Perceptions of African American and Caucasian Partners in two-person work groups: Does Race Matter?

Tamara K. Fleming, McNair Scholar, Penn State University
Susan Mohammed, Ph.D
Associate Professor
Psychology Department
Penn State University

As racism remains a persistent problem in society, this study examined affective and behavioral expectations of minorities and non-minorities in hypothetical two-person work groups. It was hypothesized that participants rating African American partners would be less likely to report positive affective and behavioral expectations regarding the work relationship. The sample consisted of 185 undergraduate students who imagined being paired with another student for a class project. Race and gender were manipulated via the partner's name. Results indicated that participants' attitudes towards racism and diversity in teams had a greater influence on affective expectations than the partner's race or gender.

INTRODUCTION

Over the years, the United States workforce has become increasingly diverse. However, there is a lack of racial and ethnic minorities in higher-level positions. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor and Statistics, African Americans made up approximately 8 percent of the management and business professional workforce in 2005. African Americans do not earn as much as Caucasian Americans (Black, Haviland, Sanders, & Taylor, 2006). Why is there a disparity among pay between the two groups? Why is there a lack of African-Americans in higher-level and higher paying positions? One explanation may well be negative stereotypes held by those who regulate the goings-on in most organizations. Typically, these regulators are Caucasian Americans.

The purpose of this study was to examine perceptions toward African American as compared to Caucasian American work partners, in terms of potential contribution towards a group's overall effort. In addition to focusing on the initial expectations of African Americans' performance, this study also examined reactions to African Americans after a performance record has been established.

This research paper will be organized in the following way. First, I will briefly go over what previous literature has revealed regarding the stereotyping of African Americans by Caucasian Americans and the impact of racially diverse groups. Second, I will discuss the proposed hypotheses and the rationale behind them. This will be followed by the methodology, the results, and a discussion of this study's findings.

Literature Review

Previous literature asserts that stereotyping is, in a sense, an almost natural reaction to things to which people have been newly introduced (Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000; Timmerman, 2000). People tend to put others (as well as themselves) into categories in an

attempt to prevent an overwhelming amount of information from being repeatedly accessed and processed (Martins, Milliken, Wiesenfield, & Salgado, 2003). If this categorization did not occur, people would not be able to function to their greatest potential (Monteith, Sherman, & Devine, 1998). Categorizing oneself as well as others is a precursor to stereotyping (Elsass & Graves, 1997; Timmerman, 2000).

Research on diversity in groups has indicated that there are both advantages and disadvantages of formulating diverse teams in organizations (Hobman, Bordia, & Gallois, 2004). Diversity may enhance group performance, as each member's personal experiences, ideas, and opinions would generate various, yet different ideas (Timmerman, 2000). This may be especially prominent in situations where diversity is highly regarded (Timmerman, 2000) Disadvantages include having members who are similar to each other focus too much attention on the individual(s) who may be different (Timmerman, 2000). According to the social categorization theory, the performance of individuals in a racially diverse group would be hindered by the lack of homogeneity (Timmerman, 2000). Individuals in diverse groups may focus little on the task at hand and may be distracted by the racial differences between themselves and their group members. Even before members of a racially diverse group interact, simply knowing that their partners are different from themselves could influence the initial expectations of those different members (Elsass & Graves, 1997).

Research has also found that diversity can disrupt the effective exchange of ideas between members belonging to different racial groups (Hobman, et al., 2004). Relations and communication in racially diverse groups may be influenced by the current organizational practices that are in place. Organizational practices are largely influenced by the decisions, ideals, and standards set forth by Caucasian men who run these organizations (Elsass & Graves, 1997; Pettigrew & Martin, 1987). This is likely to create conflict in groups were members are not of the same race.

In the present study, there were a number of variables that were looked at in connection with individuals' expectations of African Americans as compared to Caucasian Americans. These variables included racial attitudes such as modern racism, openness to diversity, and racial centrality. Also included was Protestant ethic, which is not a racial attitude per se, but has been correlated with racial attitudes (Katz & Hass, 1988). A description of these racial attitudes is provided in the following paragraphs.

Modern Racism. Racism and the publicizing of negative attitudes towards African Americans have significantly declined over the years (Katz & Hass, 1998; McConohay, Hardee, & Batts, 1988). However, there are still some individuals who harbor ill sentiments towards African Americans and do not openly express them. Modern racists do not subscribe to the types of overt racism previously prevalent, such as forcing African Americans to sit at the back of the bus or enter establishments from the rear. Modern racists reject these blatantly discriminatory practices. In fact, they believe that racism is no longer a problem in America, and therefore think that African Americans are no longer the targets of mistreatment and discrimination (McConohay, et al., 1988). Modern racism allows individuals to discriminate against African Americans with non-racist and non-prejudiced reasons to do so (Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000). It is the conflict between one's belief that African Americans should be treated equally to Caucasian Americans and the negative sentiments one has regarding African Americans. These negative sentiments are not vocalized and are dealt with internally (Nail, Harton, & Decker, 2003).

Protestant Ethic. Protestant ethic is a reflection of an individual's dedication to hard work and amount of effort put into hard work (Jones, 1997; Katz & Hass, 1988). It was derived from Protestants who believed that working hard in their daily jobs would discourage their participating in secular and immoral activities (Jones, 1997). These Protestants believed that dedication to one's work would lead to a decrease in idleness, which they highly looked down upon (Jones, 1997). Research on Protestant ethic reveals that there is a correlation between theses ethics and negative attitudes regarding African Americans (Katz & Hass, 1988). Katz and Hass (1988) looked at the conflicting, simultaneous viewpoints held by Caucasian Americans. These conflicting viewpoints entailed Caucasians feeling sympathetic towards African Americans because of their troublesome history, while also blaming them for their own lack of success. Katz and Hass (1988) found that there was a relationship between Protestant ethic and how Caucasian Americans view African Americans. It was found that Caucasian Americans who scored higher on the Protestant Ethic scale were more likely to hold disapproving opinions about African Americans.

