduction by white men or not is less understood (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Adherence to hegemonic masculinity and whiteness is an institutionalized ritual, so it strongly affects decision makers' thoughts and behaviors and typically causes them to give biased evaluations and rewards to justify the status quo (Kanter, 2008; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007). Recent studies (Castilla, 2008; Castilla & Benard, 2010; Nielsen; 2015) have reported that employers' implicit bias with intentions to maintain the status quo disadvantages women in performance evaluation systems. In most organizations, male employees are more likely to receive higher salaries than female employees. Under the meritocratic principle, the higher salary male employees receive attributes to their higher productivity. However, when considering the likelihood that the salary difference is derived from employers' bias and not objective criteria, meritocracy principle serves to legitimate and perpetuate masculinity, and underrepresentation of women (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Following the paradox of meritocracy, findings of this study add empirical evidence that in sport organizations, meritocracy serves to legitimate the status quo that endorses white male supremacy. In sum, given that both SDO-D and SDO-E explain the possibility that white male candidates will benefit from the hiring process regardless of their actual job skills, findings of this study imply that the overrepresentation of white men in sport organizations is most likely to be reproduced. Carroll (2011) argued that white masculinity is a unique form of intersectionality that continuously serves to maintain the status quo.

Ironically, this study's findings revealed that employers with high SDO-E prefer the black female candidate to the black male and white female candidates. Again, people with high SDO-E support hierarchy-enhancing policies in order to help them achieve their merit-based organizational goals (Ho et al., 2012). Therefore, findings imply that employers with higher SDO-E in sport organizations would give black female candidates more opportunities to show

their worth during hiring processes when compared to black male and/or white female candidates to achieve their merit-based goals, which contradicts the theory of intersectionality. Gündemir and colleagues (2017) provided empirical evidence that adaptation of multicultural meritocracy is much more effective in reducing racial stereotypes ingrained in organizations than either meritocracy or multiculturalism. Multicultural meritocracy is a strategy for achieving diversity by meeting two organizational needs such as inclusive climate for minorities and equitable treatment. For example, a sport organization can implement multicultural diversity by clearly stating their commitment to the combination of merit & diversity as a source of success in their mission statement. Findings from Gündemir, et al. (2017) also revealed that racial minorities feel more psychological engagement when their organizations supports multicultural meritocracy. As a result, it is possible that the enhancement of a multicultural meritocratic organizational culture can address the double bind of intersectionality so that black female candidates can have more access to opportunities as well as to reduce resistance to change from members of dominant groups. However, as discussed earlier, the meritocratic principle may not appropriately work, serving to reproduce access discrimination against black female candidates rather than avoiding it. Additionally, given the underrepresentation of black female employees in sport organizations, this study speculates that employers in sport organizations are more likely to have SDO-D than SDO-E. In this study's sample, the vast majority of participants were male ($n=246$), and their mean SDO-D (43.752) was significantly higher ($p<.001$) than that of female participants (35.182). With a sample from general population, Foels and Papas (2004) found that men had significantly higher SDO-D than women did ($p<.001$). In addition, in this study, male participants showed significantly higher SDO-D (43.752) than SDO-E (21.667) ($p<.004$). This is consistent with ideological asymmetry theory which posits that members in higher social status

groups are more likely to endorse hierarchy-enhancing policies to stabilize the status quo (Pratto, Sidanius, & Levin, 2006). Contrastingly, findings revealed that SDO-E of female employers (22.164) was slightly higher than that of male employers (21.667) and not statistically supported ($p=.664$). This suggests that the positive relationship between employers' SDO-E and the black female candidate' evaluation score may derive from high SDO-E-oriented-female employers' preference. Further, a study (Foels & Pappas, 2004) identified that SDO-D relates strongly to masculinity, while SDO-E relates to more femininity than masculinity. Such findings suggest that masculinity is a good predictor of SDO-D while femininity is a good predictor of SDO-E. Therefore, empirical evidence supports that female employers are more likely to have SDO-E than SDO-D. Given that institutionalized practices, political climates and other multi-level factors reciprocally endorse masculinity in sports organizations, SDO-D may operate more powerfully than SDO-E in sport organizations. Given that most employers in sport organizations are more likely to have SDO-D than SDO-E, the results of this study are consistent with previous studies, such that employers with high social dominance orientation have less positive views of racial and sexual minorities in sport organizations (Melton & Cunningham, 2012; Steward & Cunningham, 2015). However, since there is only one dated study that supports the power of SDO-D overriding that of SDO-E to predict gender discrimination, this study suggests further examinations to empirically undergird findings of this study. Moreover, there has been no academic attempt to identify the relationship between the two-dimensional SDOs and racial identity, thereby suggesting examination as to how SDO-D and SDO-E predict hegemonic whiteness.

Reproduction of black female candidates' access discrimination, therefore, may not be overcome if the majority of employers in sports organizations are men due to the salient

likelihood that they have strong SDO-D tendency. Therefore, this study recommends gender diversity initiatives in human resource management by increasing female hiring managers to address access discrimination against female—particularly black female—candidates for entry-level sport management positions. If the findings of this study have good ecological validity, reflect reality well, and meritocracy operates as well as intended, the strategy of increasing female hiring managers will give more black female candidates greater work opportunities, which is a grounding progression for overcoming treatment discrimination regarding the increase of social capital (Sagas & Cunningham, 2004). Relevant research supported the recommendation by revealing that women perceive gender and/or sexual minorities as more hireable than their counterparts (Everly, Unzueta, & Shih, 2016; Gorman, 2005). However, this strategy cannot be the only solution to address the overrepresentation of white men according to findings that employers with higher SDO-E prefer the white male candidate than the white female candidate. In short, there is a likelihood that increasing the number of female hiring managers can also enhance white male dominance. Therefore, it is necessary for further examinations to identify how the strategy of increasing the number of female hiring managers with high SDO-E tendencies affects gender diversity in organizations, and what other conditions need to exist in order for these leaders to effect change.

The findings do not support previous research, indicating that emotional intelligence and attributional complexity mitigates implicit gender and racial bias. Such results may be ascribed to the fact that sufficient empirical evidence does not exist to justify the validity of the related hypotheses. In fact, earlier studies were not conducted in hiring settings did not consider the moderation effect of emotional intelligence and attributional complexity on the relationship between social dominance orientation and implicit gender and racial bias. Such findings suggest

methodological implications. First, this study used EI as a unidimensional instead of multidimensional factor to avoid conceptual ambiguity (Edwards, 2001). For example, if multidimensional EI is used and only one of its sub-dimensional constructs is found to be significant, we cannot assure that EI is a significant variable since the single sub-dimensional construct does not account for the entire variance of EI. However, despite the conceptual clarity of using the unidimensional construct, there are also drawbacks. The unidimensional construct may not explain the total variance, or precisely represent the holistic phenomena (Edwards, 2001). In short, the results of this study may not appropriately account for population-level behaviors. In addition, the trait model of EI that this study employed may not be appropriate to assess employers' emotional ability to control their unconscious emotional attachment to certain candidates since this study considered EI as a personal disposition so that it can represent respondents' behavior and not easily practiced, thereby being assessed by self-perceived scales. In contrast, the ability model views EI as a set of skills so within the ability model, high EI means having more knowledge but not necessarily the ability to behave according to the knowledge, thereby being assessed by maximum performance tests (Petrides, 2011). Despite such weak predictive validity of the ability model of EI, this study suggests adopting the ability model for its usefulness to accurately measure emotional skills in employee selection situations. More specifically, the ability model tests are based on maximum performance, they are relatively free from faking when compared to the trait model tests that use self-perceived tests (Day & Carroll, 2008). This is where the ability model tests can enhance construct validity of research. In addition, if further studies successfully demonstrate the value of emotional intelligence in mitigating implicit gender and racial bias under the ability model, findings can offer more practical and reliable suggestions as such selecting hiring managers by considering their

emotional intelligence measured by the ability model tests. Day and Carroll (2008) contended that the trait model tests are not appropriate to use in selection settings. Regarding attributional complexity, this study used the brief version of the attributional complexity scale (7 items) that was derived from the original version (28 items) in an unpublished paper by the scale creator to reduce the issue of survey length. The average time to complete the whole survey of this study was 60 minutes, which greatly exceeds the maximum ideal length for web surveys (Cape & Phillips, 2015) and may result in low data quality (Marcus et al., 2007). However, since the psychometric properties of the brief version scale are not officially proven, this study suggests using the original version scale while designing a more concise structural model to address the time-length issue.

