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Workplace diversity : gender and ethnic differences in organizational experiences

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**WORKPLACE DIVERSITY:
GENDER AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Psychology

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirement for the Degree

Masters of Science

by

Diane Y. Chen

August 2002

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ABSTRACT

WORKPLACE DIVERSITY: GENDER AND ETHNIC DIFFERENCES IN ORGANIZATIONAL EXPERIENCES

by Diane Y. Chen

This study examined differences in organizational experiences among employees who differed in gender and ethnicity. Data were obtained from 7,074 employees of a consulting company. Results revealed that men, compared to women, thought that the organization valued diversity more, treated its employees more fairly, were more committed to the company, and felt more involved. In addition, compared to male managers and all non-managers, female managers were less satisfied with their jobs. They also rated the organization lower on diversity, valuing its employees, development, fairness, and mentoring. Asians, compared to Caucasians, were less satisfied with their jobs, felt less valued, and felt less developed. African Americans felt that the organization valued diversity least compared to all other ethnicities, and felt less fairly treated compared to Caucasians. Hispanics responded similarly to Caucasians in all eight areas. Implications of the study and future research recommendations were discussed.

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Introduction

The demographic composition of the American workforce has been becoming increasingly diverse. Several researchers (e.g., Judy & D'Amico, 1997; Barak, Cherin, & Berkman, 1998; Offermann & Gowing, 1990) have projected that the U.S. workforce will become increasingly diverse with more women and people of Asian and Hispanic descent entering the workforce, and have predicted a continued influx of women and members of ethnic minorities into the workplace. The purpose of this study is to investigate differences in work experiences among those differing in gender and ethnicity.

The projected demographic shift poses challenges for organizations today to effectively manage the diverse workforce. However, despite increasing diversity in the organizations, little research attention has been paid to examine potential gender and ethnic differences in organizational experiences. There are a number of reasons that would lead one to expect that ethnic minorities and women might have more negative experiences than Caucasians and men, respectively. For instance, ethnic minorities and women still receive lower wages than their Caucasian male counterparts. In particular, women continue to earn only 71.5 cents for every dollar earned by men (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1995). African American men and women with professional degrees earn only 80% and 60%, respectively, of what their Caucasian male counterparts make (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995).

In addition, the Glass Ceiling Report indicates that the American labor force is still gender and race segregated. Many ethnic minorities and women are persistently

trapped in low wage, low prestige, and dead-end jobs that offer few opportunities for advancement (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). Consistent with this report, a survey of Fortune 1000 companies (Korn/Ferry International, cited in the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995) revealed that the majority (97%) of those running the nation's largest companies are Caucasian men.

Even after African Americans (as well as members of other minority groups and women) have secured employment, they still experience an invisible barrier or "glass ceiling" that prevents them from advancing beyond lower or middle-management positions (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987). Barak et al. (1998) indicated that women and members of ethnic minority groups are exposed to discrimination and exclusion in the workplace more often than are Caucasian men.

Triple Jeopardy

Indeed, Landau (1993) has argued that the major barriers for ethnic minorities and women are no longer at recruitment and job entry stages of the employment process, but at the advancement stage where "triple jeopardy" (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987) is most salient. "Triple jeopardy" includes (a) coping with negative racial stereotypes, (b) being the only ethnic minority in the work group, and (c) being regarded as tokens or those who have attained their positions solely through affirmative action legislation rather than competence. According to Greenhaus et al. (1990), ethnic minorities and women may have less opportunity than Caucasian men in terms of supervisory and peer support, sponsorship, job discretion, and access to information. Barak et al. (1998) noted that women tend to have reduced access to a variety of resources in the organization, such as

income, position, and information, than do men. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that racial minorities and women have different experiences in the workplace.

Barriers

Wentling and Palma-Rivas (1997) have argued that the top barriers for minorities in advancing and obtaining needed development are two-dimensional. One dimension of the barriers is at an individual level while the other is at an organizational level.

Individual level barriers may include poor career planning, inadequate skill preparation, lack of organizational political savvy, lack of proper education, low self-esteem, and poor self-image (Wentling & Palm-Rivas, 1997). Organizational barriers include negative attitudes and discomfort toward people who are different, discrimination, racism, stereotyping, and bias. For example, Fernandez (1991) pointed out that Hispanics have been stereotyped as being unintelligent, lazy, too emotional, kind, friendly, lively, and passionate. Yet, many of these characteristics are viewed as detrimental to managerial performance. Likewise, Asians have been stereotyped as being diligent, smart, well-organized, motivated, well-educated, passive, quiet, short, reserved, and submissive. Although many of these are positive qualities, they are not qualities that are important to leadership.

In an attempt to understand attitudes toward people who are different, researchers have used the attraction-similarity paradigm to explain the dynamics of race in the workplace. According to Byrne, Clore, and Worchel (1966), the attraction-similarity paradigm suggests that individuals tend to be drawn to those who are similar to them in terms of demographic characteristics, activities, or attitudes. Jeanquart-Barone (1996)

stated that because the majority group in organizations is Caucasian, and because there are differences between African Americans and Caucasians, it can be expected that African Americans would experience more difficulties in being accepted by majority group members. These arguments suggest that racial minorities are likely to have negative experiences in the organization.

Invisible in Research

Cox and Nkomo (1990) argued that despite the existence of obstacles and the challenges faced by ethnic minorities and women in the organization, men and women of color have been “invisible” in research on organizational behavior and human resource management, and minority groups other than African Americans have been almost totally ignored. More specifically, Cox and Nkomo (1990) identified only 201 articles in 20 major journals that included race as a variable between the periods of 1964 and 1989. Of these 201 articles, only 40 included ethnic minority groups other than African Americans. Hispanics were included in 17 of those articles; however, there was no mention of how many articles included Asian Americans (it was assumed that Asian Americans were in the “all others” category). Because organizational experiences often differ across ethnic groups (e.g., Cox & Nkomo, 1990; Fernandez, 1981), Cox and Nkomo (1990) called for studies of minority other than African Americans, and studies including more than two ethnic groups.

Dimensions

The major purpose of this study is to examine potential ethnic and gender differences in organizational experiences on a variety of dimensions, including (a) job

satisfaction, (b) perceived diversity, (c) organizational commitment, (d) perceived employee valuation, (e) perceived employee development, (f) perceived involvement, (g) perceived fairness, and (h) mentoring/coaching. These dimensions were selected because they represent areas where gender or ethnic differences in organizational experiences might occur. The paragraphs that follow briefly review the research on each of the eight dimensions.

Literature Review

Overall Job Satisfaction

In the current study, job satisfaction was defined as feelings and attitudes concerning one's job. It was measured using a global approach, with one item asking how satisfied the employees were with their jobs overall. Researchers have focused on examining individual and situational factors that influence job satisfaction, because job satisfaction is assumed to be a potential determinant of many important organizational behaviors, including absenteeism, turnover, and organizational citizenship behavior (Witt & Nye, 1992). Two important individual factors that have been studied are gender and ethnicity. Research examining gender differences in job satisfaction has consistently shown that men and women do not differ on overall job satisfaction levels (i.e., Busch & Bush, 1978; D'arcy, Syrotuik, & Siddique, 1984; Summers & DeCotiis, 1988; Witt & Nye, 1992; Smith, Smits, & Hoy, 1998).

More specifically, Busch et al. (1978) found no differences between male and female salespersons on six dimensions of job satisfaction, including (a) coworker, (b) supervision, (c) customers, (d) work, (e) pay, and (f) promotion. Likewise, several

studies (e.g., Summers & Decotiis, 1988; Witt & Nye, 1992) found no differences between men and women on dimensions such (a) overall satisfaction, (b) satisfaction with company policies and procedures, and (c) perceived fairness of promotions, and (d) pay. In addition, D'arcy et al. (1984), using survey data of 2,007 adult residents of a Canadian city, found that men and women did not differ in overall satisfaction.

However, women did report lower satisfaction levels on (a) autonomy and (b) opportunity. Therefore, based on the previous findings noted above, it was expected that men and women would not differ on overall job satisfaction levels.

However, as stated previously, there are reasons to believe that ethnic minorities might express lower job satisfaction levels compared to their Caucasian counterparts. In a study done in two Dutch organizations, De Vries and Pettigrew (1998) suggested that the challenges such as prejudice and discrimination faced by ethnic minorities might make job coping more difficult. Pettigrew and Martin (1987) also suggested that minority workers in predominantly Caucasian organizations are faced with the "triple jeopardy" that make their positions more challenging than those of their Caucasian colleagues. Based on the assumptions that minorities are likely to be faced with the challenges described by the "triple jeopardy", it was hypothesized that Caucasians would report higher levels of job satisfaction compared to other ethnic groups.