Racial Centrality. Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) developed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) to assess African Americans' concept of self, how important it is for them to be African American, and what it means to be African American. The MMRI examines how African Americans' define themselves by looking at four elements: salience, centrality, regard and ideology. Sellers et al. (1998) defines racial salience as how relevant one's race is to oneself in a given time or under a certain circumstance. Racial centrality refers to the importance one places on oneself in terms of is or her race. It is based on the individual's life experiences and is constant across time (Sellers et al., 1998).

According to Sellers, et al., 1998, racial regard is the extent to which African Americans feel positively about their race. Racial regard is broken down into private regard and public regard. Private regard is concerned with how positively African Americans feel about themselves as well as other African Americans. Public regard is concerned with how positively African Americans believe other people view African Americans. Racial ideology entails African Americans' views regarding how other African Americans should behave (Sellers, et al., 1998). Racial ideology is broken down into four parts: nationalist oppressed minority, assimilation, and humanist. The nationalist ideology focuses on the significance of being Black and promotes the idea that what African Americans have historically been through is incomparable to that of other groups. The oppressed minority ideology focuses on the similarities in subjugation experienced by African Americans and other groups. The assimilation ideology is concerned with the effort of African Americans to become further integrated into American society. Lastly, the humanist ideology asserts that there are no differences among races, and that the only race is the human race.

For the purpose of this study, the racial centrality scale was extracted from the Sellers et al. (1998) MMRI, and was tailored to assess the importance of race to all individuals, not just African Americans. For example, scale statements such as "In general, being Black is an important part of my self-image" was changed to "In general, my race/ethnicity is an important part of my self-image."

Openness to Diversity. Openness to diversity is defined as the extent to which group members regard, are respectful of, and are productive in their dealings with fellow group members who are

dissimilar from themselves (Hobman, et al. 2004). According to Hobman et al. (2004), individuals open to diversity favor heterogeneous work groups and are more likely to have better communication with their partners who are different from themselves. Through interactions with people who are dissimilar from themselves, these individuals should be able to gain a better understanding of the differences that do and do not exist between the groups and should be less likely to stereotype. Hobman et al. (2004) looked at the effect of how different one person perceives him- or herself to be in relation to others. This study looked at three types of differences: those that can be seen (e.g., gender and ethnicity), work-related (e.g., work habits and principles), and informational (e.g., personal history and past experiences). Results suggested that openness to diversity moderated the relationship between diversity and group member participation, such that individuals who believed that their fellow group members were open to diversity were more likely to participate in their groups.

Development of Hypotheses

Due to the long history of racial inequality, mistreatment of African Americans, and the prejudices held against African Americans in the United States, it was predicted that African Americans would be expected to contribute less to a group's overall effort than would Caucasian Americans. Perceptions of African Americans as compared to Caucasian Americans were measured along two different dimensions: affective expectations and behavioral expectations. Affective expectations measured participants' feelings towards working with their partners, including whether they anticipated feeling comfortable with their partner and thought that they would get along well together. In contrast, behavioral expectations measured partners' anticipated actions that would relate directly to the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the group. Specifically, participants were asked whether they thought that their partner would contribute high quality ideas, volunteer to complete tasks, submit work on time, and so forth.

<u>Hypotheses Regarding Affective Expectations</u>

Hypothesis 1_a: Participants will be more likely to report negative affective expectations toward African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 1_b: Participants responding higher on the modern racism scale will be more likely to report negative affective expectation towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 1_c: Participants responding higher on the protestant ethic scale will be more likely to report negative affective expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 1_d: Caucasian participants responding higher on the racial centrality scale will be more likely to report negative affective expectations African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 1_e: Participants who respond lower on the openness to diversity in teams scale will be more likely to report negative affective expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypotheses Regarding Behavioral Expectations

Hypothesis 2_a: Participants will be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations regarding the work relationship with African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 2_b: Participants responding higher on the modern racism scale will be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners

Hypothesis 2_c: Participants responding higher on the protestant ethic scale will be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations towards working with African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 2_d: Caucasian participants responding higher on the racial centrality scale will be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 2_e: Participants who respond lower on the openness to diversity in teams scale will be more likely to report negative affective behavioral expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypotheses Regarding Surprise in Reaction to Confirmed Performance

Literature on individuals' assessments of the actual performance of African Americans in relation to their initial expectations is not extensive. However, based on the stereotyping literature, it was predicted that there would be a disparity in the level of surprise regarding the performance of African Americans versus Caucasian Americans. Because two measures were used for surprise, hypotheses are divided into low and high surprise.

Low Surprise Hypotheses

Hypothesis 3_a: Participants will be more likely to report lower levels of surprise when African American partners perform poorly as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 3_b: Participants responding higher on the modern racism scale will be more likely to report lower levels of surprise when African American partners perform poorly as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 3_c: Participants responding higher on Protestant ethic scale will be more likely to report lower levels of surprise when African American partners perform poorly as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 3_d: Participants responding higher on racial centrality scale will be more likely to report lower levels of surprise when African American partners perform poorly as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 3_e: Participants who respond lower on the openness to diversity in teams scale will be more likely to report lower levels of surprise when African American partners perform poorly as compared to Caucasian partners.

High Surprise Hypotheses

Hypothesis 4_a: Participants will be more likely to report higher levels of surprise when African American partners perform well as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 4_b: Participants responding higher on the modern racism scale will be more likely to report higher levels of surprise when African American partners perform well as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 4_c: Participants responding higher on Protestant ethic scale will be more likely to report higher levels of surprise when African American partners perform well as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 4_d: Participants responding higher on racial centrality scale will be more likely to report higher levels of surprise when African American partners perform well as compared to Caucasian partners.

Hypothesis 4_e: Participants who respond lower on the openness to diversity in teams scale will be more likely to report higher levels of surprise when African American partners perform well as compared to Caucasian partners.

METHODOLOGY

Participants. The participants were 185 undergraduate students from a large university in the northeast region of the United States. All students were enrolled in undergraduate level psychology courses at the university. Of the 185 participants, 163 received credit for their participation and the other 22 participants volunteered without any credit. Of the 185 participants, 84 % of the participants were Caucasian, 7% were Asian/Pacific Islanders, 5 % were African Americans, 2% were Hispanics/Latinos, 1 % were Native Americans, and 1 % were of various racial and ethnic backgrounds. Sixty-five percent of the participants were female. The mean age of participants was 21 years of age.