To understand access discrimination against female and black candidates, study 1 examined the ways employers' implicit gender and racial biases affected access discrimination against female and black candidates during job interviews. However, hegemonic masculinity and whiteness may not explain the entire context. According to the multilevel perspective (Burton, 2015; Cunningham, 2010), homologous reproduction refers to the tendency for dominant group members to allow only those who have similar social characteristics access to power and organizational resources (Kanter, 1977). Homologous reproduction is another key factor related to access discrimination against female and black candidates in sport organizations. Study 2 was, therefore, designed to explore the ways access discrimination occurs under homologous reproduction during job interviews for an entry-level sport management position.

Study 2

Study 2 focuses on examining how employers' in-group favoritism leads to homologous reproduction, or, in effect, access discrimination against women and black candidates for entry-level jobs in sport organizations.

Conceptual Framework

Subjective uncertainty reduction theory. Subjective uncertainty reduction theory (SURT) (Hogg, 2000; Hogg & Abrams, 1993) posits that people are motivated to reduce feelings of uncertainty about others when they need to develop a relationship with them, as uncertainty weakens one's confidence in determining how to act and what to expect in a particular situation. To satisfy the motivation, people typically maintain existing beliefs and use heuristics, the tendency of heavily relying on mental shortcuts to resolve uncertain situations quickly with easily accessible information (Hogg, 2000; Katsikopoulos, 2011). One representative source to find reliable heuristics is one's social in-group. Hogg and Abrams (1993) propose that people tend to identify social in-groups more positively, since they believe that using social in-groups provides normative prescriptions for behaviors and feelings of relative certainty, thereby gaining confidence in their behavior and, as a result, increasingly following the group's norms (Smith, Hogg, Martin, & Terry, 2007). Hogg (2000) suggests that the powerful human motivation to reduce feelings of uncertainty is particularly well satisfied by social categorization, which is the central tenet of social identity theory (Tajfel, Turner, Austin, & Worchel, 1979). Tajfel and colleagues also defined social categorization as the human tendency to categorize or label groups of people according to shared patterns of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. To evaluate new people, an enormous amount of information is needed. Since people cannot process this enormous amount of information at once, they unknowingly classify the person into a particular

social group and evaluate the person according to the characteristics of the social group for expedient and efficient judgment (1979).

Social identity theory. Social identity theory (SIT) expounds on the tendency that individuals form a positive or a negative impression of others based on their social identity. The term of social identity describes a person's knowledge that individuals psychologically belong to a certain category or group, or a set of individuals who assimilate themselves as a member of the same social category (Abrams & Hogg, 2006). SIT contributed to the theoretical development of how individuals understand themselves and others in society by analyzing the propensity that people strive to achieve, maintain, and improve positive distinctiveness for membership within the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), which is termed by in-group favoritism. The need to enhance in-group members' social identities drives out-group derogation (Appiah, Knobloch-Westerwick, & Alter, 2013). Out-group derogation, therefore, is defined as a tendency to assign negative evaluations to out-group members or support messages that negatively characterize out-groups (Jackson et al., 1996).

The process of favoring one's in-group occurs in three stages: (1) social categorization, (2) social identification, and (3) social comparison. Social categorization is the tendency to categorize oneself and others into several social groups based on criteria such as race, gender, ethnicity, religion, job, organization, industry, nation, or society to understand the social environment (Stangor, Jhangiani, & Tarry, 2017). When a category becomes salient, people come to see others less as unique individuals and more as interchangeable exemplars of the group prototype (Hornsey, 2008). Particularly, once social groups are categorized, people adopt the identity of the in-group they are categorized into and strive to assimilate their behaviors into the norms and prototypes of group memberships, which is a stage of social identification (Tajfel

et al., 1979). In short, individuals are willing to change themselves by embracing group norms and prototypes instead of personal identities to achieve group membership. Social identification facilitates individuals to identify a sense of pride, belonging, stability, and meaning for their group memberships (Hogg & Grieve, 1999), while at the same time functioning as a trigger of group comparison and competition. Finally, people tend to compare their in-groups to others (out-groups) in order to maintain or reinforce their self-esteem, which is a stage of social comparison. Social comparison refers to the process of categorizing oneself and others into in- and out-groups with hierarchical orders by comparing salient dimensions (Tajfel et al., 1979). In this process, individuals typically perceive their superiority as a member of their groups over out-groups so that they are motivated to highlight the positive distinctiveness of their in-group, which can lead to biases in behavior, perception, and evaluations, eventually bringing about prejudice and discrimination between groups. Thus, the tendency of social comparison motivates people to seek similarities with group memberships and differences from others to escalate the status of their in-group to higher in hierarchical orders (Tajfel et al., 1979).

Collective self-esteem. Evidence has indicated that collective self-esteem is the key to explaining the motive of in-group favoritism. Individuals with high collective self-esteem are more likely to make judgments that affirm the worth of belonging to their in-group (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Particularly, it has been found that people with high collective self-esteem tend to adhere to the group norms and cultures (Montoya & Pittinsky, 2013), have a strong motivation to communicate with in-group members (Baker, 2009), and have strong self-worth derived from group memberships (Lucas et al., 2014). In sum, empirical evidence denotes the positive relationship between collective self-esteem and in-group favoritism.

However, findings of previous studies also revealed that the positive relationship between collective self-esteem and intergroup bias can be confounded when individuals belong to lower-status groups. Barker (2009) provided findings indicating that individuals with low or negative collective self-esteem who perceived their social group as undesirable or unpopular were motivated to use social network services to distance themselves from their in-group. Findings from several studies undergird that people who perceive their in-group to be of low status tend to psychologically distance from their in-group, demonstrating out-group favoritism, while people who perceive their in-group to be of high-status exhibit consistent in-group favoritism (Li, Xu, Fan, Zhang, & Yang, 2019; Newheiser & Olson, 2012). In short, empirical evidence demonstrates that high collective self-esteem predicts high in-group favoritism when group status is high, while low collective self-esteem predicts high out-group favoritism when group status is low.

In sum, the present study conjectures that there are two aspects of the effect of collective self-esteem on employers' judgments in hiring processes. First, employers with high collective self-esteem are more likely to prefer job candidates who belong to the same gender and racial groups as they do. Second, among employers in gender and racial minority groups, those with low collective self-esteem are more likely to prefer job candidates who belong to higher status gender and racial groups.

Emotional intelligence. During traditional job interviews, interviewers are likely to be biased by their own emotional attachment to certain candidates, which could possibly lead to judgment errors due to their biased evaluation of the candidates (Baron, 1993; Fox & Spector, 2000). Therefore, it can be assumed that the degree of in-group favoritism depends on how people connect emotionally with their in-group members. Findings from relevant studies indicate

that people typically perceive the in-group as more human than the out-group by experiencing more complex emotions with their in-group members (Gaunt, Leyens, & Demoulin, 2002; Paladino & Vaes, 2009; Rohmann, Niedenthal, Brauer, Castano, & Leyens, 2009), and these complex emotions that are shared with in-group members tend to be positive, such as happiness and self-sacrifice for the benefit of others (Beaupré & Hess, 2003; Weller & Lagattuta, 2013).

Social psychology research demonstrated that individuals can consciously control the likelihood of making judgment errors (Lee, 2015). Relevant literature emphasized emotional intelligence as a principle attribute for addressing in-group favoritism. Findings from relevant studies have consistently revealed the positive relationship between the regulation of emotion, one of the core elements of emotional intelligence, and intercultural adjustment, a positive behavior toward different cultural contexts (Matsumoto et al., 2003; Yoo, Matsumoto, & LeRoux, 2005). Lopes and colleagues (2004) identified that people with high emotional intelligence are better able to interact with opposite-sex individuals. Based on the empirical evidence acknowledging emotional intelligence as an emotional capacity to embrace diversity, it is assumable that emotionally intelligent people are more likely to liberate themselves from in-group favoritism.