H1a Men and women will not differ on overall job satisfaction levels.

H1b Caucasians will report higher job satisfaction levels compared to other ethnic groups.

Perceived Diversity

In the current study, perceived diversity was defined as the organization's level of acceptance on the employees' gender, ethnic, cultural, and lifestyle differences. Barak et al. (1998), in a study of employees at an electronics company, found that men reported more positive overall diversity perceptions than women, and that men also thought that the organization treated women and minorities more fairly than did women. In regard to ethnic differences, they found that Caucasians reported more positive overall perceptions of diversity compared to African Americans in particular. In addition, Caucasians felt that their company's culture was more inclusive of ethnic minorities than African Americans.

According to Barak et al. (1998), the extreme overrepresentation of Caucasian men in positions of authority in the organization may have a negative impact on female and non-Caucasian subordinates. More specifically, women may feel that overrepresentation of men in higher levels of the organization create or tolerate barriers that prevent them from getting promotions or from feeling included in the organizational information, resource, or power networks. In addition, the disproportionate representation of more men than women in senior organizational positions may highlight limited mobility for women and reinforce their low status in the organization.

A study by De Vries and Pettigrew (1998) exemplifies the discrimination faced by minorities in organizations. They interviewed two Dutch professional groups of police officers and nurses, and found that all three elements of the "triple jeopardy" were present in these two organizations. A large number of non-Dutch minorities experienced

(a) discrimination, (b) were in a solo status, and (c) almost all were hired under an affirmative-action program and could thus be classified as token.

Furthermore, Barak et al. (1998) found that there was an interaction effect between gender and ethnicity on diversity perceptions. Lower views of inclusion in the company were expressed by African American women, Asian American women, and women in the “other non-Caucasian” group compared to Caucasian men. Barak et al. (1998) also found that African American women and Asian American women valued diversity and recognized the benefits of a diverse workforce most.

Based on previous findings, it was hypothesized that men and Caucasians would report higher levels of perceived diversity compared to women and ethnic minorities, respectively.

H2a Men will report that the company values diversity more than women.

H2b Caucasians will report that the company values diversity more than other ethnic groups.

Organizational Commitment

Organizational commitment was defined as “a bond or linking of the individual to the organization,” which makes it difficult to leave (Lease, 1998). Organizational commitment is one of the important work-related attitudes. Researchers have argued that committed workers contribute both innovation and creativity to the organization (Aven, Parker, & McEvoy, 1993; Katz & Kahn, 1978). It has been argued that sustaining organizational commitment among employees, particularly among women and minorities, is a challenge for many companies today (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, &

Donaldson, 2001). Ensher et al. (2001) stated that there has been a recent exodus of women and ethnic minorities from large corporations, and a proliferation of women and minority-owned businesses. They argued that one of the reasons for the recent exodus of women and minorities from large corporations and the subsequent proliferation of women and minority-owned businesses is these groups' perceptions of organizational discrimination against them.

Research findings on gender differences on organizational commitment have been inconsistent (e.g., Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996; Phelan, 1994; Aven et al., 1993). While some researchers have found that men are more committed to their organizations, other researchers have found that men and women do not differ on their organizational commitment levels (e.g., Phelan, 1994; Aven et al., 1993). Aven et al. (1993), in a meta-analysis, found no gender differences with respect to attitudinal commitment, defined as acceptance of the organization's goals and values, and an individual's willingness to exert considerable effort on behalf of the organization.

Dodd-McCue and Wright (1996), in a study of accounting professionals working across all levels of their organizations, found that men were more committed to the organizations than women. They asserted that men are more likely to associate their identity with organizational factors because of a positive association with their work environment than women. They explained that gender differences on organizational commitment might be explained by two models. One model is the job model, which suggests that workplace experiences determine the level of commitment to the organization. Specifically, the workplace environment, or factors within the

organization's control, are the primary influencers of commitment. The other model called a gender model (Aven et al., 1993), argues that commitment is based on gender socialization. Specifically, women are socialized to identify themselves primarily with family roles and derive fulfillment mainly through it rather than from work. Therefore, women may be less committed to organizations than men.

While research has found support for the job model, little support for the gender model has been found (e.g., Aven et al., 1993; Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996). Aven et al. (1993) stated that the lack of support for the gender model suggests that organizations providing equitable opportunities to both female and male workers may be able to win similar commitment from both of them. Alternatively, women may not identify themselves solely with family roles.

In summary, whether or not there are gender differences in organizational commitment remains to be answered (Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996). Because of the lack of consistent findings based on gender, the present study explored the effect of gender on organizational commitment. It was hypothesized that there would be no gender differences on organizational commitment.

Research on ethnic differences on organizational commitment remains scarce; therefore, we also explored whether ethnic differences on organizational commitment exist. Mighty (1991), who conducted interviews with immigrant women on their organizational commitment levels, found that although few of these immigrants identified closely with their organizations, they perceived themselves as loyal employees. According to Mighty (1991), these immigrant women all reported that they took great

pride in their work and would do nothing to jeopardize their performance and their hard-earned reputation. Because ethnic minorities are faced with additional challenges to establish their careers, it is likely that they will exert the energy and effort needed to successfully perform their jobs. Consequently, they are likely to be committed to the organization to sustain their hard-earned positions. It was hypothesized that ethnic minorities would be as committed as Caucasians to the organization.

H3a Men and women will not differ on their organizational commitment levels.

H3b Caucasians and other ethnic groups will not differ on their organizational commitment levels.

Perceived Employee Valuation

Perceived employee valuation was defined as perceptions on whether the organization inspired commitment and loyalty, and valued long-term employees. As mentioned before, Barak et al. (1998) found that Caucasian men perceived their organizations to be more inclusive and fair than Caucasian women or people of color. According to Ensher et al. (2001), varying perceptions of discrimination among an organization's employees can affect the degree to which its members create an integrated culture or share common values, which, in turn, can affect the organization's policies, procedures, and day-to-day work life. Because it has been reported that women and ethnic minorities find their organizations to be less inclusive, which may lead to their feelings of "being undervalued" by their organizations, it is reasonable to expect that women and ethnic minorities to report lower levels of perceived employee valuation than men and Caucasians, respectively.

As mentioned earlier, Greenhaus et al. (1990) found differences between African American managers and Caucasian managers in organizational experiences, job performance evaluations, and career outcomes. More specifically, compared to Caucasian managers, African American managers (a) felt less accepted in their organizations, (b) perceived themselves as having less discretion on their jobs, (c) received lower ratings from their supervisors on their job performance and promotability, (d) were more likely to have reached career plateaus, and (e) experienced lower levels of career satisfaction.

It can be reasonably expected that the employees' perceptions of whether they are valued by the organization might be related to their feelings of acceptance and career satisfaction levels. In a study by De Vries and Pettigrew (1998), it was found that most minority workers are faced with discrimination and negative expectations, and that many of them are in a solo position. Because of these experiences, it is likely that minorities feel less accepted, compared to their Caucasian counterparts. Based on the assumption that employee valuation relates to their feelings of acceptance, it was hypothesized that both women and ethnic minorities would report lower levels of employee valuation than men and women, respectively.

H4a Men will perceive that their company values its employees more than women.

H4b Caucasians will perceive that their company values its employees more than other ethnic groups.

Perceived Development

Perceived development was defined as whether the organization developed its employees to their full potential and whether the employees felt that they could achieve their career objectives. As stated previously, Greenhaus et al. (1990) asserted that ethnic minorities and women might have less opportunity than Caucasian men in terms of supervisory and peer support, sponsorship, job discretion, and access to information. In addition, Barak et al. (1998) noted that women tended to have less access to a variety of resources in the organizations, such as income, position, and information than men. Therefore, given these negative experiences in the organization, women and ethnic minorities might perceive organizational policies and procedures less favorably than men and Caucasians, respectively. Additionally, using federal government employees from a national minority organization as participants, Jeanquart-Barone (1996) found that African American subordinates with Caucasian supervisors experienced less supervisory support, fewer developmental opportunities, and less procedural justice. Thus, based on the previous findings, the following hypotheses were tested.

H5a Men will report that their organization develops its employees more than women.

H5b Caucasians will report that their organization develops its employees more than other ethnic groups.