Procedure. The data collection instrument used in this study was a survey. In the three undergraduate psychology courses sampled, the primary investigator stood before the class and read a brief script describing the purpose of the study and then passed out the survey to all of the students and asked those who were not interested in participating to leave their blank surveys on a desk at the back of the room. Attached to the front of the surveys were two blank consent

forms, one marked for the student to hand in with his or her survey, and the other marked for him or her to keep for his or her own record. In the first class, participants completed the surveys in class. In the second and third classes, participants took the surveys home to complete.

Hypothetical Scenario. There were two parts to the hypothetical scenario presented to students. First, participants were asked to imagine that they were enrolled in a health class with a final project assignment involving research, an oral presentation, and a written paper. Students were randomly assigned to work with one other person, and during the second week of the class, they were given a few minutes to meet their partner. Non-performance related information was provided to participants about their partner (e.g., partner's first name, major, extra-curricular activities, place of birth, level at Penn State (e.g., junior). Second, participants were asked to imagine that six weeks had passed into the semester and that the professor was requiring evaluations of partner performance. Partners either performed well by emerging as the project leader or performed poorly and did not contribute greatly to the group's overall effort. Given this information, participants were asked to rate how surprised they were at their partner's performance.

Race & Gender Manipulation. The person described in the scenario was either male or female and either African American or Caucasian American. Race and gender were manipulated via the partner's name. In an attempt to prevent the participants from knowing the study had to deal with race issues, there was no explicit statement of the imaginary partner's race and the partners were given stereotypically Caucasian American or African American names. Stereotypically Caucasian American names included "Brad" and "Allie," whereas stereotypically African American names included "Jamal" and "Laquana."

Performance Manipulation. The second part of the survey included information regarding the partners' performance. Partners either exhibited high performance or low performance. High performance was indicated accordingly:

> Out of five meetings, (partner name):
> 1. Attended all five meetings.
> 2. Arrived on time to all meetings.
> 3. Contributed quality ideas in the discussions.
> 4. Always came prepared with his (or her) portion of the assignment.
> 5. Volunteered to complete various tasks.

Similarly, low performance was indicated in the following way:

> Out of five meetings, (partner name):
> 1. Missed 2 out of 5 meetings without notification.
> 2. Arrived late to 1 meeting.
> 3. Did not contribute quality ideas in the discussions he (or she) did attend.
> 4. Forgot to bring his (or her) part of the assignment on 2 occasions.
> 5. Did not step up and volunteer to complete any tasks.

Measures. The affective expectations scale assessed initial feelings toward the assigned partner. Items included, "I think that we will get along well" and "I think I would feel comfortable working with (name of partner)." Items were rated on a scale of 1 to 5, with 1

signifying "strongly disagree," 3 signifying "neutral," and 5 signifying "strongly agree." There were four items in this scale.

The behavioral/performance expectations scale was used to determine how well or poorly participants expected their partners to perform on the group task. Participants were asked whether they thought their partners would "Contribute high quality ideas?", "Submit work on time?," and "Be a competent partner?" The questions were rated on a 1 to 5 scale with 1 signifying "Not likely at all, 3 signifying "Equally likely and unlikely," and 5 signifying "highly likely." There were nine items in this scale.

The Surprise Regarding Confirmed Low Performance scale consisted of 5 items and included items asking participants how surprised were they that their partner "Contributed low quality ideas" and "Slacked off." Similarly, the Surprise Regarding Confirmed High Performance scale consisted of 5 items and included items asking participants how surprised were they that their partner "Contributed high quality ideas" and "Helped to carry the workload" Items were measured on a scale of 1-5, with 1 signifying "not surprised," 3 signifying "neither surprised nor unsurprised," and 5 signifying "very surprised."

A number of previously validated scales were also used. These scales include the *Protestant Ethic Scale* (Katz & Hass, 1988), *Racial Centrality Scale* (Sellers et al., 1998), *Openness to Diversity Scale* (Hobman et al., 2004), and the *Modern Racism Scale* (McConohay et al., 1988). The Protestant Ethic Scale contained 11 items, the Racial Centrality Scale contained 8 items, the Openness to Diversity Scale contained 6 items, and the Modern Racism Scale contained 7 items. The wording of items from the Openness to Diversity Scale was changed from a specific team referent ("in my team") to a general team referent ("in teams"). Each scale was measures on a 1-5 scale, with 1 signifying "Strongly disagree," 2 signifying "Disagree," 3 signifying "Neutral," 4 signifying "Agree," and 5 signifying "Strongly agree."

RESULTS

Preliminary Results

Manipulation check. A manipulation check was performed to determine the effectiveness of the partner names (Jamal, Laquana, Allie, Brad) in indicating the intended race. When participants were asked to indicate the race of their partner, 30 out of 185 individuals incorrectly guessed their partner's race or did not guess at all (See Table 1). Specifically, 22 individuals incorrectly guessed their partner's race and 8 individuals left the item blank. Subsequently, the data from these 30 participants were deleted from further analysis.

Table 1: Manipulation Check Results for Partner Race

	Asian	**Black**	**Hispanic**	**White**	**Missing**
Allie	0	3	0	**39**	6
Brad	3	3	0	**41**	1
Jamal	0	**40**	2	4	0
Laquana	0	**35**	5	2	1

*Note: The partner's intended race (correct responses) are indicated in **bold**.

Descriptive Statistics. Means, standard deviations, and minimum/maximum responses are reported in Table 2. As shown, respondents generally utilized the full scale range for survey items. However, for the modern racism scale, descriptive statistics revealed a restriction of range, as most participants only selected response items 1 through 3 on a 5-point scale.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Affective Expectations Scale	155	2.50	2.50	5.00	4.1323	.60053
Behavioral Expectations Scale	155	2.67	2.33	5.00	3.8208	.52474
Surprise Regarding Confirmed Low Performance Scale	69	4.00	1.00	5.00	3.5531	.99979
Surprise Regarding Confirmed High Performance Scale	86	3.83	1.00	4.83	1.8337	.97432
Protestant Ethic Scale	155	2.64	1.82	4.45	3.1459	.46499
Racial Centrality Scale	155	3.75	1.00	4.75	2.8763	.72663
Openness to Diversity Scale	155	2.83	2.17	5.00	3.7151	.67473
Modern Racism Scale	155	2.57	1.00	3.57	1.9567	.52813

Scale Reliabilities. As shown in Table 3, with the exception of the Protestant Ethic Scale (alpha = .68), all of the scales used in data collection had reliabilities of .7 or greater, indicating adequate internal consistency.