There is an empirical attempt to link emotional intelligence to SURT. Buontempo and Brockner (2008) provided empirical evidence indicating that EI is inversely related to the tendency to use heuristics to reduce uncertainty. Notably, this finding enables speculation that an emotionally intelligent employer will yield less judgment errors resulting from first impressions formulated with in-group favoritism. Therefore, this study focuses on emotional intelligence for its potential value in mitigating employers' intergroup gender and racial biases derived from the desire to reduce uncertainty.

Literature Review

Homologous reproduction and discrimination against female and black employees in sport organizations. There is a body of literature that explores the influence of homologous reproduction on access and treatment discriminations against female and black employees in sport organizations. Regarding racial access discrimination, Sartore and Cunningham (2006) identified that white employers prefer white candidates over black candidates, regardless of actual qualification levels for leadership positions in sport organizations. Steward and Cunningham (2015) provided empirical evidence indicating that white employers negatively evaluate the black candidates who strongly identify her or his race because white employers think highly identified black employees will challenge the status quo. Such evidence implies white employers, who make up the majority of sports organizations, may not support racial diversity initiatives, and also it is assumable that access discrimination against black candidates results from white employers' homologous reproduction based on in-group favoritism. McDowell and colleagues (2009) identified that access discrimination against black candidates stems from homologous reproduction by whites, which deprives black candidates of social capital (e.g. social ties with higher-level people). Specifically, their findings indicate that a deficiency of social capital contributes to black candidates' lack of aspiration and qualification for administrative jobs in sport organizations, which is consistent with findings of the relevant study (Sagas & Cunningham, 2005). In sum, findings of relevant literature indicate that white employers' homologous reproduction, based on in-group favoritism, contributes to access discrimination against black candidates in sport organizations.

Literature has identified that homologous reproduction by male employers leads to access discrimination against women in sport organizations. Whisenant (2008) and Acosta and

Carpenter (2010) demonstrated that men are the individuals predominating power over key organizational decisions, including hiring decisions in sport organizations. They also identified that access discrimination against women due to the overwhelming power of men was exacerbated, as male employers tend to have strong in-group favoritism. Regan and Cunningham (2012) identified that male employers who dominate hiring power in sport organizations prefer male candidates to female candidates, which is consistent with previous studies (Whisenant & Mullane, 2007). Homologous reproduction derived by male employers' in-group favoritism also restricted women's access to social capital (Sagas & Cunningham, 2004), which implies that female candidates, as out-group members, may feel potential barriers throughout their career and lack aspiration for promotions in sport organizations.

In sum, the body of literature consistently corroborated that homologous reproduction by male and/or white employers limit female and/or black candidates' opportunities to access power and resources in sport organizations. However, while robust empirical evidence exists in leadership position settings in sport organizations, there is a paucity of empirical examination attempts in entry-level settings.

Research Questions

The Gender and Racial Report Card (Lapchick, 2019) showcased white and male dominance in sport organizations. Based on the conceptual framework and relevant literature, research questions have been formulated as follows: (1) To what extent do employers' levels of collective self-esteem affect their gender and racial in-group favoritism during job interviews for entry-level sport management positions? (2) To what extent do employers' levels of emotional intelligence mitigate their gender and racial in-group favoritism during job interviews for entry-level sport management positions?

Hypotheses

To answer the research questions, five hypotheses have been formulated as follows:

H1: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, white employers with higher collective self-esteem will give higher evaluation scores to white candidates than black candidates.

H2: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, male employers with higher collective self-esteem will give higher evaluation scores to male candidates than female candidates.

H3: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, black employers with lower collective self-esteem will give higher evaluation scores to white candidates than black candidates.

H4: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, female employers with lower collective self-esteem will give higher evaluation scores to male candidates than female candidates.

H5: After controlling for the physical attractiveness of applicants, emotional intelligence will influence the relationship between employers' collective self-esteem and their gender and racial in-group favoritism

Method

Study 2 was conducted by changing only the independent variables from the first study model. Therefore, details of other variables, participants, and procedures are omitted except for collective self-esteem in the methods of the second study.

Independent variable: collective self-esteem. The collective self-esteem (CSE) scale was devised by Crocker and Luhtanen (1992). 16 items with a 7-point Likert scale (1= Strongly

Disagree, 7= Strongly Agree) provided four subscales (membership esteem, private CSE, public CSE, and identity esteem). Each of the four subscales includes four items, and two of the four items were reversed score items, written negatively. Items of membership esteem involved individual judgments of how good or worthy they were as members of their social groups (e.g., “I am a worthy member of the social groups I belong to”). Private CSE items are devised to measure one’s potential judgements of how good one’s social groups are (e.g., “I feel good about the social groups I belong to”). Public CSE items are included to assess one’s judgment of how other people evaluate one’s social groups (e.g., “In general, others respect the social groups that I am a member of”). Lastly, identity CSE items are developed to measure the importance of one’s social group memberships to one’s self-concept (e.g., “The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am”). Croker and Luhtanen (1992) demonstrated that the four CSE subscales have reasonable internal reliability ($\alpha = .71$ to $.86$ in three separate samples) and reasonable test-retest reliability (6-week test-retest correlations ranging from $.58$ to $.68$).

Analysis. To test all hypotheses, linear model and linear mixed-effects models (LMMs) with R were used. A linear model was used to examine how collective self-esteem and emotional intelligence predict evaluation differences between candidate groups. LMMs was used for identifying why evaluation differences are varied depending on the variation of collective self-esteem and emotional intelligence. Particularly, LMMs are appropriate to the within-subjects experimental design where all the participants receive every level of the treatment, as LMMs are contrived to address the carryover effect that is a potential confounding threat of within-subject design research (Greenwald, 1976). Greenwald also contended that the carryover effect occurs when the effect of one treatment remains at the time of measurement of the effect of another treatment (1976). Similarly, the within-subject design can be exposed to violations of the

sphericity, which is that covariance of each treatment is not at a sufficient level, potentially leading to an increase in Type I errors (rejection of the null hypothesis when it is actually true) (Howell, 2009).

Results

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

Item	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1 GENDER	-								
2 RACE	-.20**	-							
3 CANGEN	0.00	0.00	-						
4 CANRAC	0.00	0.00	0.00	-					
5 HR	-0.04	.21**	0.00	0.00	-				
6 CE	-.07*	.22**	0.02	0.00	.48**	-			
7 LIK	-.08**	.19**	0.00	0.01	.49**	.58**	-		
8 EIScore	-0.04	.29**	0.00	0.00	.43**	.62**	.53**	-	
9 CSEscore	-.26**	.35**	0.00	0.00	.32**	.38**	.33**	.43**	-
Mean	0.18	0.52	0.50	0.50	5.67	17.13	5.80	0.00	0.00
SD	0.39	0.50	0.50	0.50	1.15	2.57	1.13	0.95	0.96

Notes. GENDER coded as 0 = Male employers, 1 = Female employers. RACE coded as 0 = White employers, 1 = Black employers. CANGEN coded as 0 = Male candidates, 1 = Female candidates. CANRAC coded as 0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates. LIK = Likability. HR = Hiring recommendation. CE = Competence evaluation. EI = Emotional intelligence. CSE = Collective self-esteem. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

The reliability and validity of each scale were tested by conducting factorial analysis with R. The results demonstrate that all the scales have acceptable levels of the reliability (higher than 0.7 Cronbach α) and validity (lower than 0.3 proportion of variance). This study considered both CSE and EI as unidimensional factors. The significance level (α) of 0.05 was applied to all tests. The multi-collinearity of all models was found to be negligible (lower than 10). In Table 9, the estimate of CSE is 0.882 ($p = 0.023^*$). That is, each time white employers' collective self-esteem rose one level, the difference of the competence evaluation score between the white and black candidates increased by 0.882 points. Table 10 indicates that each time white employers' collective self-esteem rose one level, the white candidates' competence evaluation score increased by 0.182 points while the black candidates' score decreased by 0.067 points, which is the result of the estimate of the main effect (0.182) plus the estimate of interaction between collective self-esteem and Race (-0.249). In sum, when controlling candidates' physical attractiveness, it was found that the higher the collective self-esteem of white employers, the higher the competence evaluation score for the white candidates and the lower the scores for the black candidates.