Perceived Decision-Making Involvement

The present study also examined perceived decision-making involvement, defined as whether the employees felt involved in planning and solving problems related to work and whether they were satisfied with their involvement levels. While previous research

on the effects of ethnicity on decision-making involvement was non-existent, we did find related research on job involvement. Job involvement was defined as identification to one's work (Cox & Nkomo, 1991). According to Cox and Nkomo, there are reasons to believe that ethnic minorities and women experience less job involvement than Caucasian men.

Those that have studied the relationships between gender, ethnicity, and job involvement have found that women and ethnic minorities reported lower levels of job involvement than men and Caucasians, respectively. In their study of early career experiences of MBAs, Cox and Nkomo (1991) found that African American MBAs displayed lower levels of job involvement than their Caucasian counterparts. They also found that female MBAs displayed lower levels of job involvement than their male counterparts. These results seem to suggest that African American MBAs are less involved in decision-making than Caucasian MBAs. Based on previous findings, the following hypotheses were tested.

H6a Men will report that they are more involved with company decision-making compared to women.

H6b Caucasians will report that they are more involved with company decision-making compared to other ethnic groups.

Perceived Fairness

Perceived fairness was defined as whether the employees felt that management made fair decisions and treated them with respect, and whether the employees felt secure as long as they performed well. Previous research has shown that perceptions of fairness

contribute to employees' levels of job satisfaction and involvement (Donovan, Drawgow, & Munson, 1998). It has also been shown that ethnic minorities (particularly African Americans) experience lower levels of supervisory and procedural fairness and higher levels of discrimination (Greenhaus et al., 1990; Jeanquart-Barone, 1996; Sherman et al., 1983). Similarly, Jeanquart-Barone (1996) reported that African American subordinates with Caucasian supervisors reported less procedural justice and higher levels of discrimination than Caucasians with Caucasian supervisors.

Sherman et al. (1983) examined the effects of race on perceptions of fairness in an ambiguous situation where the race of the promoted employee was the only variable manipulated. In their study using undergraduate students as participants, it was found that race and gender of the evaluator influenced the perceptions of fairness. When a Caucasian employee was promoted over an African American employee, African Americans as well as women perceived the promotion as less fair and the promoted person as less qualified, and thought the entire situation as less equitable than did Caucasian subjects. Sherman et al. stated that these results reinforced the idea that African Americans and women were more sensitive to organizational fairness and equality in the context of ethnicity and gender.

Barak et al. (1998), in their study using participants from an electronics company, showed that there was an interaction effect between gender and ethnicity on fairness perceptions. Caucasian men perceived that the company was treating women and minorities more fairly than Caucasian women, as well as both ethnic minority men and

women. In particular, the largest difference in perceived fair treatment was observed between Caucasian men and Asian women and women in the "other ethnicity" groups.

Based on the findings mentioned above, it was predicted that men would exhibit higher ratings of perceived fairness than women, and that Caucasians would report higher perceived fairness than other ethnic groups.

H7a Men will perceive that their company treats its employees more fairly than women.

H7b Caucasians will perceive that their company treats its employees more fairly than other ethnic groups.

Mentoring and Coaching

Mentoring and coaching was defined as how well the organization mentored, coached, and trained its employees, as well as whether it gave regular feedback to its employees. The benefits of mentorship have been shown in previous research. For example, Wright and Wright (1987) found that benefits of having a mentor include career assistance, establishment of professional networking, professional development, boost to personal identity that comes with the acceptance, and the emotional benefits of support and counseling. In addition, Fagenson (1989) surveyed employees in a large health industry company, and found that mentored employees reported higher job satisfaction levels, increased career opportunities, increased recognition, and higher promotion rates than non-mentored employees.

Noe (1988) stated that mentoring relationships available to women are not keeping pace with their increasing representation in managerial jobs, due to negative

stereotyping, tokenism, and lack of access to information networks. It was argued that although women are gaining representation among the lower- and middle-management level in business and in their professions, most top positions still continue to be held by men. In fact, there are few senior level women who are available to serve as mentors (Noe, 1988).

Although in a study with full-time hospital employees, Koberg, Boss, and Goodman (1998) did not find differences in ratings of psychosocial mentoring (social support) between men and women, they called for more research investigating potential gender differences in career-oriented mentoring. It was noted that psychosocial mentoring contrasts with career-oriented mentoring in that psychosocial mentoring depends on the mentors' interpersonal skillsets and the career-oriented mentoring depends on the senior person's experience, organizational rank, and influence in the organization. Career-oriented mentoring may be more difficult for women to obtain because there are generally fewer top female managers available to serve as their mentors.

Mobley, Jaret, Marsh, and Lim (1994) hypothesized that female lawyers would be less likely than male lawyers to have mentors. Contrary to their hypothesis, they did not find a difference between male and female lawyers at the associate level in the likelihood of having a mentor. These authors argued that the lack of gender difference might be due to the large number of female lawyers sampled at the associate level. However, they found that those who had mentors (regardless of gender) reported higher job satisfaction levels than those who did not.

Other researchers have found similar results. Cox and Nkomo (1991) did not find differences between men and women MBAs on levels of mentor assistance. However, Caucasian MBAs, compared to African American MBAs, reported more access to mentors and higher satisfaction levels with career advancement rates. Cox and Nkomo (1991) asserted that one way to explain the ethnicity differences on mentoring was that race is a greater obstacle than gender to obtain a mentor. In other words, while it is difficult for a woman to find mentoring relationships, perhaps it is even harder for ethnic minorities to do so. Landau (1995), in her study on race and gender on promotion potential, found that being both female and African American or Asian negatively influenced ratings of promotion potential. Particularly, African American and Asian women faced a double liability. They were penalized for being female, in addition to being a minority.

Based on previous findings by Cox and Nkomo, and others, it was expected that no differences in mentoring and coaching ratings would be found between men and women. However, it was expected that there would be differences between Caucasians and other ethnic groups on mentoring and coaching.

H8a Men and women will not differ on their experiences of mentoring and coaching.

H8b Caucasians will report more positive experiences with mentoring and coaching than other ethnic groups.

Finally, in addition to hypothesizing main effects, we investigated interaction effects between gender and ethnicity on the above dimensions. Because of the lack of

research on the interaction between gender and ethnicity, exploratory tests for interaction effects were conducted.

Methods

Overview

Using a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (gender) between-subjects design and data from 7,074 employees, the present study examined the main and interactive effects of the ethnicity and gender of employees on various organizational experiences.

Participants

Participants were employees from a large business consulting firm in the United States. Survey questionnaires were mailed to all of the 15,800 employees in the organization. Of these, 7,080 employees responded to the questionnaire (45% response rate). Participants consisted of professionals and administrative staff, head-quartered in the East Coast with offices throughout the United States.

The present study did not include Native Americans ($n = 6$) as a separate ethnic category due to the small number of participants. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 7,074 employees. Of the total sample, 45% ($n = 3,196$) were women, 51% ($n = 3,602$) were men, and 4% ($n = 282$) did not indicate their gender. The majority of the participants were Caucasians (85%, $n = 6,028$), followed by Asians (5%, $n = 363$), Hispanics (2%, $n = 144$), African Americans (3%, $n = 210$), and 5% ($n = 329$) did not indicate their ethnicity. Table 1 presents demographic information of the participants in terms of their ethnicity and gender.

Of the sample, 31% ($n = 2,182$) were managers, 66% ($n = 4,668$) were non-Managers, and 3.2% ($n=230$) did not indicate their job titles. Table 2 presents demographic information on length of service and management status.

Procedures

Data used in the present study were part of an organization-wide employee survey conducted by a large U.S. consulting firm. Packets of the employee surveys were mailed to each employee's home. Included in the survey booklets were cover letters describing the project and a return envelope with the external consultant's return address. The respondents were given instructions in the introduction section of the survey to fill out the survey within two weeks and mail it directly to the external consultant.

The organization chose to link survey results to employee background information. This was done by indicating employee numbers on the outside of the survey. Respondents were assured of the confidentiality of their responses and guaranteed that the employee numbers would never be used to identify them. A total of 97.4% ($n = 6,898$) of the surveys were returned with their ID numbers intact and 2.6% ($n = 182$) were returned with their ID numbers removed.

Measures

The instrument was developed by the external consultants with the help of selected employees of the organization. The consultants conducted one-on-one interviews with the Human Resources group and selected Partners, and then conducted group interviews with selected employees across functions and across levels. The questionnaire is presented in the Appendix.

