

Males' and Females' Perceptions of Fairness of
Promotions in Three Jobs of Differing Sex Stereotypes

by

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Since the beginning of recorded history, men and women have been seen as possessing different personal attributes, or different sex-role stereotypes (Ruble & Ruble, 1982). It appears that these stereotypes are often brought about by socialization practices, rather than by true biological differences (Sampson, 1975). Thus it should be expected that these stereotypes change to some degree as socialization processes change (Broverman et al, 1972; Petro & Putnam, 1979; Sampson, 1975).

These sex-role stereotypes are of particular interest because of their economic effects. Occupations become sex-typed when jobs are held predominantly by one sex (Deaux & Lewis, 1983; Krefting, Berger, & Wallace, 1978; Ruble, Cohen, & Ruble, 1984). Thus, occupational roles can be linked with sex roles, and thereby assume a stereotype as being better suited for one sex over the other (Krefting et al, 1978).

Abundant research has been conducted on the problems women have in obtaining a job that is sex-typed as being for a male. The problems males

encounter when entering female sex-typed jobs, however, have not been studied in such detail. Some of the studies seem to indicate that, at least in some jobs (i.e. secretary, receptionist, dental assistant, nurse's aide, waitress, typist, and day-care center worker), men may encounter more difficulties trying to obtain a feminine-sex-typed job than women may encounter trying to obtain a masculine-sex-typed job (Levinson, 1975; Richardson, 1986). Cohen and Bunker (1975) studied sex bias during a recruitment interview for two lower-level jobs, personnel technician and editorial assistant. This experiment demonstrated that females suffered sex bias during the interview for personnel technician, a masculine-sex-typed job. The males, however, were victims of sex bias when they applied for editorial assistant, a job stereotyped as being incongruent with their sex.

Muchinsky and Harris (1977) predicted that both males and females would experience sex bias when applying for managerial jobs that were stereotyped as sexually incongruent with their respective sexes. Their hypothesis that females

would be judged as more suitable than males for the job of assistant director of a children's day-care center was supported. The hypothesis that males would be judged more suitable than females for the job of management trainee in mechanical engineering was not supported, however. This study supports the hypothesis that males may actually suffer more discrimination than females when applying for a job stereotyped as sexually incongruent.

Muchinsky and Harris (1977) discussed three possible reasons for their results. The first deals with academic preparation and the stereotypes associated with different fields of study. According to Holland (1973, as cited by Muchinsky & Harris, 1977), traditional masculine academic majors have been perceived as being harder than traditional feminine academic majors. Females who apply for a masculine-stereotyped job (i.e. possibly perceived as more demanding) may be seen as having excelled in a difficult academic field and as having atypical "prowess." Females who apply for work in a day-care center (possibly perceived as less demanding and "softer") may be

thought of as working at their stereotypical level of capability and academic preparation. Males who attempt to enter a job that is stereotyped as better suited for females, however, may be perceived as entering a job which is "softer" and possibly demeaning for males. They may therefore be thought of as less suitable for employment.

The second possible reason centers around the theory of social congruence. Female-dominated jobs usually involve less status and power than male-dominated jobs. Traditionally, males have had more status and power than females. When females apply for female-dominated jobs, they are socially congruent, and thus acceptable for employment. Likewise, when males apply for male-dominated jobs, they are socially congruent, and perceived as acceptable for employment. Females applying for a male-dominated job may be seen as gaining status and power, and may thus be rated higher. On the other hand, a male applying for a female-dominated job may be seen as losing status and power, and may therefore receive lower ratings.

The third explanation is that more attention

has been focused on womens' problems in entering traditionally masculine jobs than on the problems men face when entering traditionally feminine jobs. Perhaps the media attention that Affirmative Action programs and the Women's Movement have received make sex discrimination against women more salient and socially unacceptable than sex discrimination against men.

As women have been trying to enter certain areas dominated by men, men have been trying to enter areas dominated by women, such as social work, teaching, librarianships, and nursing (Grimm & Stern, 1974; Gross, 1968; Hayes, 1986). The difficulties men face when applying for feminine sex-typed jobs have been examined in only a few empirical studies (Hayes, 1986; Muchinsky & Harris, 1977). This topic is worthy of more research because new information on our society's perceptions and values may be uncovered and examined. It seems just for our society to examine its perceptions and feelings concerning this area of sex discrimination, as it has concerning sex discrimination against women. This thesis will

examine this area of employment discrimination and attempt to measure attitudes toward males, as well as females, entering a job thought of as incongruent with their sex.