Table 9

Estimate of Coefficients in the group of white employers^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	4.257	3.308	1.287	0.271
W.PA ^b	0.572	0.218	2.625	0.009 **
B.PA ^c	-0.965	0.192	-5.015	0.000 ***

CSE ^d	0.882	0.385	2.288	0.023 *
EI ^e	-0.177	0.465	-0.381	0.704
CSE:EI ^f	-0.457	0.331	-1.379	0.17

Residual standard error: 3.896 on 138 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.2319, Adjusted R-squared: 0.204

F-statistic: 8.331 on 5 and 138 DF, p-value: 0.000

a. Dependent variable: difference of competence evaluation between white and black candidates b. W.PA: Physical

Attractiveness of white candidates c. B.PA: Physical Attractiveness of black candidates d. Collective self-esteem e. Emotional

Intelligence

f. CSE:EI: Interaction effect between CSE and EI

Table 10

Estimates of fixed effects in the group of white employers^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	11.611	0.49	565.291	23.653	< 0.000 ***
PA ^b	0.948	0.081	549.238	11.688	0.000 ***
CSE ^c	0.182	0.141	293.598	1.284	0.200
Race ^d	0.190	0.165	429.022	1.15	0.251
EI ^e	1.111	0.14	300.718	7.903	0.000 ***
CSE x Race ^f	-0.249	0.156	428.323	-1.599	0.11
EI x Race ^g	0.062	0.153	427.962	0.411	0.681

a. Dependent variable: Competence evaluation b. PA: Physical Attractiveness c. CSE: Collective self-esteem d. Race: 1-

White 2-Black e. EI: Emotional intelligence f. CSE x Race: Interaction effect between CSE and Race

g. EI x Race: Interaction effect between EI and Race

In Table 11, the estimate of collective self-esteem is 1.580 ($p = 0.007^{**}$). That is, each time white employers' collective self-esteem rose one level, the difference of the total evaluation score between the white and black candidates increased by 1.580 points. Table 12 indicates that each time white employers' collective self-esteem rose one level, the white candidates' total evaluation score increased by 0.573 points while the black candidates' score decreased by 0.080 points, which is the result of the estimate of the main effect (0.573) plus the estimate of interaction between collective self-esteem and Race (-0.653). In sum, when controlling candidates' physical attractiveness, it was found that the higher the collective self-esteem of white employers, the higher the total evaluation score for the white candidates and the lower the scores for the black candidates. Such findings indicate that, among white employers, those with high collective self-esteem tend to show in-group favoritism when compared to those with low collective self-esteem.

Table 11

Estimate of Coefficients in the group of white employers^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	2.532	5.031	0.503	0.615
W.PA ^b	1.259	0.331	3.798	0.000 ***
B.PA ^c	-1.501	0.292	-5.126	0.000 ***
CSE ^d	1.580	0.586	2.695	0.007 **
EI ^e	0.439	0.708	-0.621	0.535
CSE:EI ^f	-0.598	0.504	-1.185	0.238

Residual standard error: 5.925 on 138 degrees of freedom

Multiple R-squared: 0.293, Adjusted R-squared: 0.267

F-statistic: 11.44 on 5 and 138 DF, p-value: 0.000

a. Dependent variable: difference of total evaluation between white and black candidates b. W.PA: Physical Attractiveness of white candidates c. B.PA: Physical Attractiveness of black candidates d. Collective self-esteem e. Emotional Intelligence
f. CSE:EI: Interaction effect between CSE and EI

Table 12

Estimates of fixed effects in the group of white employers^a

	Estimate	Std. Error	df	t value	Pr(> t)
(Intercept)	20.621	0.757	564.724	27.223	< 0.000 ***
PA ^b	1.368	0.125	547.201	10.941	0.000 ***
CSE ^c	0.573	0.22	289.468	2.601	0.009 **
Race ^d	0.169	0.255	429.301	0.665	0.506
EI ^e	1.971	0.218	296.526	9.018	0.000 ***
CSE x Race ^f	-0.653	0.24	428.618	-2.722	0.006 **
EI x Race ^g	0.056	0.235	428.266	0.241	0.809

a. Dependent variable: Total evaluation b. PA: Physical Attractiveness c. CSE: Collective self-esteem

d. Race: 1-White 2-Black e. EI: Emotional intelligence f. CSE x Race: Interaction effect between CSE and Race

g. EI x Race: Interaction effect between EI and Race

Black, male, and female employers showed an absence of in-group favoritism regardless of their collective self-esteem levels. Therefore, this study identified that white employers with high collective self-esteem are the only social group that shows in-group favoritism. In all groups, emotional intelligence had no significant moderating effect on the relationship between

collective self-esteem and in-group favoritism. Therefore, only Hypothesis 1 is partially accepted in this study.

Discussion

The purpose of study 2 has been to conduct a meso-level analysis to understand white and/or male dominance in sport organizations by exploring whether “being white” and/or “being male” motivates employers in sport organizations to identify and favor their in-groups.

According to the findings, the higher the collective self-esteem of the white employer, the higher the white candidates’ evaluation scores and the lower the black candidates’ evaluation scores.

These findings are consistent with previous studies (Sartore & Cunningham, 2006; Steward and Cunningham, 2015) and suggest that black candidates are likely to face access discrimination as a result of white employers’ homologous reproduction based on their strong tendency of in-group favoritism.

Findings also revealed that white employers are the only racial group showing in-group favoritism based on their collective self-esteem. Alternatively, black employers, regardless of their collective self-esteem level, maintained neutral attitudes during job interviews. This is consistent with empirical evidence indicating that people in higher social status group are more likely to have higher collective self-esteem that predicts higher in-group favoritism (Li, Xu, Fan, Zhang, & Yang, 2019; Newheiser & Olson, 2012). From the social identity perspective, such findings imply that “White-looking appearance” is a salient cue that motivates white employers with high collective self-esteem in sports organizations to identify their in-group. Additionally, applying the subjective uncertainty reduction theory, findings of this study imply that white employers recognize that hiring white candidates has a much lower risk of judgment error, while other employers tend to maintain neutrality in their hiring tendencies. This is consistent with

empirical evidence, indicating that whites typically show consistent and robust in-group favoritism while black employers and employers from other racial groups tend to reveal an absence of intergroup bias (Dunham, Baron, & Banaji, 2007; Gibson, Rochat, Tone, & Baron, 2017). Given that being white is treated as a higher status social characteristic, this study contributes to the body of literature that has corroborated that members of high-status groups tend to show more intergroup bias than members of low-status groups (Bettencourt, Charlton, Dorr, & Hume, 2001; Mullen, Brown, & Smith, 1992; Rudman, Feinberg, & Fairchild, 2002; Newheiser & Olson, 2012). Applying multi-model analysis, white employers' homologous reproduction limits racial minorities' opportunities to access power and resources. These limitations are interrelated to the reinforcement of hegemonic whiteness and institutionalized racism (macro-level), black candidates' perception of deficiency of social capital and their self-limiting behaviors (micro-level), and institutional isomorphism and political climate provoke employees' resistance to change (Zucker, 1987). Borland and Bruening (2010) asserted that in sport organizations, access discrimination against black female candidates is derived by very few minority hiring decision makers and limited candidate pools. Therefore, the findings of this study suggest the implementation of racial diversity initiatives in hiring managers to address access discrimination against black candidates. Specifically, increasing the number of black hiring managers will undermine access privilege of white candidates and expand candidate pools so that black candidates who have competitive job skills and qualifications can have more opportunities, allowing other potential black candidates and employees to have more social capital. This could be the focal point to changing status-quo and undermining homologous reproduction by whites, based on the findings of this study. This strategy may operate well only if black hiring managers are part of the recruiting process where they are visible to applicants,