Overall job satisfaction. Overall job satisfaction was measured with a single item using a 5-point rating scale (1 = very dissatisfied, 3 = neither dissatisfied nor satisfied, 5 = very satisfied). Higher scores indicated higher overall job satisfaction.

Perceived diversity. Perceived diversity was measured with a 5-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .84. Examples of items include "This company provides a working environment that is accepting of ethnic differences," and "At this company, women have the same career opportunities as men." Participants responded to each of the items on 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend to agree, 5 = agree). The items were summed and averaged. The higher the score, the more participants agreed that the company valued diversity.

Organizational commitment. Organizational commitment was measured with a 4-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .72. Examples of items include "I am committed to investing the time and energy it will take to make this company the best," and "It is desirable to be a partner in this firm." Participants responded to each item on 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend to agree, 5 = agree). The items were summed and averaged. The higher the score, the more they were committed to the organization.

Perceived employee valuation. Perceived employee valuation was measured with a 4-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .68. Examples of the items include "This company doesn't seem to care whether I stay or leave the company," and "This company values long-term employees." Participants responded to these items on 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend

to agree, 5 = agree). These items were summed and averaged. The higher the score, the more they perceived that the company valued its employees.

Perceived development. Perceived development was measured with a 5-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .74. Sample items include "The firm develops its people to the fullest potential," and "I am confident that I can achieve my personal career objectives at this company." Participants responded to these items on 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend to agree, 5 = agree). The items were summed and averaged. The higher the score, the more they perceived that the company developed its employees.

Perceived decision-making involvement. Perceived decision-making involvement was measured with a 4-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .86. Sample items are "My supervisor involves me in planning the work of my group," and "I am satisfied with my involvement in decisions that affect my work." Participants responded to these items along 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend to agree, 5 = agree). The items were summed and averaged. The higher the score, the more they felt involved in decision making.

Perceived fairness. Perceived fairness was measured with a 4-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .65. Sample items are "The decisions the company management makes concerning employees are usually fair," and "People are treated with respect here, regardless of their job." Participants responded to these items along 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend

to agree, 5 = agree). The items were summed and averaged. The higher the score, the more they perceived that the company was fair.

Mentoring and coaching. Mentoring and coaching was measured with a 5-item scale. Cronbach's alpha for this scale was .81. Sample items are "Mentoring is done well at this company," and "People in my organizational unit are well trained in coaching." Participants responded to these items along 5-point Likert scales (1 = disagree, 2 = tend to disagree, 3 = neither disagree nor agree, 4 = tend to agree, 5 = agree). The items were summed and averaged. The higher the scores on the measure, the more they perceived that the company mentored its employees well.

Results

Data on all measures were analyzed using a 4 (ethnicity: Asian American, African American, Hispanic American, and Caucasian) x 2 (gender) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA), followed by univariate F-tests. Whenever appropriate, using a Bonferroni method, simple comparisons following simple effects analyses were conducted for purposes of clarification when interpreting results.

Table 3 presents means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations among the measured variables. The highest mean scores were organizational commitment ($\underline{M} = 3.96$, $\underline{SD} = .74$), perceived diversity ($\underline{M} = 3.90$, $\underline{SD} = .85$), and overall job satisfaction ($\underline{M} = 3.74$, $\underline{SD} = .91$). The lowest mean scores were perceived fairness ($\underline{M} = 3.34$, $\underline{SD} = .80$), perceived employee valuation ($\underline{M} = 3.14$, $\underline{SD} = .85$), and mentoring and coaching ($\underline{M} = 2.98$, $\underline{SD} = .89$). Overall, the means ranged from 2.98 to 3.90, which indicates slightly positive to very positive feedback.

Table 4 presents the results of the MANOVA . Significant main effects of gender were found on (a) perceived diversity, (b) organizational commitment, (c) perceived decision-making involvement, and (d) perceived fairness. In addition, significant main effects of ethnicity were found on (a) overall job satisfaction, (b) perceived diversity, (c) perceived employee valuation, (d) perceived development, and (e) perceived fairness. Significant interaction effects between gender and ethnicity were found only for perceived diversity. On Table 5, significant main effects of job level were reported on (a) perceived diversity, (b) organizational commitment, (c) perceived employee valuation, (d) perceived decision-making involvement, and (e) mentoring and coaching. Table 6 shows the main effects of ethnicity and job level, however, there were no significant interaction effects between ethnicity and job level.

In addition, a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level: manager vs. non-managers) MANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) MANOVA were conducted to examine whether job level would moderate ethnicity or gender differences. A three-way MANOVA (i.e., ethnicity x gender x job level) was not conducted due to the small number of ethnic minority managers (female minority managers in particular) and concerns with the validity of such findings. For these analyses, we were only interested in interaction effects. Thus, only interaction effects will be reported. The results of MANOVA are reported in Tables 5 and 6, interaction effects between gender and job level were found on (a) job satisfaction, (b) perceived diversity, (c) commitment, (d) perceived employee valuation, (e) perceived development, (f) perceived fairness, and (g) mentoring and coaching. Interestingly, ethnicity did not interact with job level on any of the measured variables. Results of a 4

(ethnicity) x 2 (gender) ANOVA are presented first, followed by those of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA.

Overall Job Satisfaction

Hypothesis 1a stated that men and women would not differ on overall job satisfaction levels. Consistent with the hypothesis, men ($M = 3.78$, $SD = .90$) and women ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .90$) did not differ on overall job satisfaction, $F(1, 6602) = .72$, $p > .05$.

Consistent with Hypothesis 1b, which predicted that Caucasians would be more satisfied overall than ethnic minorities, a main effect for ethnicity was found, $F(3, 6602) = 6.80$, $p < .01$. Post hoc comparisons showed that the only difference was between Caucasians and Asian Americans. Caucasians ($M = 3.76$, $SD = .90$) were more satisfied overall than Asians ($M = 3.55$, $SD = .95$), $p < .008$. In addition, interaction between gender and ethnicity on overall job satisfaction levels was not found, $F(3, 6602) = 2.50$, $p > .05$. Tables 7 and 8 present descriptive statistics and an ANOVA summary table, respectively, for overall job satisfaction levels.

Results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on overall job satisfaction, $F(1, 6643) = .79$, $p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6643) = 12.30$, $p < .01$. Further analyses revealed that overall satisfaction levels were higher for male managers ($M = 3.76$, $SD = .87$) than male non-managers ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .92$). In contrast, overall satisfaction levels were lower for female managers ($M = 3.69$, $SD = .92$) than female non-managers ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .90$).

Perceived Diversity

Consistent with Hypothesis 2a, which stated that men would perceive that the company values diversity more than women, a main effect for gender was found, $F(1, 6736) = 12.52, p < .01$. Results showed that men ($M = 4.05, SD = .76$) perceived that the company valued diversity more than women ($M = 3.74, SD = .90$).

Support for Hypothesis 2b, which predicted that Caucasians would perceive that the company values diversity more than other ethnic minority groups was also found, $F(3, 6736) = 25.44, p < .01$. Post hoc comparisons revealed that African Americans ($M = 3.33, SD = 1.09$) perceived that the company valued diversity least, compared to Caucasians ($M = 3.93, SD = .82$), Asian Americans ($M = 3.88, SD = .80$), and Hispanic Americans ($M = 3.84, SD = .98$), who did not differ significantly from each other.

An interaction effect between gender and ethnicity on perceived diversity ratings was found, $F(3, 6736) = 3.79, p < .05$. Caucasian men ($M = 4.08, SD = .74$) perceived that the organization valued diversity most, followed by Hispanic men ($M = 3.91, SD = 1.01$), Asian men ($M = 3.91, SD = .78$), Asian women ($M = 3.86, SD = .82$), Hispanic women ($M = 3.78, SD = .96$), Caucasian women ($M = 3.76, SD = .88$), African American men ($M = 3.49, SD = 1.00$), and African American women ($M = 3.25, SD = 1.12$).

Tables 9 and 10 show the descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table for perceived diversity, respectively.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on perceived diversity ratings, $F(1, 6643) = 1.49, p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6778) = 54.77, p < .01$.

More specifically, male non-managers had the most positive diversity perceptions ($\underline{M} = 4.07$, $\underline{SD} = .75$), followed by male managers ($\underline{M} = 4.04$, $\underline{SD} = .76$). Female non-managers ($\underline{M} = 3.81$, $\underline{SD} = .87$) reported a higher diversity mean rating compared to female managers ($\underline{M} = 3.43$, $\underline{SD} = .96$). While male non-managers perceived that the company valued diversity most, female managers perceived the least amount of value.