Other studies are also very relevant to the examination of society's perceptions of persons trying to move into an area dominated by the other sex. One such study dealt with differing perceptions of fairness in a promotional setting (Sherman, Sherman, & Smith, 1983). This particular study examined people's perceptions of fairness in a promotion situation where the only differing quality of the two candidates for promotion was their race. There were four different promotion scenarios. They included a black male promoted over another black male, a black male promoted over a white male, a white male promoted over a black male, and a white male promoted over another white male. It was proposed that "such factors as affirmative action, quotas, reverse discrimination, and racial bias could be seen as operating in a job promotion when the specific qualifications or inputs, were not clear or provided." (Sherman,

Sherman, & Smith, 1983, p. 720). They included the sex of the subject as a variable, and found that the female subjects in their study felt the promotions were less fair overall than did the male subjects. (On a seven- point scale with 1 being "very fair" and 7 being "very unfair," the statistics were as follows: female subjects $M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.67$; male subjects $M = 3.20$, $SD = 1.65$; $F(1,159) = 6.92$, $p < .009$).

Sherman et al. argued that a possible reason for this outcome is that females have a voluminous history of job discrimination and may therefore be "more sensitive to unfairness and more likely to perceive racial bias in ambiguous situations" (Sherman, Sherman, & Smith, 1983, p. 722). Their reasoning makes intuitive sense, but leaves a bit unsaid. If it were the case that female subjects judged those promotions in which two persons of different races were involved as being as fair or unfair as those in which the persons' races were the same, then this might denote a generally skeptical attitude about job promotions, rather than a perception of racial bias. It is

conceivable that the history of employment discrimination against women has developed more mistrust in women for employment systems, such as promotion opportunities.

Furthermore, if women judged the promotions involving persons of different races as less fair than the promotions involving persons of the same race, planned statistical comparisons based on predictions of the relationship between the two promotions involving persons of different races might provide additional information. For example, if it were found that females saw the promotion of a white over a black as less fair than the other promotions, then one might hypothesize that it was because of heightened sensitivity to the occupational discrimination that blacks have incurred. (After all, females have also incurred such bias).

If, on the other hand, it were the case that females perceived the promotion of a black over a white as less fair than the other promotions, this would suggest a different reason for the judgment. Perhaps females might believe that the black was

promoted over the white due to a factor such as affirmative action or the promotion of a "token," and judge this as an unfair standard for promoting an employee. This is conceivable, since Heilman and Herlihy (1984) produced results suggesting that persons' beliefs about how women acquire certain jobs influence their feelings about those jobs. Womens' ratings of occupational interest in a particular job were higher if the women in that job obtained the job by merit, rather than by inequitably preferential treatment. Even though Heilman and Herlihy did not use a promotional setting in their experiment as Sherman et al. did, it is reasonable to assume that similar attitudes concerning preferential treatment could exist in such a setting, and therefore affect womens' feelings concerning a particular promotion.

It is apparent that the reporting of further comparisons by Sherman, Sherman, and Smith (1983) would have been helpful in determining possible reasons for females' differing perceptions of fairness in this study where race was the salient factor. The present study parallels the research

of Sherman et al., out in this thesis the salient factor will be gender, rather than race. If the reasoning of Sherman et al. is valid, one would expect that females are also more likely to perceive alleged gender bias in ambiguous job situations, due to their alleged heightened sensitivity to unfairness. Four different promotion scenarios will be used in this study: a female promoted over another female, a female over a male, a male over a male, and a male over a female. Based on the conclusion of Sherman et al. that women are more sensitive to possible unfairness in a setting concerning a decision of equity, it is predicted that females will perceive all employment decisions, except where a woman is promoted over a man, as less fair than males will perceive them to be. Further comparisons will also be made and reported.

No experimental studies were found in the literature that examined females' and males' reactions to situations of equity in which one person is promoted over another when the sex of the stimulus persons and the sex-stereotypes of the

jobs are the manipulated variables. Such a study would be valuable for a number of reasons. First, it would help further our knowledge of how the occupational roles of both men and women are viewed. More specifically, are the situations involving men moving into stereotypically incongruent occupational roles less acceptable than those involving women moving into stereotypically incongruent occupational roles?