and that visibility serves as encouragement to black applicants. Given that in many sport organizations white people have overwhelming power in making decisions about organizational management, the feasibility of the strategy this study suggested hinges on how decision makers convey the need for change. This study, therefore, suggests making coalitions with people who have a strong commitment to changes as coalitions have greater power for change momentum based on institutional isomorphism (Cunningham, 2009). Further, employing findings of a previous study (Steward & Cunningham, 2015), highly identified racial identity plays a significant role in employers' in-group favoritism or out-group derogation, thereby suggesting that increasing the number of black hiring managers may involve a higher possibility of hiring black candidates with highly identified black identity. Although black employers in the sample of this study did not show in-group favoritism, the findings cannot account for the effect of highly or weakly identified racial identity. When considering the relationship between racial identity and in-group favoritism, one feasible confounding factor is that people in lower social status groups with low collective self-esteem may participate in in-group derogation or out-group favoritism. Therefore, there is a likelihood that black hiring managers with low collective self-esteem may less prefer black candidates —particularly highly identified black—candidates, which is a potential drawback of the suggested strategy. Further studies should consider how collective self-esteem play in black hiring managers' behaviors during hiring processes. In sum, the next step this study suggests for theoretical extensions is to examine the effect of the implementation of diversity initiatives in hiring managers at micro-, meso-, and macro-levels (i.e., the examination of how black candidates feel about potential discrimination (meso-level) and organizational productivity (macro-level) when hiring managers are most likely black, and to examine to what extent black hiring managers show in-group favoritism, depending on their

collective self-esteem level, by controlling for a highly or weakly identified racial identity of candidates.

To account for the male dominance phenomenon, showcased in the 2019 Gender and Racial Report Card, this study postulated that “being a male” will motivate male employers to identify other males as their in-group and show preference to male candidates during interviews. Our findings, however, did not support the postulation. For this result, the study interprets that male employers may consider other characteristics besides physical appearance when determining whether certain job candidates are members of their gender in-group. The body of literature relevant to gender issues in sport has highlighted that hegemonic masculinity is a principle that discriminates against women in sport organizations (Burton, 2015; Grappendorf & Lough, 2006; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009; Whisenant, 2008). One possible assumption is that male employers will show in-group favoritism to candidates with strongly identified masculinity. Aicher and Sagas (2009) support this, as they attribute the absence of male employers’ in-group favoritism in women sports teams to the reason that male employers in a women’s team may categorize themselves differently than typical male employers do in a men’s team. They went on to show that individuals may have different levels of sexist beliefs. Similarly, employers in male-dominated sports organizations will be less likely to prefer candidates with weakly identified masculinity depending on their sexist beliefs. Therefore, this study suggests adding more manipulation checks to categorize highly and weakly identified masculinity and participants’ sexist belief levels as moderating variables between male employers’ collective self-esteem and their in-group favoritism, such as by altering affiliations information (e.g., internship experiences in a men’s professional sports team league office). Likewise, this study speculates that highly and weakly identified whiteness and racist beliefs can also moderate findings of this study by

assuming that highly identified whiteness and hostile racist beliefs may strengthen the relationship between white employers' collective self-esteem and their in-group favoritism.

Lastly, findings did not support previous research indicating that emotional intelligence mitigates intergroup bias. However, earlier studies were not conducted in hiring settings, and they did not consider emotional intelligence's moderating effect on the relationship between collective self-esteem and intergroup gender and racial biases. Therefore, such findings may be ascribed to the fact that sufficient empirical evidence does not exist to justify the validity of Hypothesis 5. Also, this study used EI as a unidimensional construct to account for employers' emotional capabilities to address intergroup bias due to its advantage of simplifying results (Brennkmeijer & VanYperen, 2003) when compared to multidimensional constructs that have been criticized for conceptual ambiguity (Edwards, 2001). Despite the advantage of using the unidimensional construct, there is also the potential drawback that it may lose much of the total variance explained, meaning unidimensional constructs may not precisely represent holistic phenomena (Edwards, 2001). Thus, while there is an ongoing academic debate on the suitability of each approach, there is a lack of such considerations in the literature on emotional intelligence.

Overall Discussion

The current study focused on white and male dominance in sport organizations (see Lapchick, 2019) and postulated that such dominance may not have occurred coincidentally. Rather, it may be attributed to some psychological factors, such as employers' implicit gender and racial bias favoring white and male employees. To delve into this possibility, the current study used a multilevel model. This study focused on the identification of meso-level factors such as social stereotypes, homologous reproduction, and access discrimination. More

specifically, this study aimed to identify employer groups with certain personal dispositions that affect implicit gender and racial bias.

Consistent with the literature (Acosta & Carpenter, 2000; Bruening, Borland, & Burton, 2008; Pickett, Dawkins, & Braddock, 2012), findings in study 1 provided empirical evidence that white male candidates are most likely to be privileged during hiring processes while black female candidates are most likely to face access discrimination. Specifically, employers with both high SDO-D and high SDO-E showed more implicit gender and racial bias, preferring the white male candidate over the white female and the black female candidate, which is consistent with previous investigations that identified employers with high unidimensional SDO have more gender and racial bias against sexual and racial minorities (Steward & Cunningham, 2015; Melton & Cunningham, 2012). However, previous studies have not considered two sub-dimensions of SDO, the dominance sector (SDO-D) and the egalitarianism (SDO-E) sector, which are conceptually distinct. This study, therefore, utilized the two-dimensional SDO scale and found that access discrimination against black female candidates is due to employers' SDO-D, a tendency to overtly support hegemonic hierarchy-enhancing policies. Additionally, male employers' SDO-D was higher than their SDO-E ($p < .001$) and they also showed higher SDO-D than female employers ($p < .001$), while female employers showed higher SDO-E than male employers, although not at statistically significant levels. Therefore, given that majority of hiring decision makers in sport organizations are male, SDO-D is most likely to play in black female candidates' access discrimination. Contrastingly, employers with SDO-E tended to strongly advocate for a meritocratic hierarchy and demonstrated a preference for the black female candidate over the white female and the black male candidate. In short, by using two-dimensional SDO, this study found that SDO may not only exacerbate, but also attenuate, access

discrimination against black female candidates, which contradicts intersectionality theory. These results allow for a deeper understanding of how two distinct sub-dimensional SDOs account for the likelihood of access discrimination against black female candidates differently. For example, employers with high SDO-D are likely to be old-fashioned racists who have beliefs in the biological inferiority of black candidates, thereby having resistance to diversity initiatives (Tesler, 2013). Therefore, employers with SDO-D may give black female candidates limited opportunities to demonstrate their worth during hiring processes when compared to other gender and racial candidates. In contrast, employers with high SDO-E are likely to be congruent with characteristics of aversive racists who seemingly endorse fair and just treatment of all groups but unconsciously have feelings of uneasiness toward black candidates, thereby justifying negative treatments on the basis of some other factors than race (Gaertner et al., 2005). Therefore, high SDO-E employers' may give black female candidates equal opportunities to demonstrate their worth like other gender and racial candidates during hiring processes but their actual hiring decisions may not reflect the worth. Based on findings in study 1, this study suggests increasing the number of female hiring managers to address access discrimination against black female candidates, as female employers are likely to have less SDO-D, more SDO-E, and therefore less implicit bias endorsing masculinity and/or whiteness, which will allow black female candidates to have at least equal chances to demonstrate their worth during hiring processes. The last suggestion in study 1 is that further examinations must consider the paradox of meritocracy to identify whether the strategy of increasing female hiring managers works as well as intended and the likelihood that white male dominance can be also reproduced by an increase of SDO-E, given the institutional racism and sexism in sport organizations. For example, employers with high SDO-E may justify their negative assessments of black female candidates who have higher

qualifications than other gender and racial candidates as a result of a fair assessment system rather than their bias. If the findings of study 1 are ecologically valid, a multicultural meritocracy strategy not only gives black female candidates more opportunities to show their worth, which should result in not only overcoming access discrimination but also escalating other micro-level factors such as their aspiration to seek higher positions and building social capital so that they overcome stereotype threats while lowering self-limiting behaviors. Black female candidates increasing their social capital is the necessary groundwork in overcoming access and treatment discrimination (Sagas & Cunningham, 2004).