Organizational Commitment

Hypothesis 3a predicted that there would be no effect of gender on organizational commitment. Contrary to this hypothesis, an effect of gender was found, $F(1, 6736) = 18.70$, $p < .01$. Men ($\underline{M} = 4.04$, $\underline{SD} = .74$) were more committed to their organization than women ($\underline{M} = 3.88$, $\underline{SD} = .73$).

Hypothesis 3b which predicted no effect of ethnicity on organizational commitment, was supported, $F(3, 6736) = 2.73$, $p > .05$. In addition, no interaction effect was found between gender and ethnicity on organizational commitment, $F(3, 6736) = .39$, $p > .05$. Table 11 and Table 12 present the descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table for organizational commitment.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on organizational commitment, $F(1, 6643) = .99$, $p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6778) = 18.68$, $p < .01$. Male managers ($\underline{M} = 4.13$, $\underline{SD} = .73$) were most committed to the organization, followed by male non-managers ($\underline{M} = 3.98$, $\underline{SD} = .74$), female non-managers ($\underline{M} = 3.88$, $\underline{SD} = .72$), and female managers ($\underline{M} = 3.86$, $\underline{SD} = .74$).

Perceived Employee Valuation

Hypothesis 4a stated that men would perceive that their organization valued its employees more than women. Contrary to this hypothesis, no effect of gender was found, $F(1, 6736) = .97, p > .05$. Support for Hypothesis 4b, which predicted that there would be an effect of ethnicity on perceived employee valuation, was found, $F(3, 6,736) = 3.75, p < .05$. Post hoc comparisons revealed that the only difference was between Caucasians and Asian Americans; Caucasians ($M = 3.16, SD = .83$) perceived that the company valued its employees more than Asian Americans ($M = 3.01, SD = .84$), $p < .008$. In addition, an interaction effect between gender and ethnicity was not found, $F(3, 6736) = .35, p > .05$. Table 13 and Table 14 show descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table for perceived employee valuation, respectively.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on employee valuation, $F(1,6643) = .27, p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6778) = 21.73, p < .01$. Male managers ($M = 3.25, SD = .82$) reported higher employee valuation levels compared to male non-managers ($M = 3.08, SD = .82$). Female managers ($M = 3.10, SD = .84$) reported a lower employee valuation level than female non-managers ($M = 3.15, SD = .86$). Male managers reported the highest employee valuation levels, while female managers and male non-managers tended to report the lowest levels of employee valuation.

Perceived Employee Development

Hypothesis 5a stated that men would perceive that the organization develops its employees more than women. This hypothesis was not supported; no effect of gender was found on employee development perceptions, $F(1, 6736) = 1.68, p > .05$.

Hypothesis 5b, which stated that Caucasians would perceive that the organization develops its employees more than other ethnic groups, was supported; there was a main effect of ethnicity, $F(3, 6736) = 5.83, p < .01$. Further analyses showed that the only difference was between Caucasians and Asians; Caucasians ($M = 3.49, SD = .74$) perceived that the company developed its employees more than Asians ($M = 3.33, SD = .79$), $p < .08$.

An interaction effect between gender and ethnicity on perceived development was not obtained, $F(3, 6736) = 1.48, p > .05$. Table 15 and Table 16 report descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table for perceived development, respectively.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on perceived development, $F(1, 6643) = .09, p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6778) = 24.83, p < .01$.

Male managers ($M = 3.57, SD = .72$) reported higher development ratings compared to male non-managers ($M = 3.45, SD = .77$). Female non-managers ($M = 3.47, SD = .74$) reported higher perceived development ratings compared to female managers ($M = 3.37, SD = .75$). Male managers perceived that the company developed its employees most, while female managers reported that the company developed its employees least.

Perceived Decision-Making Involvement

Hypothesis 6a stated that men would report higher levels of perceived decision-making involvement compared to women. This hypothesis was supported, a significant main effect of gender was found, $F(1, 6731) = 7.46, p < .01$. Men ($M = 3.63, SD = .98$) reported higher involvement ratings than women ($M = 3.49, SD = 1.05$).

However, contrary to hypothesis 6b, which predicted that Caucasians would report higher levels of perceived decision-making involvement compared to the other ethnic groups, no effect of ethnicity was found, $F(3, 6731) = 1.76, p > .05$. An interaction effect between gender and ethnicity on perceived decision-making involvement was also not found, $F(3, 6731) = 1.07, p > .05$. Tables 17 and 18 show descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table for perceived decision-making involvement, respectively.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on perceived decision-making involvement, $F(1, 6643) = .78, p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6773) = 4.37, p < .05$. Both male managers ($M = 3.69, SD = 1.04$) and female managers ($M = 3.68, SD = 1.03$) reported higher decision-making involvement levels compared to male non-managers ($M = 3.59, SD = .93$) and female non-managers ($M = 3.46, SD = 1.05$). Both male and female managers equally felt involved with decision-making, while female non-managers felt least involved with decision-making.

Perceived Fairness

Hypothesis 7a stated that men would perceive that their organization treats its employees more fairly than women. Hypothesis 7b, which predicted that Caucasians would perceive that their organization treats its employees more fairly than the other ethnic groups. Both hypotheses are supported. Significant main effects of gender, $F(1, 6736) = 4.11, p < .05$, and ethnicity, $F(3, 6736) = 4.60, p < .01$, were found on perceived fairness. Men ($M = 3.40, SD = .78$) reported higher perceived fairness compared to women ($M = 3.30, SD = .79$). Post hoc analyses of the main effect of ethnicity showed the only difference between Caucasians ($M = 3.36, SD = .78$) and African Americans ($M = 3.14, SD = .83$), $p < .008$. In addition, an interaction effect between gender and ethnicity, was not found, $F(3, 6736) = .69, p > .05$. Tables 19 and 20 show descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table for perceived fairness, respectively.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on perceived fairness, $F(1, 6643) = 1.15, p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6778) = 22.47, p < .01$. Male managers ($M = 3.46, SD = .79$) perceived that the organization treated its employees more fairly than male non-managers ($M = 3.35, SD = .77$). Female managers ($M = 3.21, SD = .84$) perceived that the organization treated its employees less fairly than female non-managers ($M = 3.32, SD = .78$). Male managers perceived that the company treated its employees most fairly, while the female managers perceived that the company treated its employees least fairly.

Mentoring and Coaching

Hypothesis 8a stated that men and women would not differ on their ratings for mentoring and coaching. Support for this hypothesis was found; men ($M = 2.93$, $SD = .87$) and women ($M = 3.04$, $SD = .91$) did not differ on their mentoring/coaching ratings, $F(1, 6736) = .78$, $p > .05$. Hypothesis 8b, which stated that Caucasians would report higher ratings for mentoring and coaching compared to the other ethnic groups, was not supported, $F(3, 6736) = 2.25$, $p > .05$. No interaction effect between gender and ethnicity with respect to perceptions of mentoring and coaching was found, $F(3, 6736) = .87$, $p > .05$. Table 21 and Table 22 present descriptive statistics and ANOVA summary table, respectively.

Furthermore, results of a 4 (ethnicity) x 2 (job level) ANOVA and a 2 (gender) x 2 (job level) ANOVA showed that ethnicity did not interact with job level on mentoring/coaching, $F(1, 6643) = .34$, $p > .05$, but gender did, $F(1, 6778) = 21.86$, $p < .01$. Male non-managers ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .89$) reported a higher mentoring and coaching mean compared to male managers ($M = 2.78$, $SD = .82$). Female non-managers ($M = 3.14$, $SD = .90$) reported higher mentoring and coaching ratings compared to female managers ($M = 2.63$, $SD = .82$). Female non-managers reported the highest mentoring and coaching ratings, while female managers reported the lowest mentoring and coaching ratings.

In summary, main effects of gender were found on (a) perceived diversity, (b) organizational commitment, (c) involvement, and (d) perceived fairness. Men perceived that the organization valued diversity more, and was more fair in its treatment of employees than women. In addition, men were more committed to the organization and

felt more involved with the decision-making than women. However, women were as satisfied with their jobs as men, felt as valued by the organization, and felt that the organization developed and mentored its employees as much as men.

Furthermore, main effects of ethnicity were found on (a) overall job satisfaction, (b) perceived diversity, (c) perceived employee valuation, (d) perceived fairness, and (e) perceived employee development. Compared to Caucasians, Asians (a) were less satisfied with their jobs overall, (b) felt that the organization valued its employees less, and (c) reported lower development levels. Likewise, compared to Caucasians, African Americans reported that the company (a) valued diversity less, and (b) was less fair in its treatment of employees. Also noteworthy was that African Americans reported significantly lower ratings for perceived diversity than all other ethnic groups including Caucasians, Hispanics, and Asians. No differences in ethnicity were found on (a) organizational commitment, (b) perceived involvement, and (c) mentoring/coaching.