Table 3: Scale Reliabilities

Scale	Affective Expectations Scale	Behavioral Expectations Scale	Surprise Regarding Confirmed Low Performance Scale	Surprise Regarding Confirmed High Performance Scale	Protestant Ethic Scale	Racial Centrality Scale	Openness to Diversity Scale	Modern Racism Scale
Cronbach's Alpha	.872	.815	.902	.926	.682	.809	.851	.725

Correlations. Table 4 depicts the correlations between all study variables. The results indicated a significant relationship between modern racism and the participant's gender, such that males were more likely to score higher on the modern racism scale (i.e., reported more racist attitudes towards African Americans; $r = -.31$, $p < .01$). Participants who reported more positive affective expectations towards their partners were more likely to report more positive behavioral expectations ($r = .44$, $p<.01$). In addition, results showed that there was a significant relationship between affective expectations and surprise regarding confirmed performance, such that participants who reported higher affective expectations of their partners were more likely to report higher levels of surprise when their partners performed poorly ($r =.40$, $p < .01$) and lower levels of surprise when they performed well ($r = -.23$, $p<.05$). Participants who reported higher affective expectations of their partners were more likely to report more openness towards diversity in teams ($r = .37$, $p < .01$). There was also a significant relationship between affective expectations and modern racism, indicating that participants who reported lower affective expectations of their partners were more likely to report racist attitudes towards African Americans ($r = -.28$, $p < .01$).

Results showed a significant relationship between behavioral expectations and surprise regarding performance. Participants who reported higher behavioral expectations of their partners were more likely to report higher levels of surprise when their partners performed poorly ($r = -.65$, $p<.01$) and lower levels of surprise when their partners performed well ($r = -.35$, $p<.01$). The correlation matrix also revealed a relationship between surprise regarding confirmed low performance and racial centrality, such that participants who reported higher levels of surprise when their partners performed poorly were less likely to report that their race is a significant aspect of who they are ($r= -.26$, $p < .05$).

Results also indicated a significant relationship between Protestant ethic and modern racism ($r = .26$, $p < .01$). Participants who reported having a stronger work ethic were more likely to report racist attitudes towards African Americans. There was also a relationship found between openness to diversity and modern racism ($r = -.38$, $p < .01$), such that individuals who reported being less open to working in diverse groups were more likely to report racist attitudes towards African Americans.

Table 4: Correlation matrix

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Partner Race	__									
2. Partner Gender	-0.02									
3. Participant Gender	-0.02	0.05								
4. Affective Expectations Scale	0.03	-0.00	0.16							
5. Behavioral Expectations Scale	-0.07	0.07	-0.02	0.44**						
6. Surprise Regarding Confirmed Low Performance Scale	-0.07	-0.09	0.09	0.40**	-0.65**					
7. Surprise Regarding Confirmed High Performance Scale	-0.12	-0.11	0.01	-0.23*	-0.35**	.(a)				
8. Protestant Ethic Scale	-0.08	-0.13	-0.04	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.13			
9. Racial Centrality Scale	0.05	-0.11	0.13	-0.03	0.02	-0.26*	0.00	0.12		
10. Openness to Diversity Scale	-0.07	-0.09	0.08	0.37**	0.14	0.16	0.02	0.13	0.09	
11. Modern Racism Scale	0.07	-0.06	-0.31**	-0.28**	-0.06	0.02	0.10	0.26**	0.05	-0.38**

* = Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** = Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

a = Cannot be computed because at least one of the variables is constant.

Note: For Partner Race, 1= Caucasian, 2= African American; For Partner Gender, 1=Male, 2=Female; For Participant Gender, 1=Male, 2=Female.

Test of Hypotheses.

Analyses. Hypotheses were tested using analysis of variance (ANOVA) and regression analyses. For ANOVAs, the key independent variables were partner race and partner gender. However, in order to assess whether the demographics of the respondent affected responses, respondent gender was also considered. Because the overwhelming majority of the respondents were Caucasian (n = 151) with only a low number of African American respondents (n = 10), respondent race could not be entered into the ANOVA. Therefore, a 2 (Black/White *Partner*) X 2 (Male/Female *Partner*) X 2 (Male/Female *Respondent*) ANOVA was performed on each of the key dependent variables (affective expectations, behavioral expectations, surprise regarding confirmed low performance, surprise regarding confirmed high performance). Ninety-eight of the participants were in the African American partner condition, 89 of the participants were in the Caucasian American partner condition, 81 of the participants were in the male condition, and 99 of the participants were female. Because racial attitudes (Protestant Ethic Scale, Racial Centrality Scale, Modern Racism Scale) and team attitudes (Openness to Diversity Scale) were measured continuously, hierarchical regression analyses were performed for hypotheses involving these scales.

Hypotheses Regarding Affective Expectations. Hypothesis 1_a predicted that participants would be more likely to report negative affective expectations toward African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 5, there was no significant main effect for

partner race (F (1, 147) = 1.04, p > .05). However, there was a significant interaction between partner race and participant gender (F (1, 147) = 1.96, p < .05). As shown in Figure 1, males were more likely to report more positive affective expectations for African American partners than Caucasian partners. In contrast, females were more likely to report positive affective expectations for Caucasian partners than African American partners. Therefore, Hypothesis 1_a was supported for female respondents, but not male respondents. This finding should be interpreted with caution, as there were almost twice as many female participants (N=99) as male participants (N=56). Hypothesis 1_a was partially supported.