From findings in study 2, this study demonstrated that white employers with high collective self-esteem show in-group favoritism during job interviews, which is consistent with previous investigations (Cunningham et al., 2010; Steward & Cunningham, 2015). Findings also extend the existing literature by demonstrating that black employers in sport organizations display an absence of such in-group favoritism, regardless of their collective self-esteem level. Based on the findings, this study suggests that increasing black hiring managers can address access discrimination against black candidates and initiate incremental changes from the status quo. In short, increased opportunities for black candidates to show their worth during hiring processes (meso-level) may result in their increased social capital resulting in enhanced career aspirations, lower turnover intentions (micro-level), and thus the evolution of political climates that are supportive of changes (macro-level). For example, suppose Ebony, a black woman applicant with a very good communication skill had a job interview with a black employer, and the black employer hired her after observing Ebony's communication skills in attentive and objective manners. Ebony achieved excellent business performance based on her excellent communication skills, and despite the implicit treatment discrimination, she was promoted to a

leadership position in her department. She served mentoring activities such as career counseling and psychological encouragement for other black female employees in lower positions. Some other black female employees also regarded Ebony as their role model and had aspirations to achieve job success like Ebony despite stereotype threats. The excellent job performance black female employees achieved came to undermine hegemonic social stereotypes, which contributed to the evolutions of political climate that are supportive to diversity initiatives. For further examinations, this study also suggests considering black employers' collective self-esteem and other confounding factors, such as the strength of racial identity of black hiring managers, to identify whether the strategy this study suggests works as well as intended. For example, if a black interviewer has a low level of collective self-esteem, she or he may try to avoid interactions with black candidates in order to maintain distances from her or his racial in-group and therefore the black interviewer will give negative responses to black candidates—particularly highly identified black—candidates during job interviews.

To enhance feasibility of the suggested strategies in both studies (i.e., 1-increasing the number of female hiring managers, 2-increasing the number of black hiring managers), future studies should consider the likelihood that employees in higher status groups (e.g., white male employees) may resist implementation of the change strategies in order to maintain the status quo. According to Cunningham (2007), creating coalitions with a strong commitment to change based on institutional isomorphism can lead to organizational pressure to engage in change-oriented practices over time (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The coalition can be developed by the growth of a unit by spreading the benefits of diversity to other members by some influential members of the organization (Kanter, 1982). The growth of a unit that is supportive to diversity

initiatives serves to influence group norms, thereby increasing normative commitment (Cunningham, 2008).

The methodological contributions of this study are as follows: First, job interview settings under a within-subjects design were used to more accurately observe employers' implicit gender and racial bias by avoiding the internal validity threats caused by individual invariability, which has not been attempted in literature. Previous studies using simulated employment settings with between-subject design have not considered the methodological limitation that their findings may fall in a type 1 error due to the possibility that individuals in the sample may have different personal dispositions that significantly influence evaluation scores. Therefore, findings of this study contribute to the enhancement of statistical power of empirical evidence supporting that employers' implicit gender and racial bias, associated with social stereotypes or white employers' homologous reproduction due to in-group favoritism, causes access discrimination against sexual or racial minorities, especially black women, during job interviews for an entry-level sport management position.

Limitations and Future Research

A few potential limitations in this study must be addressed. First, within the simulated employment settings, the effect of socially desirable responding can distort online participants' cognitive mechanisms to be more socially desirable, as their decisions do not affect their organizations. Alternatively, employers' decisions in mock settings likely differ from those in real settings. This concern can compromise the ecological validity of this study. For this reason, this study cannot ensure that the findings are applicable to real hiring settings in sport

organizations. This study suggests that future studies adopt a quasi-experimental design that utilizes actual job interview settings rather than the simulated employment setting.

Second, several drawbacks exist when using MTurk data. The first stems from the issue of inattentiveness. The primary sign of inattentiveness is the completion time of the survey. The frequencies of duration demonstrate that both the skewness (.918) and kurtosis (.753) of the data set are positive. Positive skewness shows that the duration of a subject is more likely to be lower than the mean value (43 minutes). Positive kurtosis denotes that the majority of participants spent less than 43 minutes to complete the entire survey, which is much shorter than the average time (60 minutes) obtained from two trials by the principal researcher. This study suggests embedding and mixing more reverse items to rule out inattentive responses. Additionally, this study cannot guarantee that the sample represents the target population. This study attempted the same survey with only \$1 as a reward instead of \$6. As a result, a total of 30 responses were obtained within a day with an average survey completion time of 46 minutes. At this point, it is questionable whether it would be worthwhile for employees in the sports industry to spend 40 minutes to earn \$1. This study suggests that future studies should request follow-up interviews with some participants by requesting an email address.

Third, this study did not consider potential confounding factors that can arise in interview settings, such as the hairstyle, voice, or facial and bodily expressions of the interviewee. Full control of potential confounding factors is impossible unless the treatment subjects are exactly homogeneous. Further, this study considered only biological differences when defining gender and race as control variables. This study controlled employers to perceive candidates as in- or out-group members based on candidates' appearance. However, more diverse factors may play in finding one's gender and racial in-group. As discussed in study 2, highly identified masculinity

or racial identity can also be factors employers use to find in-group members. Tajfel and colleagues (1987) asserted that people categorize their in-group and out-group by using a host of diverse factors, including demographics, attitudes, beliefs, and so on. Identity negotiation can be a potential confounding factor. More specifically, failing to demonstrate prescribed stereotypical behaviors for successful managers, such as agentic characteristics generally accorded to men, results in discrimination, which is a stereotype threat. To reduce or avoid such a stereotype threat, women often try to separate their work identity from their gender identity (Hippel, Issa, Ma, & Stokes, 2011). Gherardi and Poggio (2001) argue that “women who enter traditionally male organizations find themselves in a double-bind situation in which they are required to both assume male patterns of behavior and to preserve their distinctively feminine characteristics” (p. 257). Such ego-protection of women allows speculation that female candidates intentionally efface their gender identity, which may blur the boundaries of division by gender. Harlow (2003) identified that black employees confront identity negotiations in white-dominated organizations. More specifically, black employees have to decide whether they ignore acknowledged racism to secure their professional identity. Waymar (2008) identified that black men intentionally construct their identity by highlighting manhood and masculinity to elevate their status. To minimize such potential internal validity threats, it is important to identify the most influential confounding factors and ponder how to eliminate their influences during experiments.

Fourth, this study used a single-item scale to measure physical attractiveness for the sake of time efficiency, while acknowledging the psychometric issues regarding low content validity and reliability (McIver & Carmines, 1981; Hoepfner, Kelly, Urbanoski, & Slaymaker, 2011). One item is not sufficient to cover the full range of a construct, as respondents may experience greater ambiguity in interpreting the item. Furthermore, a single item does not allow the

computation of reliability. This suggests the need to develop a multi-item scale to account for wider ranges of constructs of physical attractiveness in job interview settings.

Finally, given that 80% of the sample is male, the sample of this study may not properly represent the population of female employers in sports organizations. In short, several results obtained from female employers may not be generalized. Future studies should consider that, as the majority of employers in sports organizations are male (Lapchick, 2019), the probability of sampling female employers would be relatively lower under the random sampling method this study used. For future research, this study suggests using purposive sampling instead of random sampling to achieve equal distribution concerning gender.

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Appendix 1

Information Sheet for Participation in a Research Study



Principal Investigator: Jennifer McGarry

Student researcher: Junyoung Cho

Title of Study: An examination of factors influencing on employers' evaluations during hiring processes in sports organizations

You are invited to participate in a research study. This form includes information about the study and contact information if you have any questions.

I am a graduate student at the University of Connecticut, and I am conducting this survey as part of my course work.

The purpose of this study is to examine employers' personal dispositions playing in hiring processes in sports organizations. You are invited to participate in the mock job interview as an interviewee. You will be provided with two interview questions and answers prior to your interview date via email individually. During the interview, your voice will be recorded and your upper body will be videotaped. Regarding dress code, you are encouraged to wear shirts with white, black, navy, gray or brown color.

When your interview begins, you will be reciting assigned answers after you listen to interview questions from the interviewer. Your interview video will be presented to online survey participants through Amazon Mechanical Turk.