An interaction effect of gender and ethnicity was found only on perceived diversity. Caucasian men felt that the organization valued and managed diversity most positively, while African American men and African American women felt least positively. No interaction effect between ethnicity and job level was found on any of the measured variables.

Interestingly, an interaction effect between gender and job level was found on all of the measured variables. Female managers reported lowest ratings on four out of the eight categories. More specifically, female managers, compared to all other groups such as male managers and all non-managers, thought that the organization (a) valued

diversity less, (b) developed its employees less, (c) was less fair its treatment of employees, (d) felt that they were mentored less. Furthermore, compared to male managers, female managers were (a) less satisfied with their jobs and (b) felt that the company valued its employees less and (c) less committed to their organization.

Discussion

Cox and Nkomo (1991) have called for more research on the examination of gender and ethnic differences in organizational experiences. Such need for more research on gender and ethnic differences in the workplace has been emphasized by the prediction that the American workforce will consist of more women and ethnic minorities than before. However, studies examining both ethnic and gender differences in organizational experiences have been scarce. Furthermore, we found that research on the work experiences of Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans are nearly non-existent. Given the importance of examining potential differences in organizational experiences among various racial/ethnic groups and the paucity of research on this issue, the present study was conducted to examine the separate and interactive effects of gender and ethnicity on a variety of organizational experiences, including (a) overall job satisfaction, (b) perceived diversity, (c) commitment to the organization, (d) perceived employee valuation, (e) perceived development, (f) perceived decision-making involvement, (g) perceived fairness, and (h) mentoring/coaching. These eight dimensions were selected because we believed that they represent areas where gender and ethnic differences might exist.

Consistent with previous research, present findings suggest that differences in organizational experiences do exist between men and women, among individuals of different ethnic backgrounds, as well as between different job levels in the organization. More specifically, the present study found that compared to men, women (a) felt that the organizational culture was less accepting of differences in people's background, (b) felt less involved in the decisions that affected them, (c) felt that the company treated its employees less fairly, and (d) were less committed to the organization. In contrast, women (a) were just as satisfied with their jobs, (b) felt as valued, (c) felt as developed, and (d) felt as mentored as men.

The findings that women have more negative organizational experiences across a number of dimensions are consistent with previous research findings (e.g., Cox & Nkomo, 1991; Dodd-McCue & Wright, 1996; Holder & Vaux, 1998). One explanation for these negative experiences reported by women might be that women working in a traditionally male-dominated industry are often faced with more obstacles than men. These obstacles include exclusion from the informal networks, lower role clarity, and lack of advancement opportunities. Indeed, women in the present study work for a company in a traditionally male-dominated industry. Thus, because of these potential obstacles, women might have been more sensitive to issues relating to diversity, involvement, and fairness in treatment.

Furthermore, the present study found that compared to Caucasians, Asian Americans (a) expressed greater overall dissatisfaction with their jobs, (b) perceived that the company valued its employees less, and (c) perceived that the company developed its

employees less well. Likewise, compared to Caucasians, African Americans reported that (a) the company treated its employees less fairly and (b) perceived that the company valued diversity less. The four ethnic groups did not differ from each other on (a) organizational commitment, (b) decision-making involvement, and (c) mentoring/coaching.

The present study revealed that Asian Americans and African Americans stood out as distinct minority groups that have different organizational experiences compared to Caucasians and Hispanics. Precisely why Asian Americans reported lower levels of organizations experiences is unclear from the present study. However, one possible reason is that Asian Americans might be consistently less successful in attaining a position of authority. This speculation is not unreasonable. It has been shown that although Asian Americans are well represented in professional positions in the workplace, they are seriously underrepresented in managerial positions (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995; Kim & Lewis, 1994). Asian Americans' underrepresentation in managerial positions maybe due to the stereotype that Asian Americans (a) are passive, (b) lack managerial skills, and (c) are unable to communicate, command, and provide leadership (Gee, cited in Thomas, 1995).

Likewise, the data from the National Science Foundation surveys showed that Asian Americans are less likely to be in managerial positions than African Americans and Hispanic Americans, and when Asian Americans are promoted to managerial positions, they are more likely to receive lower economic returns compared to Caucasians

occupying similar positions, even though Asian Americans are more likely to be qualified in terms of education and work experience (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995).

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that if Asian Americans in the present study are not as successful in obtaining promotions than their Caucasian counterparts, they are probably less likely to be satisfied with the work they do, and perceive that the company values and develops its employees less. Furthermore, a greater emphasis placed on education in Asian families might create expectations that the hard work of obtaining a higher education and development on the job will eventually pay off financially. These expectations, when not met, may lead to lower satisfaction levels and development ratings. Another explanation for the differences might be attributed to the particular industry of the organization and its standard business practices. The company in the study was established in the business consulting industry. It might have conformed to a certain set of traditional business practices, including hiring and promotion decisions, and had little room for flexibility in terms of what it looks for in a promotable candidate. However, the above conclusions are not necessarily true and the exact explanations for the differences remain speculative.

Park's study (1992) on interviews of HR managers in Silicon Valley, reported that Asian Americans were termed the Model Minority, which means an ideal employee in an organizational context. Specifically, Asians are seen as expendable workers who will take whatever is offered and are too passive to complain. This tendency of organizations to "exploit" Asian workers may partly explain the feelings of being "undervalued" by the

organization and lower satisfaction levels compared to Caucasians. However, the above conclusions are speculative and should be interpreted with caution.

African Americans stood out as a distinct group when it came to issues related to diversity. It was found that African Americans felt that the organization treated its employees less fairly than Caucasians and that the organization managed diversity least well. Fernandez (1981) argued that African Americans experience an additional stress in their work environments of "threatened, perceived, and actual racism." Holder and Vaux (1998) stated that racism is a stressor that many ethnic minority group members may experience on a daily basis. Pettigrew and Martin (1987) have argued that racism in the United States has increased and evolved from overt (blatant) to more covert (subtle) forms of prejudice and discrimination against ethnic minority groups. Fernandez (1988) found in a study conducted with 4,300 managers from 12 companies that a large percentage of all of the managers continued to hold racist stereotypes about minority groups, and the majority (90%) of all of the managers believed that racism (and sexism) existed to some extent in their company. The findings in the present study support Sherman et al.'s (1983) argument that African Americans are more sensitive to diversity issues and fair treatment of employees.

Interestingly, Hispanic Americans and Caucasians shared similar levels of organizational experiences on many dimensions. These findings are consistent with previous research that Hispanic Americans' perceptions of organizational climate were consistently similar to Caucasians (Bowen & Janofsky, cited in Knouse, Rosenfeld, & Culbertson, 1992). One reason may be that Hispanics do not tend to report negative

attitudes in the context of work. Another reason may be that they actually do not perceive any differences in organizational experiences. Exactly why Hispanics have not reported any differences in the present study remains speculative. More research is needed to investigate the similarities in perceptions between Caucasians and Hispanics.

Finally, no ethnic differences existed in three areas. No differences were found on (a) commitment to the organization, (b) involvement in decision-making, and (c) mentoring/coaching experiences. It was found that the ethnic minority employees were just as willing to invest the time and energy to the organization, and felt that it is desirable to continue to work for the organization. They also felt as involved in the planning of work, solving problems, and making decisions for their groups. In addition, they reported no differences compared to Caucasians on whether the company mentored and coached its employees well, and whether the firm is effective at developing the talents it needs for the future. However, it is possible that the reason for the lack of differences found on Mentoring and Coaching was that this organization either did not have a mentoring program or that most employees did not have mentors. It is noteworthy that all of the mean scores on Mentoring and Coaching were neutral or around the midpoint ($\bar{M} = 2.99$ to $\bar{M} = 3.16$). The lack of having mentoring relationships may have led the participants to give neutral ratings.

An interaction between gender and ethnicity was found only on one dimension (e.g., perceived diversity). It was found that Caucasian men were the most positive on whether and how the organization valued and managed diversity. African American women were the least positive. The lack of interaction between ethnicity and the other

dimensions suggests that gender and ethnicity might have independent, rather than interactive, influences on a variety of organizational experiences.