This question deals with the problem of reverse discrimination. This question may be of little immediate consequence, as the courts do not presently recognize white males as a group that has been discriminated against in our society. However, it is conceivably a query which might gain momentum as issues such as reverse discrimination attract media attention, and as the courts return to a slightly more conservative stance. In a technical sense, males are the minority when applying for a female-dominated job (Crocker & Algina, 1986, p. 270). The question of whether males should be considered a protected minority group when applying for female-dominated jobs is a

legal and social question, rather than an empirical one. It is important, however, to first measure the extent of possible attitudes toward discrimination against males in female-dominated jobs, as these attitudes may be the factor regulating whether or not such legal and social questions are answered. It is possible that some persons are more accepting of discrimination against males when they are in female-dominated jobs.

Heilman and Herlihy (1984) stated that women seem to self-select themselves out of a large number of male-dominated occupations and specialty areas, even when they are given the opportunity to take such jobs. This is an important observation because many of these occupations and specialty areas have higher social status, prestige, and pay scales. If women are more skeptical and distrustful of employment practices, as hypothesized earlier, they may react by self-selecting themselves out of the male-dominated occupations and specialty areas. This research is therefore needed for the development of theory.

It is also possible that if women are truly more distrustful of employment practices, they may be less likely to utilize their employers' formal grievance procedures to discuss their employment needs or complaints with the organization. They might feel that formal grievances will not be seriously considered, or that such grievances could result in punitive actions against them. This would result in negative attitudes toward the organization that could be associated with employee sabotage and low morale. This is one practical implication of this thesis for employers.

Women may also be more likely to bring suit against an employer if they are more distrustful of employment practices. For instance, if they fail to obtain a particular job or responsibility, they may be more apt to perceive it as being due to unfair discrimination rather than to inadequate skills or some other legitimate reason. A propensity to place blame on an "unfair" employer or system would motivate them to take legal action. Even if employers are able to demonstrate that their employment tests are valid, it is often in

their best interest to avoid law suits. The economic costs (loss of time and direct financial losses) associated with lawsuits are also to be avoided by an employer. Thus, this thesis should have valuable practical implications for employers. If it is true that women are more distrustful and skeptical of promotions and other employment practices, it would benefit employers to note this and take measures to reduce the distrust.

In this study eight predictions are made. The first is that the promotion of a woman over a man in a masculine-stereotyped job will be rated by both sexes as fairer than the promotion of a man over a woman in a feminine-stereotyped job. These promotion situations would be consistent with the spirit of affirmative action. These comparisons will aid in the examination of how our society's views toward "minority" men differ from its views toward minority women. (The term minority, as used above, refers to the fact that, for both sexes, there are jobs that have a greater proportion of one sex over the other.) This particular prediction is consistent with the hypothesis that

our society is more sensitive to discrimination against women than it is to discrimination against men. Also, our society may be more accepting of affirmative action for women than for men. The reader should keep in mind that the term affirmative action, as used above, is different from federally-endorsed affirmative action programs. This prediction does not truly assess feelings toward federally-endorsed affirmative action programs, a form of preferential treatment. This is because the federal government has not declared men, who work in female-dominated jobs, a protected minority, and therefore, such men are not helped by affirmative action programs.

The second prediction is related to the first. It is expected that both sexes will perceive the promotion of a man over a woman in a masculine-stereotyped job as less fair than the promotion of a woman over a man in a feminine-stereotyped job. These comparisons will also help to examine the question of how our society treats employment discrimination of the two sexes differently. More specifically, is our

society more tolerant of sexual discrimination in a feminine-stereotyped job than it is in a masculine-stereotyped job?

The third prediction is that females will perceive the promotions, with the exception of the condition in which women are promoted over men, as less fair than men will. This would be consistent with the hypothesis that women are generally more sensitive to perceived unfairness concerning employment practices, and that they are more distrustful of employment practices in general. In the case where the woman is promoted over the man, females' sensitivity to perceived unfairness should decrease, since the woman has prevailed in the promotion. It makes logical sense that, if women believe that American employment practices discriminate against women based on their sex, they would not perceive as much unfairness when a woman is promoted over a man. The fourth prediction also concerns females' sensitivity to perceived unfairness or discrimination. Based on the same reasoning, it is expected that females will perceive the situations in which a man is promoted

over a woman to be less fair, compared with all of the other promotion situations.

The fifth prediction concerns the jobs' sex stereotypes and the male subjects. Different studies have found that women are perceived by men as deviating from the role of model employee in masculine-stereotyped jobs (O'Leary, 1973). It is expected, then, that in the masculine-stereotyped job, males will perceive the promotion of a woman over a man as less fair than when a man is promoted over a woman.