This study should take approximately 5 minutes of your time. Your participation will be anonymous.

You will not be contacted again in the future.

You will receive a \$10 Starbucks gift card after completing this study directly after you complete the interview. You are required to recite all of the interview question responses to receive payment.

We do not anticipate any risks from completing the survey.

You may not benefit from this research. However, the benefits of your participation may impact society by helping increase knowledge about how to increase chances of good hiring in sports organizations.

Your interview will be both video and audio-recorded using a digital camera and then transcribed for adding captions on the video. The researchers will code the transcripts using a pseudonym (false name). The recordings will be uploaded to a secure password-protected computer in the researcher's office. The researchers will maintain a list that includes a key to the code. The master key and the recordings will be stored for 3 years after the study has been completed and then destroyed.

We will do our best to protect the confidentiality of the information we gather from you but we cannot guarantee 100% confidentiality. Your confidentiality will be maintained to the degree permitted by the technology used. In particular, no guarantees can be made regarding the interception of data sent via the Internet by any third parties.

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. You do not have to answer any question that you do not want to answer for any reason. We will be happy to answer any questions you have about this study. If you have further questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact Junyoung Cho at 860-617-9314 or Jennifer McGarry at 860-486-5139.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Connecticut Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 860-486-8802. The IRB is a group of people who review research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Please print out a copy of this information sheet for your records.

[If applicable: If you would like to participate in this survey, click yes to begin or no to exit].

Appendix 2

Participation Invitation Letter

Dear Invitee,

My name is Junyoung Cho. I am a doctoral student at University of Connecticut's Sports management program. I am kindly requesting your participation in a doctoral research study that I am conducting titled: An examination of factors influencing on employers' evaluations during hiring processes in sports organizations. The intention is to examine the influences of employers' implicit bias endorsing gender and races on their evaluations of job interview applicants and how Emotional Intelligence plays in mitigating such implicit biases in sports organizations

The study involves participating in mock job interview as an interviewee that will be videotaped and posted in online survey platform to be evaluated.

Participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time. The study is completely anonymous, therefore, it does not require you to provide your name or any other identifying information.

If you would like to participate in the study, please read the information sheet and suggest a day and time that suits you so that I'll do my best to be available.

Thank you for your time and participation

Sincerely,

Jun Cho, PhD Student in Sports Management

University of Connecticut

Appendix 3

Applicants and job position details**Applicant 1. Brad Simmons (White male)****EXPERIENCE****Internship, Sport operations at CBS Television network**

- Assist day to day management of direct reports as well as support of individual goals/development plans
- Support sports strategy in working with design to create and distribute key marketing materials
- Assist in establishing regular communication with sport Sales Assistants
- Support development of key production relationships in order to liaise between sales and production team

EDUCATION**University of Florida**

- Bachelor's Degree in Sports management
- GPA: 3.58

SKILLS

- Strong ability to respect timelines and work under pressure
- Highly motivated, detail oriented with superb follow through
- Can quickly assess a situation and determine the next steps to take

Applicant 2. Jermaine Axon (Black male)

EXPERIENCE

Internship, Marketing at CBS Sport network

- Develops and maintains ongoing communication with campaign prospects, participants and alumni
- Assists in generating and executing grassroots marketing initiatives
- Assists in recruiting volunteers
- Assists in the creation and distribution of press lists, media advisories, calendar listings, pitch letters and press releases
- Assists in the development of program materials, assembly and distribution

EDUCATION

Texas A&M University at College Station

- Bachelor's Degree in Sports management
- GPA: 3.59

SKILLS

- Ability to work with people, outgoing personality, leadership by example
- Ability to influence and build strong relationships
- Strong interpersonal skills (e.g. communication, negotiation)

Applicant 3. Kristen Ledlow (White female)

EXPERIENCE

Internship, Marketing at ESPN

- Research activities in cities for events
- Create destination library files for repeat cities for sporting events
- Assist in proposals for Sport presentations by providing event information, pictures, etc

- Assist Event Manager with putting together availability grids
- Work with Marketing & Sport leadership to execute tasks related to corporate marketing projects and sport marketing projects

EDUCATION

University of Massachusetts

- Bachelor's Degree in Sports management
- GPA: 3.60

SKILLS

- Ability to pay attention to details and be organized
- Excellent time management skills, with the ability to prioritize and multi-task, and work under shifting deadlines in a fast-paced environment
- Strong organizational skills and attention to details

Applicant 4. Ebony Williams (Black female)

EXPERIENCE

Internship, Event operations at Philadelphia Union

- Assist with the planning and event management of department and programs events
- Communicate with participants, officers, coaches, staff and the Assistant Director
- Assist with collecting and following-up with all accident and incident reports
- Support the administration of the competitive sport program
- Educate and enforce all policies, procedures, rules, and regulations

EDUCATION

Louisiana State University

- Bachelor's Degree in Sports administration
- GPA: 3.62

SKILL

- Interpersonal skills and ability to interact and work with staff at all levels
- Strong process-oriented, operational thinking mind
- Ability to resolve conflicts and come up with creative resolutions to challenges big and small

JOB POSITION

ENTRY LEVEL SPORTS MARKETING/ MANAGEMENT ASSISTANT

QUALIFICATIONS

- BA/BS Degree or equivalent work experience
- The ability to assist in recruiting volunteers
- The ability to work with Marketing & Sport leadership to execute tasks related to corporate marketing projects and sport marketing projects
- Proven skills in assisting with the planning and event management
- The ability to support sports strategy in working with design to create and distribute key marketing materials

Appendix 4

Interview questions and answers

	Question1: Describe how you manage yourself at work	Question 2: Describe what roles you play in working with others at work
White male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am experienced to handle stressful situations at work effectively • I am willing to listen to colleagues who disagree with me • I practice to have optimistic mind at work • I adequately handle situations that irritate my productivity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I know what to do or say when colleagues face situations that get them angry at work • I am effective in helping others feel positive at work • I help people deal with issues that cause them frustration at work • I know how to motivate colleagues to achieve work related goals • I know what to do or say when colleagues face situations that get them
Black male	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I demonstrate confident moods and emotions at work • I explore the causes of things that upset me at work • I quickly adjust to new conditions at work • I like conversations with people who perceive my faults 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When necessary I effectively demonstrate empathy to colleagues • I like to play a facilitator role to formulate collaborative work environment • I am able to explore solutions for others to calm themselves down • I have a good sense of humor that help making better working climate
White female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I respond to events that frustrate me appropriately • I adequately handle situations that irritate my productivity • I like conversations with people who perceive my faults • I am able to cultivate pleasant emotions such as appreciation and enthusiasm 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I help people find effective ways of responding to upsetting events • I know how to motivate colleagues to achieve work related goals • I have a good sense of humor that help making better working climate • I strive to observe external signs of others who feel annoyance on their tasks
Black female	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I take criticism from colleagues publicly • I engage in activities that make me feel positive at work • I effectively deal with things that annoy me at work • I respond to events that frustrate me appropriately 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am good at creating a positive working environment for others • When colleagues are disappointed about something I help them feel differently about the situation • I am able to get colleagues to cooperate • I help people find effective ways of responding to upsetting events

Appendix 5

Information Sheet for Participation in a Research Study



Principal Investigator: Jennifer McGarry

Student researcher: Junyoung Cho

Title of Study: An examination of factors influencing on employers' evaluations during hiring processes in sports organizations

You are invited to participate in a research study. This form includes information about the study and contact information if you have any questions.

I am a graduate student at the University of Connecticut, and I am conducting this survey as part of my course work.

The purpose of this study is to examine what role employers' personal dispositions play in hiring processes in sports organizations. After taking a short qualification test and if you pass it, you will be watching a 10-min job interview video before you begin the main survey. In the survey, you will be asked to evaluate each interviewee and rate your self-perceived dispositions as an interviewer. In the last part of the survey, you will be asked to provide your demographic characteristics.

This study should take approximately 60 minutes of your time. Your participation will be anonymous.

You will not be contacted again in the future.