Interestingly, we did not find an interactive effect between ethnicity and job level. The lack of interaction might suggest that ethnicity and job level might independently influence organizational experiences. However, the lack of interaction might be due to the limited number of ethnic minority managers in the present study. More research is needed in this area to fully explore whether interactive effects exist between ethnicity and job level on organizational experiences.

We also found an interactive effect between gender and job level. Interactive effects were found between gender and job level on seven of the dimensions including (a) overall job satisfaction, (b) commitment, (c) perceived employee valuation, (d) perceived development, (e) mentoring/coaching, (f) perceived diversity, and (g) perceived fairness. The present findings suggest that female managers in this organization appeared to need particular attention; they were least positive on seven of the eight dimensions compared to all other groups including male managers and all non-managers. Female managers (a) were least satisfied with their jobs, (b) felt least committed, (c) felt least valued, (d) felt least developed, (e) felt least mentored, (f) felt that the organization valued diversity least, and (g) felt treated least fairly.

One explanation for these differences is that female managers operating in a male-dominated industry are excluded from the informal networks. Being excluded may lead them to miss helpful information to clarify their management roles. Another explanation for their negative outlook is that these female managers do not have role models readily

available to serve as mentors. Because of the lack of women in upper-management, women in mid-management have little guidance from someone similar in background. In addition, the lack of women representation in upper management may portray a lack of career advancement opportunities.

Overall, in support of the present findings was a study by Barak, et al. (1998), in their interviews with employees from an electronic company. They found that Caucasian men felt that the company was blind to ethnicity and gender in its procedures. These respondents stated that because the company was blind to gender and ethnicity in its procedures, the company was fair in its treatment of employees. However, women and ethnic minorities did not equally express these sentiments. The researchers found that women and ethnic minorities consistently reported that they encountered difficulties with the informal processes. They reported that these informal processes were often more important in determining job opportunities than the formal ones.

Implications

The findings of the present study highlighted some differences as well as the similarities in experiences of people with varying backgrounds at work. The purpose of the present study was to further understand the various groups' experiences in order to bring diversity awareness to organizations and the public. Because of the increasingly global economy and the diverse workplace of the United States, it is important to develop organizational strategies that foster a world in which people from varied backgrounds could excel. We are hopeful that more understanding will lead organizations to better practices in managing diversity.

Wentling, et al. (1997) identified the best strategies for managing diversity. The first strategy is to provide training and education programs. First, training and education on diversity issues builds awareness and helps employees understand the value of a diverse workforce. In addition to building awareness, organizations could provide training to teach skills on how to respond to differences as well as how to apply these skills.

The second strategy identified by the diversity experts is developing and adhering to organizational policies that mandate equity and fairness for all employees. These policies could include implementing an outreach program to recruit a more diverse workforce and ensuring equal pay to all employees. Establishing mentoring programs was also a strategy recommended by diversity experts. Mentors could be extremely valuable for minority employees. They assist employees by helping them understand the organization's standards, making them aware of organizational norms and policies, and encouraging them to set goals as well as meet higher standards. A formal mentoring program will increase the likelihood that all employees receive additional support in the workplace.

Another important strategy to manage diversity is to develop a nondiscriminatory performance appraisal system. One way to ensure that the appraisals are not biased is to obtain feedback from as many sources as possible such as other employees, customers, peers, subordinates, and supervisors. Since organizational barriers relate to individual barriers in that individuals tend to view themselves based on the environment. Improving

the environment to value differences and more supportive and accepting of individuals is a step toward decreasing individual barriers.

Limitations

Although the present study reported interesting findings, it is not without limitations. The results of the present study were based on 7,074 employees of one company. While the sample size was large, the use of a single company limits the generalizability of the present findings. Thus, caution is warranted concerning the generalizability of the present findings to different samples and occupations. While it was important to point out the group differences and similarities in organizational experiences, it is also important not to make generalizations based on these aggregated findings.

Furthermore, while the present study provides insight into gender and ethnic differences in the work environment, only part of the story was explained. Because the results were based on an employee survey from an actual organization, we were limited in the data collected, and were unable to include other variables such as education level and income. Because the effects of demographic variables such as gender and ethnicity tend to confound with other variables (e.g., education level and income), it is advisable to take caution when interpreting the results. Moreover, exactly why Asian Americans and African Americans reported more negative experiences remains largely unanswered. More research to understand the underlying mechanisms or root causes of these differences is needed.

Despite the limitations, the present study points out that there are differences in organizational experiences among various ethnic groups and gender. More research on ethnic differences involving the Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans is still in need and may be crucial to the future development of a diverse workforce.

Table 1

Demographic Information on Ethnicity and Gender

Ethnicity ^a	Gender	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Asian		363	5
	Male	157	2
	Female	206	3
African American		210	3
	Male	64	1
	Female	146	2
Hispanic		144	2
	Male	63	1
	Female	81	1
Caucasian		6,028	89
	Male	3,273	49
	Female	2,755	41

Notes: ^a 329 participants did not respond.

Table 2

Demographic Information on Length of Service and Job Type

Variables	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Length of service ^a		
< 1 year	1,689	24
1-3 years	2,025	29
3-6 years	1,347	19
6-10 years	869	12
10+ years	939	13
Job type ^b		
Managerial	2,182	31
Non-managerial	4,668	66

Notes: ^a 3% (n=211) of participants did not respond.

^b 3% (n=230) of participants did not respond.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlation Matrix

Variables	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Overall Job Satisfaction	3.74	.91	--							
2. Perceived Diversity	3.90	.85	.38**	(.84)						
3. Commitment	3.96	.74	.65**	.40**	(.72)					
4. Perceived Employee Valuation	3.14	.85	.63**	.40**	.62**	(.68)				
5. Perceived Development	3.47	.76	.65**	.46**	.61**	.69**	(.74)			
6. Perceived Decision-making Involvement	3.56	1.02	.39**	.34**	.33**	.42**	.46**	(.86)		
7. Perceived Fairness	3.34	.80	.54**	.45**	.53**	.65**	.59**	.39**	(.65)	
8. Mentoring and Coaching	2.98	.89	.53**	.43**	.44**	.56**	.65**	.48**	.46**	(.81)

Notes. $N = 6,935$

** $p < .01$

The numbers in the parentheses are Cronbach's coefficient alpha.

Table 4

Multivariate Analysis of Variance on Gender and Ethnicity

Independent Variables	Overall Job Sat. F	Diversity F	Commitment F	Empl. Val. F	Development F	Involvement F	Perceived Fairness F	Mentoring/ Coaching F
Main Effects								
Gender	.71	12.40***	18.03***	.71	1.78	7.68**	3.96*	.89
Ethnicity	6.83***	26.02***	2.48	4.20**	6.38***	1.86	4.86**	1.88
Interaction								
Gender X Ethnicity	2.52	3.79**	.36	.27	1.62	1.27	.63	.88

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 5

Multivariate Analysis of Variance on Gender and Job Level

Independent Variables	Overall Job Sat. F	Diversity F	Commitment F	Empl. Val. F	Development F	Involvement F	Perceived Fairness F	Mentoring/ Coaching F
Main Effects								
Gender	.75	343.89***	76.65***	3.67	19.35***	6.00*	43.16***	1.32
Job Level	.44	78.62***	7.75**	4.77*	.15	28.98***	.34	242.00***
Interaction								
Gender X Job Level	12.50***	57.62***	19.57***	21.44***	25.69***	3.59	26.14***	22.19***

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

Table 6

Multivariate Analysis of Variance on Ethnicity and Job Level

Independent Variables	Overall Job Sat. F	Diversity F	Commitment F	Empl. Val. F	Development F	Involvement F	Perceived Fairness F	Mentoring/ Coaching F
Main Effects								
Ethnicity	3.84**	18.42***	2.43	2.20	3.80**	.45	4.01**	.84
Job Level	.95	7.10**	8.88**	.52	.08	8.12**	.01	13.42***
Interaction								
Ethnicity X Job Level	.79	1.49	.99	.27	.09	.78	1.15	.34

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

Table 7

Mean Overall Job Satisfaction Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.78	3.61	3.71	3.63	3.80
	SD	.90	.98	.99	.88	.89
	N	3,139	203	145	80	2,711
Male	Mean	3.72	3.47	3.86	3.88	3.72
	SD	.90	.91	.94	.92	.90
	N	3,471	154	64	58	3,195
Total	Mean	3.75	3.55	3.76	3.73	3.76 ^a
	SD	.90	.95	.97	.90	.90
	N	6,610	357	209	138	5,906

^a The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Asian Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^b The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to African Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^c The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Hispanic Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^d The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Caucasians at the .008 (.05/6) level.