Table 5: ANOVA Results for Affective Expectations as the Dependent Variable

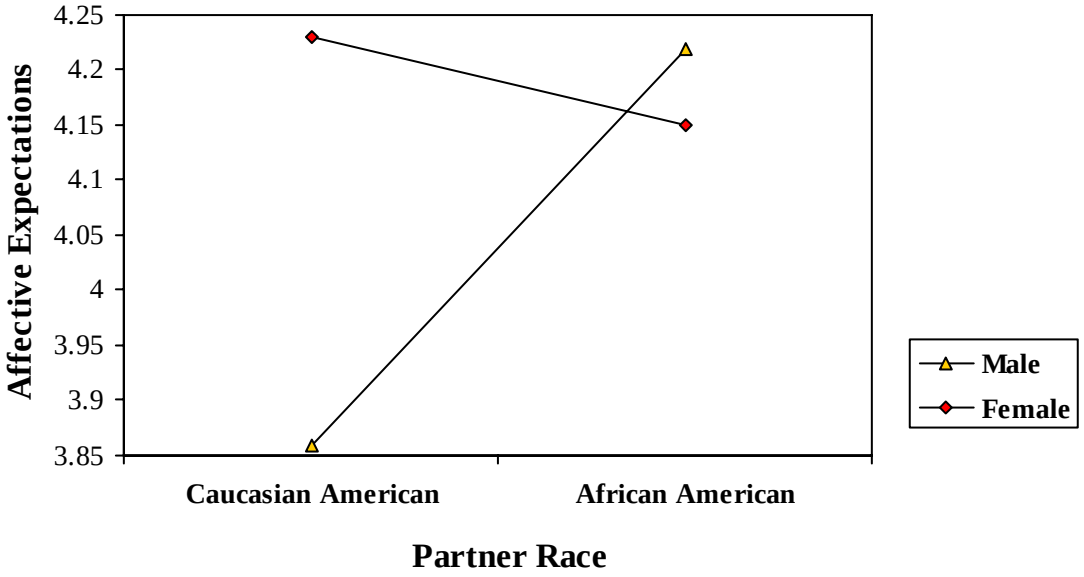
Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Affective Expectations

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	4.775(a)	7	.682	1.976	.062	.086
Intercept	2391.851	1	2391.851	6926.300	.000	.979
Partner Race	.358	1	.358	1.036	.310	.007
Partner Gender	.020	1	.020	.058	.811	.000
Participant Gender	1.221	1	1.221	3.537	.062	.023
Partner Race * Partner Gender	.327	1	.327	.948	.332	.006
Partner Race * Participant Gender	1.957	1	1.957	5.668	.019	.037
Partner Gender * Participant gender	.586	1	.586	1.697	.195	.011
Partner Race * Partner Gender * Participant Gender	.222	1	.222	.644	.424	.004
Error	50.763	147	.345			
Total	2702.250	155				
Corrected Total	55.539	154				

a R Squared = .086 (Adjusted R Squared = .042)

Figure 1: Interaction between participant gender and partner race.



Hypothesis 1_b predicted that modern racism would moderate the relationship between partner race and affective expectations such that participants scoring higher on modern racism would be more likely to report negative affective expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 6, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted in which independent variables (partner race, partner gender, and participant gender) were entered in Step 1, race-related and team-related scales were entered in Step 2, and interactions were entered in Step 3. A significant main effect resulted for modern racism (beta = -.26, $p < .05$), indicating that students scoring higher on modern racism were more likely to report lower affective expectations of partners, regardless of race or gender. The interaction between modern racism and partner race was not significant (beta = .51, $p>.05$). Therefore, Hypothesis 1b was not supported.

Table 6: Hierarchical regression analyses for testing moderating effects of racial attitudes on partner race and affective expectations.

Independent Variables	Model		
	1	2	3
Controls			
Partner Race	0.03	0.08	0.44
Partner Gender	-0.01	0.02	0.01
Participant Gender	0.16	0.10	0.10
Racial Attitudes			
Racial Centrality Scale		-0.08	-0.04
Protestant Ethic Scale		0.10	0.21^{+}
Openness to Diversity Scale		0.31**	0.31**
Modern Racism Scale		-0.15^{+}	-0.26*
Interactions			
Protestant Ethic x Partner Race			-0.84
Racial Centrality x Partner Race			-0.28
Openness to Diversity x Partner Race			-0.18
Modern Racism x Partner Race			0.51
R^2	0.03	0.18	0.23
F	1.30	4.75**	3.47**
$R^{2\ increment}$	0.03	0.16**	0.04

** p<0.01; *p<0.05; +p<0.10

Hypothesis 1_c predicted that Protestant ethic would moderate the relationship between partner race and affective expectations such that participants scoring higher on the Protestant ethic scale would be more likely to report negative affective expectations of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 6, the main effect for Protestant ethic was marginally significant (beta = .21, $p < .10$), suggesting that students scoring higher on Protestant work ethic were more likely to higher affective expectations of partners, regardless of race or gender. The interaction between Protestant ethic and partner race was not significant (beta = -.84, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 1c was not supported.

Hypothesis 1_d predicted that racial centrality would moderate the relationship between partner race and affective expectations such that participants scoring higher on racial centrality would be more likely to report negative affective expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 6, the interaction between racial centrality and partner race was not significant (beta = -.28, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 1d was not supported.

Hypothesis 1_e predicted that openness to diversity in teams would moderate the relationship between partner race and affective expectations such that participants scoring less positively on openness to diversity in teams would be more likely to report negative affective expectations of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 6, the main effect for openness to diversity in teams was significant (beta = .31, $p < .05$), suggesting that students who had more positive attitudes towards team diversity were more likely to have higher affective expectations of partners, regardless of race or gender. The interaction between openness to diversity in teams and partner race was not significant (beta = .40, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 1e was not supported.

Hypotheses Regarding Behavioral Expectations. Hypothesis 2_a predicted that participants would be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations regarding the work relationship with African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 7, there was no significant main effect for partner race ($F (1, 147) = .193$, $p > .05$). Therefore, Hypothesis 2_a was not supported.