After you complete the qualification test, requester will approve your submitted responses so that Amazon Mechanical Turk account will automatically display your earnings on the Dashboard and Earnings pages. If you are authorized to take the main survey, you will receive a \$6 Amazon earning rewards after completing the main survey. You are required to complete all

of the questions in the main survey to receive payment. Any inattentive answers can withhold your compensation. After you complete the main survey, requester will approve your submitted responses so that Amazon Mechanical Turk account will automatically display your earnings on the Dashboard and Earnings pages. We request your attentive participation as improper responses could result in withdrawal of compensation.

We do not anticipate any risks from completing the survey.

You may not benefit directly from this research. However, the benefits of your participation may impact society by helping increase knowledge about enhancing hiring practices in sports organizations.

We will do our best to protect the confidentiality of the information we gather from you but we cannot guarantee 100% confidentiality. Your confidentiality will be maintained to the degree permitted by the technology used. In particular, no guarantees can be made regarding the interception of data sent via the Internet by any third parties.

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to be. You do not have to answer any question that you do not want to answer for any reason. We will be happy to answer any questions you have about this study. If you have further questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact Junyoung Cho at 860-617-9314 or Jennifer McGarry at 860-486-5139.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the University of Connecticut Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 860-486-8802. The IRB is a group of people who review research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Please print out a copy of this information sheet for your records.

[If applicable: If you would like to participate in this survey, click yes to begin or no to exit].

Appendix 6

Questionnaires

Instructions

This questionnaire has been designed to identify your evaluation on each of interviewees in the video you just watched. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 to 7:

How do you rate this applicant's physical attractiveness	Very unattractive	Unattractive	Unattractive somewhat	Neutral	Attractive somewhat	Attractive	Very attractive
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Would you recommend hiring this applicant for the job	Do not recommend at all	Do not recommend	Do not recommend somewhat	Neutral	Recommend Somewhat	Recommend	Highly recommend
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All in all, how qualified do you think this applicant is for the position?	Not at all qualified	Not qualified	Not qualified somewhat	Neutral	Qualified somewhat	Qualified	Very qualified
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How do you expect this applicant to perform on this job?	Very poorly	Poorly	Poorly somewhat	Neutral	Well somewhat	Well	Very well
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How would you rate this applicant's potential to move up in the company?	Very little potential	Little potential	Little potential somewhat	Neutral	Potential somewhat	Potential	Great deal of potential
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you think you would like this applicant as a person?							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How would you feel about working with this applicant	Not at all pleased	Not pleased	Not pleased somewhat	Neutral	Pleased somewhat	Pleased	Very pleased
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Instructions

This questionnaire has been designed to identify your emotions or reactions associated with emotions. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree):

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I know when to speak about my personal problems to others	1	2	3	4	5
2.	When I am faced with obstacles, I remember times I faced similar obstacles and overcame them	1	2	3	4	5
3.	I expect that I will do well on most things I try	1	2	3	4	5
4.	Other people find it easy to confide in me	1	2	3	4	5
5.	I find it hard to understand the non-verbal messages of other people	1	2	3	4	5
6.	Some of the major events of my life have led me to re-evaluate what is important and not important	1	2	3	4	5
7.	When my mood changes, I see new possibilities	1	2	3	4	5
8.	Emotions are one of the things that make my life worth living	1	2	3	4	5
9.	I am aware of my emotions as I experience them	1	2	3	4	5
10.	I expect good things to happen	1	2	3	4	5
11.	I like to share my emotions with others	1	2	3	4	5
12.	When I experience a positive emotion, I know how to make it last	1	2	3	4	5
13.	I arrange events others enjoy	1	2	3	4	5
14.	I seek out activities that make me happy	1	2	3	4	5
15.	I am aware of the non-verbal messages I send to others	1	2	3	4	5
16.	I present myself in a way that makes a good impression on others	1	2	3	4	5
17.	When I am in a positive mood, solving problems is easy for me	1	2	3	4	5

18.	By looking at their facial expressions, I recognize the emotions people are experiencing	1	2	3	4	5
19.	I know why my emotions change	1	2	3	4	5
20.	When I am in a positive mood, I am able to come up with new ideas	1	2	3	4	5
21.	I have control over my emotions	1	2	3	4	5
22.	I easily recognize my emotions as I experience them	1	2	3	4	5
23.	I motivate myself by imagining a good outcome to tasks I take on	1	2	3	4	5
24.	I compliment others when they have done something well	1	2	3	4	5
25.	I am aware of the non-verbal messages other people send	1	2	3	4	5
26.	When another person tells me about an important event in his or her life, I almost feel as though I have experienced this event myself	1	2	3	4	5
27.	When I feel a change in emotions, I tend to come up with new ideas	1	2	3	4	5
28.	When I am faced with a challenge, I give up because I believe I will fail	1	2	3	4	5
29.	I know what other people are feeling just by looking at them	1	2	3	4	5
30.	I help other people feel better when they are down	1	2	3	4	5
31.	I use good moods to help myself keep trying in the face of obstacles	1	2	3	4	5
32.	I can tell how people are feeling by listening to the tone of their voice	1	2	3	4	5
33.	It is difficult for me to understand why people feel the way they do	1	2	3	4	5

Instructions

This questionnaire has been designed to investigate the different ways that people think about themselves and other people. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree):

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I am very curious about human behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I prefer complex rather than simple explanations for people's behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I give much thought to how my own thinking works in the process of understanding or explaining people's behavior.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I often think about the different ways that people influence each other.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I seldom take people's behavior at face value, and usually worry about the inner causes for their behavior, (e.g., attitudes, beliefs, etc.).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I think a lot about the influence that society has on my behavior and personality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	I have often found that the basic cause for a person's behavior is located far back in time.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Instructions

We are all members of different social groups or social categories. Some of such social groups or categories pertain to gender, race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class. We would like you to consider your memberships in those particular groups or categories, and respond to the following statements on the basis of how you feel about those groups and your memberships in them. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree):

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	I am a worthy member of the social groups I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I often regret that I belong to some of the social groups I do.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	Overall, my social groups are considered good by others.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	Overall, my group memberships have very little to do with how I feel about myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I feel I don't have much to offer to the social groups I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	In general, I'm glad to be a member of the social groups I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Most people consider my social groups, on the average, to be more ineffective than other social groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	The social groups I belong to are an important reflection of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I am a cooperative participant in the social groups I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Overall, I often feel that the social groups of which I am a member are not worthwhile.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	In general, others respect the social groups that I am a member of.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	The social groups I belong to are unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	I often feel I'm a useless member of my social groups.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	I feel good about the social groups I belong to.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	In general, others think that the social groups I am a member of are unworthy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	In general, belonging to social groups is an important part of my self-image.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Instructions

This questionnaire has been designed to identify your personal thoughts with following statements. There are no right or wrong answers to any of these statements; we are interested in your honest reactions and opinions. Please read each statement carefully, and respond by using the following scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree):

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	Inferior groups should stay in their place	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	It would be good if groups could be equal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	Group equality should be our ideal	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	All groups should be given an equal chance in life	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Increased social equality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	No one group should dominate in society	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Instructions

This questionnaire has been designed to identify your demographics with following statements. Please provide a response for each of the following questions:

1. What is your age? _____

2. What is your gender? _____

3. With which racial or ethnic category do you identify?

African American Asian/Pacific Islander Caucasian Latino

Other: _____

4. What is your highest level of education?

High school or equivalent

Certificate or training program

Bachelors

Masters

Doctorate

Other

5. What types of sports organization or agency do you work for?

- Governmental bodies
- National sports organizations
- Local sports organizations
- School sportss
- College and university sportss
- Professional sports organizations
- Sports facilities
- Sportsing goods manufacture and retail
- Sports media
- Other

6. What types of functional areas do you work for?

- Sales
- Marketing
- Finance and accounting
- Customer service
- Human resources
- Production
- Technology and equipment
- Operation

7. How long have you worked in the field of sports management

- Less than 1 year
- 1 - 3 years
- 4 - 6 years
- 7 – 10 years
- More than 10 years

8. How long have you worked in your current job position?

- Less than 1 year
- 1 - 3 years
- 4 - 6 years
- 7 – 10 years
- More than 10 years