Table 8

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Overall Satisfaction

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	16.55	3	5.52	6.80**
Gender	.58	1	.58	.72
Ethnicity x Gender	6.08	3	2.03	2.50
Error	5352.59	6602	.81	

** $p \leq .01$

Table 9

Mean Perceived Diversity Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.74	3.86	3.25	3.79	3.76
	SD	.90	.82	1.12	.95	.88
	N	3,188	206	146	81	2,755
Male	Mean	4.05	3.91	3.49	3.91	4.08
	SD	.76	.78	1.00	1.01	.74
	N	3,556	157	64	63	3,272
Total	Mean	3.91	3.88 ^b	3.33	3.84 ^b	3.93 ^b
	SD	.84	.80	1.09	.98	.82
	N	6,744	363	210	144	6,027

^a The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Asian Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^b The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to African Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^c The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Hispanic Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^d The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Caucasians at the .008 (.05/6) level.

Table 10

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Perceived Diversity

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	51.37	3	17.12	25.44**
Gender	8.43	1	8.43	12.52**
Ethnicity x Gender	7.64	3	2.55	3.79**
Error	4534.14	6736	.67	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

Table 11

Mean Organizational Commitment Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.88	3.80	3.80	3.94	3.89
	SD	.73	.81	.81	.72	.72
	N	3,188	206	146	81	2,755
Male	Mean	4.04	3.96	4.07	4.15	4.04
	SD	.74	.73	.70	.74	.74
	N	3,556	157	64	63	3,272
Total	Mean	3.96	3.87	3.88	4.03	3.97
	SD	.74	.78	.79	.74	.73
	N	6,744	363	210	144	6,072

Table 12

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Organizational Commitment

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	3.66	3	1.22	2.27
Gender	10.03	1	10.03	18.70**
Ethnicity x Gender	.63	3	.21	.39
Error	3612.38	6736	.54	

** $p \leq .01$

Table 13

Mean Perceived Employee Valuation Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.14	3.01	3.11	3.03	3.15
	SD	.86	.87	.99	.99	.85
	N	3,188	206	146	81	2,755
Male	Mean	3.15	3.00	3.17	3.17	3.16
	SD	.82	.80	.90	.95	.82
	N	3,556	157	64	63	3,272
Total	Mean	3.15	3.01	3.13	3.09	3.16 ^a
	SD	.84	.84	.96	.97	.83
	N	6,744	363	210	144	6,027

^a The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Asian Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^b The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to African Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^c The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Hispanic Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^d The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Caucasians at the .008 (.05/6) level.

Table 14

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Perceived Employee Valuation

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	7.94	3	2.65	3.73**
Gender	.69	1	.69	.97
Ethnicity x Gender	.74	3	.25	.35
Error	4752.02	6736	.71	

** $p \leq .01$

Table 15

Mean Perceived Development Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.45	3.67	3.34	3.39	3.46
	SD	.74	.81	.81	.86	.73
	N	3,188	206	146	81	2,755
Male	Mean	3.50	3.28	3.52	3.50	3.51
	SD	.75	.76	.78	.87	.75
	N	3,556	157	64	63	3,272
Total	Mean	3.48	.33	3.39	3.44	3.49 ^a
	SD	.75	.78	.80	.86	.74
	N	6,744	363	210	144	6,027

^a The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Asian Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^b The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to African Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^c The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Hispanic Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^d The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Caucasians at the .008 (.05/6) level.

Table 16

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Perceived Development

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	9.76	3	3.25	5.83**
Gender	.94	1	.94	1.68
Ethnicity x Gender	2.48	3	.83	1.48
Error	3759.65	6736	.56	

** $p \leq .01$

Table 17

Mean Perceived Decision-Making Involvement Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.49	3.51	3.26	3.41	3.51
	SD	1.05	1.03	1.21	1.16	1.04
	N	3,185	206	146	81	2,752
Male	Mean	3.63	3.52	3.57	3.67	3.64
	SD	.98	.93	1.04	1.07	.98
	N	3,554	157	64	63	3,270
Total	Mean	3.57	3.52	3.36	3.52	3.58
	SD	1.01	.99	1.17	1.12	1.01
	N	6,739	363	210	144	6,022

Table 18

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Perceived Decision-Making Involvement

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	5.43	3	1.81	1.76
Gender	7.66	1	7.66	7.46*
Ethnicity x Gender	3.29	3	1.10	1.07
Error	6911.88	6731	1.03	

* $p \leq .01$

Table 19

Mean Perceived Fairness Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.30	3.32	3.14	3.16	3.31
	SD	.79	.83	.81	.93	.78
	N	3,188	206	146	81	2,755
Male	Mean	3.40	3.38	3.15	3.41	3.40
	SD	.78	.76	.88	.82	.78
	N	3,556	157	64	63	3,272
Total	Mean	3.35	3.35	3.14	3.27	3.36 ^b
	SD	.79	.80	.83	.89	.78
	N	6,744	363	210	144	6,027

^a The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Asian Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^b The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to African Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^c The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Hispanic Americans at the .008 (.05/6) level.

^d The mean difference is significantly higher when compared to Caucasians at the .008 (.05/6) level.

Table 20

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Perceived Fairness

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	8.52	3	2.84	4.60**
Gender	2.54	1	2.54	4.11*
Ethnicity x Gender	1.29	3	.43	.69
Error	4160.36	6736	.62	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

Table 21

Mean Mentoring/Coaching Level as a Function of Gender and Ethnicity

		Ethnicity				
		Total	Asian American	African American	Hispanic American	Caucasian
Female	Mean	3.04	3.09	3.00	3.17	3.04
	SD	.91	.93	.96	.94	.90
	N	3,188	206	146	81	2,755
Male	Mean	2.93	2.96	3.08	3.14	2.92
	SD	.87	.81	.99	1.03	.87
	N	3,556	157	64	63	3,272
Total	Mean	2.99	3.03	3.03	3.16	2.98
	SD	.89	.89	.96	.98	.89
	N	6,744	363	210	144	6,027

Table 22

Analysis of Variance Summary Table for Mentoring/Coaching

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Ethnicity	5.33	3	1.78	2.25
Gender	.61	1	.61	.78
Ethnicity x Gender	2.06	3	.69	.87
Error	5320.14	6736	.79	

Appendix

Questionnaire Items Classified by Category

Overall Job Satisfaction

1. Taking everything into account, how satisfied are you with this company as a place to work?

Perceived Diversity (Cronbach's $\alpha = .84$)

1. This company provides a working environment that is accepting of ethnic differences.
2. This company provides a working environment that is accepting of differences in cultural background or lifestyles.
3. This company provides a working environment that is accepting of gender differences.
4. At this company, women have the same career opportunities as men.
5. My supervisor works effectively with people who are different from him or herself (in gender, race, ethnic background, lifestyles, etc.).

Organizational Commitment (Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$)

1. I am committed to investing the time and energy it will take to make this company the best.
2. I am proud to be associated with this company.
3. The longer you work for this company, the more you feel a part of the firm.
4. It is desirable to be a partner in this firm.

Perceived Employee Valuation (Cronbach's $\alpha = .68$)

1. This company doesn't seem to care whether I stay or leave the firm.
(Recoded)
2. This firm does an excellent job of inspiring loyalty among employees.
3. This company values long-term employees.
4. This company provides a challenging work environment that stretches my skills.

Perceived Development (Cronbach's $\alpha = .74$)

1. I am confident that I can achieve my personal career objectives at this company.
2. The firm shows very little interest in employee development. (Recoded)
3. The firm does a good job of promoting the most competent people.
4. The firm develops its people to their full potential.
5. People in my organizational unit are well trained in technical skills.

Perceived Decision-Making Involvement (Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$)

1. My supervisor involves me in planning the work of my group.
2. My supervisor involves me in solving problems related to our work.
3. My supervisor involves me in making decisions that affect our work.
4. I am satisfied with my involvement in decisions that affect my work.

Perceived Fairness (Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$)

1. I can be sure of having a job with this company as long as I perform well.
2. Personnel cutbacks are handled with sensitivity.
3. The decisions the company management makes concerning employees are usually fair.
4. People are treated with respect here, regardless of their job.

Mentoring and Coaching (Cronbach's $\alpha = .81$)

1. Mentoring is done well at this company.
2. Coaching is done well at this company.
3. People in my organizational unit are well trained in coaching.
4. The firm is effective at developing the talent it needs for the future.
5. My supervisor gives me regular feedback on my performance.

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