Table 7: ANOVA Results for Behavioral Expectations as the Dependent Variable

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Behavioral Expectations Scale

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	.871(a)	7	.124	.440	.875	.021
Intercept	2069.118	1	2069.118	7323.210	.000	.980
Partner Race	.075	1	.075	.265	.608	.002
Partner Gender	.148	1	.148	.523	.471	.004
Participant Gender	.021	1	.021	.073	.787	.000
Partner Race * Partner Gender	.030	1	.030	.105	.746	.001
Partner Race * Participant Gender	.347	1	.347	1.230	.269	.008
Partner Gender * Participant Gender	.018	1	.018	.064	.800	.000
Partner Race * Partner Gender * Participant Gender	.046	1	.046	.164	.686	.001
Error	41.534	147	.283			
Total	2305.160	155				
Corrected Total	42.405	154				

a R Squared = .021 (Adjusted R Squared = -.026)

Hypothesis 2_b predicted that modern racism would moderate the relationship between partner race and behavioral expectations such that participants scoring higher on modern racism would be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 8, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted in which independent variables (partner race, partner gender, and respondent gender) were entered in Step 1, race-related and team-related scales were entered in Step 2, and interactions were entered in Step 3. The interaction between modern racism and partner race was not significant (beta = -.08, $p > .05$). Therefore, Hypothesis 2b was not supported.

Hypothesis 2_c predicted that Protestant ethic would moderate the relationship between partner race and behavioral expectations such that participants scoring higher on Protestant ethic would be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 8, the interaction between Protestant ethic and partner race was not significant (beta = .41, $p > .05$). Therefore, Hypothesis 2_c was not supported.

Hypothesis 2_d predicted that racial centrality would moderate the relationship between partner race and behavioral expectations such that participants scoring higher on racial centrality would be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 8, the interaction between racial centrality and partner race was not significant (beta = -.23, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 2_d was not supported.

Hypothesis 2_e predicted that openness to diversity in teams would moderate the relationship between partner race and behavioral expectations such that participants scoring less positively on openness toward team diversity would be more likely to report negative behavioral expectations towards African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 8, the interaction between openness to diversity and partner race was not significant (beta = .65, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 2_e was not supported.

Table 8: Hierarchical regression analyses for testing moderating effects of racial attitudes on partner race and behavioral expectations

Independent Variable	Model		
	1	2	3
Controls			
Partner Race	-0.07	-0.06	-1.21
Partner Gender	0.07	0.09	0.08
Participant Gender	-0.02	-0.42	-0.03
Racial Attitudes			
Racial Centrality Scale		0.02	0.05
Protestant Ethic Scale		0.05	-0.03
Openness to Diversity Scale		0.13	0.05
Modern Racism Scale		-0.03	-0.11
Interactions			
Protestant Ethic x Partner Race			0.41
Racial Centrality x Partner Race			-0.23
Openness to Diversity x Partner Race			0.65
Modern Racism x Partner Race			-0.08
R^2	0.01	0.04	0.06
F	0.56	0.77	0.72
$R^{2\ increment}$	0.01	0.02	0.02

** p<0.01; *p<0.05; +p<0.10

Hypotheses Regarding Surprise About Confirmed Low Performance. Hypothesis 3_a predicted that participants would be more likely to report lower levels of surprise when African American partners perform poorly as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 9, there was no significant main effect for partner race (F (1, 61) = .025, p >.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 3_a was not supported.

Hypothesis 3_b predicted that modern racism would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed low performance, such that participants scoring higher on modern racism would be more likely to report less surprise regarding the confirmed

low performance of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 10, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted in which independent variables (partner race, partner gender, and respondent gender) were entered in Step 1, race-related and team-related scales were entered in Step 2, and interactions were entered in Step 3. The interaction between modern racism and partner race was not significant (beta = -0.69, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 3_b was not supported.

Hypothesis 3_c predicted that Protestant ethic would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed low performance, such that participants scoring higher on Protestant ethic would be more likely to report lower levels of surprise regarding confirmed low performance of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 10, the interaction between Protestant ethic and partner race was not significant (beta = .42, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 3_c was not supported.

Table 9: ANOVA Results for Surprise Regarding Confirmed Low Performance as the Dependent Variable

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Surprise Regarding Low Performance Scale

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	5.353(a)	7	.765	.745	.635	.079
Intercept	774.945	1	774.945	754.916	.000	.925
Partner Race	.026	1	.026	.025	.875	.000
Partner Gender	.459	1	.459	.447	.506	.007
Participant Gender	.451	1	.451	.440	.510	.007
Partner Race * Partner Gender	1.506	1	1.506	1.468	.230	.023
Partner Race * Participant Gender	.655	1	.655	.638	.428	.010
Partner Gender * Participant Gender	.638	1	.638	.621	.434	.010
Partner Race * Partner Gender * Participant Gender	1.960	1	1.960	1.910	.172	.030
Error	62.618	61	1.027			
Total	939.083	69				
Corrected Total	67.972	68				

a R Squared = .079 (Adjusted R Squared = -.027)

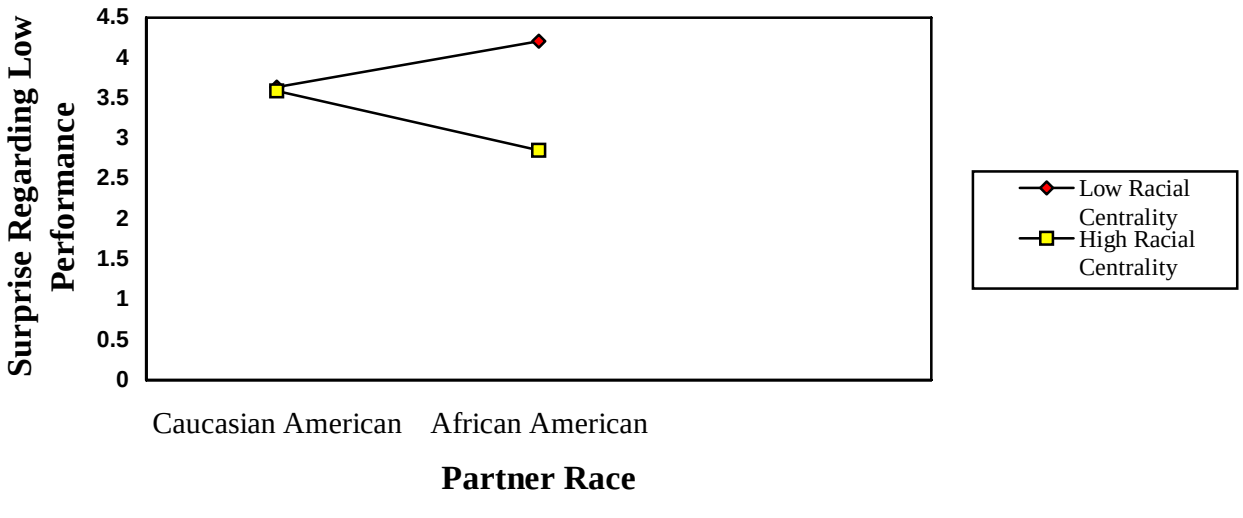
Table 10: Hierarchical regression analyses for testing moderating effects of racial attitudes on partner race and surprise regarding confirmed low performance.

Independent Variable	Model		
	1	2	3
Controls			
Partner Race	-0.06	0.01	1.61
Partner Gender	-0.10	-0.11	-0.18
Participant Gender	0.09	0.18	0.14
Racial Attitudes			
Racial Centrality Scale		-0.30*	0.02
Protestant Ethic Scale		0.01	-0.02
Openness to Diversity Scale		0.23^{+}	0.32*
Modern Racism Scale		0.14	0.25
Interactions			
Protestant Ethic x Partner Race			0.42
Racial Centrality x Partner Race			-1.95**
Openness to Diversity x Partner Race			-0.26
Modern Racism x Partner Race			-0.69
R^2	0.02	0.14	0.36
F	4.56	1.43	2.60**
$R^{2\ increment}$	0.02	0.12^{+}	0.22**

** p< 0.01; * p < 0.05; $^{+}$ p< 0.10.

Hypothesis 3_d predicted that racial centrality would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed low performance such that participants scoring higher on racial centrality would be more likely to report lower levels of surprise if an African American partner performed poorly. As shown in Table 10, there was a main effect for racial centrality (beta = -0.30, p<.05), indicating that participants who reported that their race is a significant aspect of their identity were less likely to report lower levels of surprise regarding the confirmed low performance of partners, regardless of race or gender. Results also showed an interaction between racial centrality and partner race (beta = -1.95, p<.01). Figure 2 indicates that individuals whose race was an important aspect of their identity were more likely to report lower surprise when African American partners performed poorly than individuals whose race was a less important aspect of their identity. Therefore, Hypothesis 3_d was supported.

Figure 2: Interaction between partner race and racial centrality on surprise.



Hypothesis 3_e predicted that openness to diversity in teams would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed low performance, such that participants scoring less positively on openness toward team diversity would be more likely to report less surprise when African Americans performed poorly as compared to Caucasian Americans. As shown in Table 7, the interaction between openness to diversity and partner race was not significant (beta = -.26, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 3_e was not supported.

Hypotheses Regarding Surprise Regarding Confirmed High Performance. Hypothesis 4_a predicted that participants would be more likely to report higher levels of surprise when African American partners perform well as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 11 there was no significant main effect for partner race (F (1, 78) = .920, p >.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 4_a was not supported.

Table 11: ANOVA Results for Surprise Regarding Confirmed High Performance as the Dependent Variable

Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Surprise Regarding High Performance Scale

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	3.134(a)	7	.448	.450	.867	.039
Intercept	256.244	1	256.244	257.712	.000	.768
Partner Race	.914	1	.914	.920	.341	.012
Partner Gender	1.531	1	1.531	1.540	.218	.019
Participant Gender	.018	1	.018	.018	.895	.000
Partner Race * Partner Gender	.001	1	.001	.001	.979	.000
Partner Race * Participant Gender	.075	1	.075	.075	.785	.001
Partner Gender * Participant Gender	.814	1	.814	.819	.368	.010
Partner Race * Partner Gender * Participant Gender	.007	1	.007	.007	.932	.000
Error	77.556	78	.994			
Total	369.868	86				
Corrected Total	80.690	85				

a R Squared = .039 (Adjusted R Squared = -.047)

Hypothesis 4_b predicted that modern racism would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed high performance, such that participants scoring higher on modern racism would be more likely to report higher levels of surprise regarding the confirmed high performance of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 12, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted in which independent variables (partner race, partner gender, and participant gender) were entered in Step 1, race-related and team-related scales were entered in Step 2, and interactions were entered in Step 3. The interaction between modern racism and partner race was not significant (beta = -0.26, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 4_b was not supported.

Hypothesis 4_c predicted that Protestant ethic would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed high performance, such that participants scoring higher on Protestant ethic would be more likely to report lower levels of surprise regarding confirmed high performance of African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners. As shown in Table 12, the interaction between Protestant ethic and partner race was not significant (beta = .42, p>.05). Therefore, Hypothesis 4_c was not supported.

Hypothesis 4_d predicted that racial centrality would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed high performance such that participants scoring higher on racial centrality would be more likely to higher levels of surprise when African American partners performed well. As shown in Table 12, the interaction between racial centrality and partner race was not significant (beta = -0.53, p> .05). Therefore, Hypothesis 4_d was not supported.

Table 12: Hierarchical regression analyses for testing moderating effects of racial attitudes on partner race and surprise regarding confirmed high performance

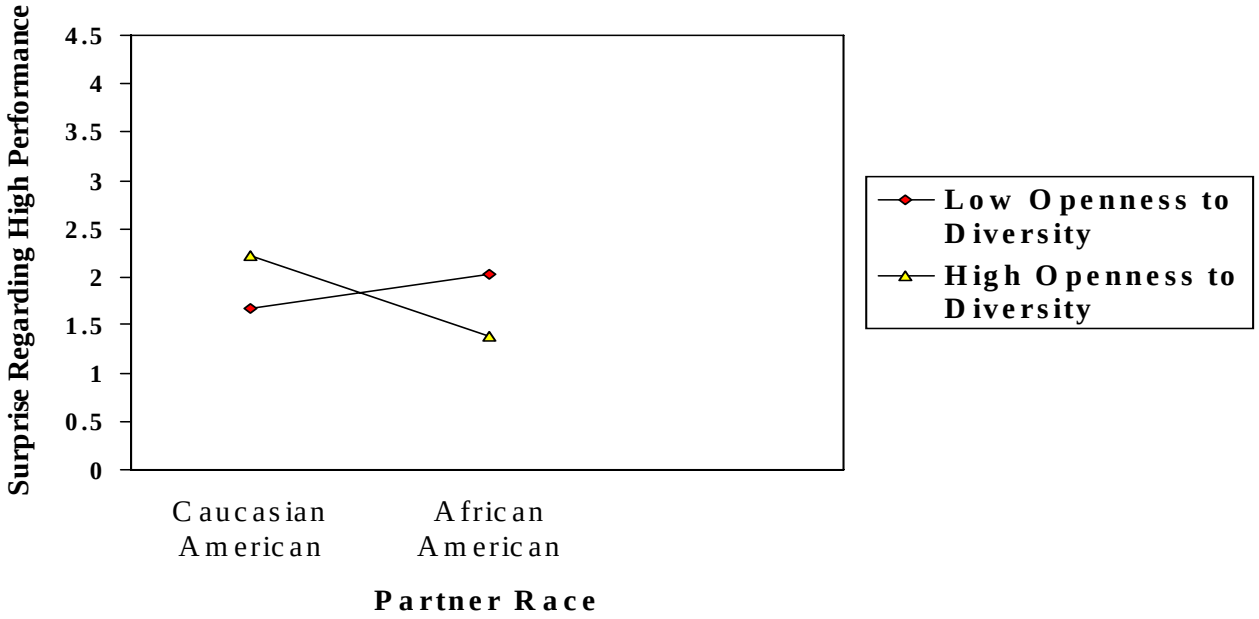
Independent Variable	Model		
	1	2	3
Controls			
Partner Race	-0.13	-0.15	1.92^{+}
Partner Gender	-0.11	-0.09	-0.07
Participant Gender	0.01	0.07	0.09
Racial Attitudes			
Racial Centrality Scale		-0.06	0.05
Protestant Ethic Scale		0.08	0.04
Openness to Diversity Scale		0.03	0.27
Modern Racism Scale		0.14	0.17
Interactions			
Protestant Ethic x Partner Race			0.42
Racial Centrality x Partner Race			-0.53
Openness to Diversity x Partner Race			-1.94*
Modern Racism x Partner Race			-0.26
R^2	0.03	0.05	0.15
F	0.78	0.63	1.07
$R^{2\ increment}$	0.03	0.03	0.10

**p<0.01; *p<0.05; +p<0.10.

Hypothesis 4_e predicted that openness to diversity in teams would moderate the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed high performance, such that participants scoring higher on openness toward team diversity would be more likely to report lower surprise when African Americans performed well, as compared to participants scoring lower on openness toward team diversity. As shown in Table 12, the interaction between openness to diversity and partner race was significant (beta = -1.94, p<.05). Figure 3 shows that participants with high openness to diversity in teams were less surprised when African American

partners performed well than participants with low openness to diversity in teams. Therefore, Hypothesis 4_e was supported.

Figure 3: Interaction between partner race and openness to diversity in teams on surprise regarding high performance



DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine initial affective and behavioral expectations toward African American partners as compared to Caucasian partners in the context of a team project. It was hypothesized that expectations toward African Americans would be lower than expectations toward Caucasians, both regarding initial feelings toward working with partners as well as expectations of their contribution toward the group's overall effort. However, results were not simplistic regarding race. Just because participants had an African American partner did not mean that they would rate them lower on affective or behavioral expectations or report higher levels of surprise for high performance or lower levels of surprise for low performance. Instead, expectations were dependent upon other factors such as attitudes toward race. In fact, attitudes toward race had a greater influence on the dependent variables measured than partner's race or gender. Partner race matters, but results were complex, involving interactions with respondents' gender, racial centrality, and openness to team diversity.

Significant findings emerged for initial affective expectations, but not for behavioral expectations. In terms of affective expectations, there was a significant interaction between partner race and participant gender. Hypothesis 1_a was supported for females, but not males. Specifically, male participants were more likely to report more positive affective expectations for

African American partners than Caucasian partners and female participants were more likely to report more positive affective expectations for Caucasian partners than African American partners. Hypothesis 3_d was supported, as racial centrality moderated the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed low performance. Specifically, this interaction indicated that individuals who reported that their race was an important aspect of their identity were more likely to report lower surprise when African American partners performed poorly than individuals who reported that their race was a less important aspect of their identity. Hypothesis 4_e was also supported, as openness to diversity in teams moderated the relationship between partner race and surprise regarding confirmed high performance. The interaction revealed that participants with high openness to diversity in teams were less surprised when African American partners performed well than participants with low openness to diversity in teams. No other relationships were significant.

Limitations of the study and future research. It is possible that few relationships were significant because of social desirability and students not being truthful about their beliefs and expectations. This was exemplified through the restriction of range in responses on the modern racism scale (see *Table 2*). Items may not have been sensitive enough to measure subtle forms of racism. Future research should address and try to control for social desirability, as it was possible that individuals may have been cautious in reporting their true feelings regarding race and related matters. Creating a safe forum would allow people to relay their true feelings regarding racial issues honestly, openly, and without the fear of being labeled as "racist." Racism remains a thorn in society's side that some people would rather not acknowledge.

The hypothetical nature of the study was also a limitation. Clearly, asking students to imagine being assigned a partner of a certain race and gender was not as desirable as allowing participants to actually interact with partners. It is possible that few moderated relationships were found because interactions are difficult to find with a low sample size. Although the overall sample was rather larger (N=185), when dividing the sample into 4 conditions crossing gender and race, the cell sample sizes may have been too small to detect an interaction. Future research should be done with a larger sample size from a non-student population, preferably one that is comprised of employees within the workforce. Given the homogeneous racial composition of the college campus from which the sample was obtained, analyses examining whether expectations of African American and Caucasian partners' performance across racial groups could not be performed. It is possible that results may have varied had the sample been larger, more racially diverse, and not comprised of college students.

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