However, when the job is stereotypically feminine in nature, the opposite effect is expected. The sixth prediction, therefore, is that with a feminine-stereotyped job, both males and females will perceive the promotion of a man over a woman as less fair than the promotion of a woman over a man. This result is anticipated for two reasons. The first is that both men and women may perceive this as a case of sexual discrimination against women. The second is that the entrance of men into feminine-stereotyped jobs may be viewed as improper. Levinson (1975) gave some evidence that

this may at least be true for men. He showed that a man's "masculinity" may be questioned if he attempts to enter a feminine-stereotyped job. It is possible that women would react in the same way to men in feminine-stereotyped jobs.

The seventh prediction examines perceptions of the candidates' qualifications. Sherman et al. (1983) predicted in their experiment that female subjects would be more likely to see the promoted employee as less qualified than would male subjects. Their hypothesis had intuitive appeal. It was plausible that if women, compared with men, perceived promotions as being less fair, they might also perceive the promoted person as less qualified. However, there was no main effect found for sex of subject. This thesis will attempt to replicate this finding. This information should help clarify whether there is a confounding of the perceptions of qualifications and of fairness. However, because women are expected to see the promotion of a woman over a man as fairer than the other promotions, this promotion situation will not be included in the comparison. The seventh

prediction, therefore, is that female subjects and male subjects will be comparatively equal in their qualification ratings of the promoted employee, excluding those situations where a woman is promoted over a man.

The eighth prediction also concerns perceptions of the candidates' qualifications. If women, compared to men, do perceive the promoted employees as less qualified because of negative feelings concerning promotions, then it would be plausible that women, compared to men, would also perceive the nonpromoted employees as being more qualified. Sherman et al. (1983) did not test for this hypothesis, but it will be included in this thesis because it will add to the interpretation of any interaction between perceptions of promotion fairness and candidates' qualifications. To be consistent with prior research and the seventh prediction, it is expected that female subjects and male subjects will be comparatively equal in their qualification ratings of the nonpromoted employee, except for those promotion situations in which women are promoted over men.

Method

Subjects

Three hundred thirty-six students from Kansas State University participated in this experiment. All students were offered experimental credit in their general psychology classes for their participation. Males and females were equally represented. The mean age for males was 19.7 years and the mean age for females was 19.03 years.

Procedure

This experiment used a 2 X 3 X 4 design (sex of subject X job stereotype X different promotion decisions, respectively). Three jobs that differed in their sex-typing were chosen: masculine-stereotyped, non-stereotyped, and feminine-stereotyped. The jobs were police officer, educational counselor, and librarian, respectively.

Phase One

There were three criteria in selecting the specific jobs.

1) The professional levels of all three jobs were similar. Specifically, the average annual pay for the jobs were similar, and each of the jobs required some education beyond high school (U. S. Department of Labor, 1986). Levinson (1975) suggested that barriers to employment in nonprofessional or nonprestige sex-typed jobs may differ markedly from the employment barriers to more professional or prestigious jobs.

2) The sex-typed jobs were jobs that are dominated by one sex. For instance, over ninety percent of the employees in the male sex-typed job were male. Over eighty-seven percent of the employees in the female sex-typed job were female. Only fifty-three percent of the employees in the nonstereotyped job were females (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1985.) This is important because the

major factor determining the sex type of a job seems to be the current distribution of males to females in that job (Deaux & Lewis, 1983; Krefting, 1978; Mahoney's & Blake's study, cited in Ruble, 1984).

3) Perceived job sex-typing was demonstrated prior to actually running the subjects. This was determined by examining the scores of a different group of general psychology students on a scale measuring sex-typing. The items in this scale were selected from items in a larger scale that was developed by Broverman et al. (1972.) This scale has been used successfully by previous researchers (Broverman et al., 1972; Heilman & Herlihy, 1984.) There were 150 students (82 females and 68 males) in this pilot study.

The scale was used with three jobs: police detective, educational counselor, and librarian. The scale appears in Appendix A. Based on a U. S. Bureau of the Census report (1985), males constituted a majority in the job of police detective, while females were the majority in the

job of librarian. The job of counselor had an almost equal ratio of men to women. Each subject rated all three jobs with this scale. All possible orders of the job listings were randomly assigned to reduce the effects of order. The synopsis of the job is an actual one taken from the current Occupational Outlook Handbook (U. S. Department of Labor, 1986); see Appendix B for the listing and synopsis of each job.

For each attribute on the scale, a one-way analysis of variance was performed across the three jobs. A significant main effect for jobs was found for each attribute, except for the intuitive/logical attribute. Post hoc tests were performed for the significant main effects using the Newman-Keuls procedure. Of the thirty comparisons, six were not significantly different at an alpha level of .05. The means of each attribute for each job and the results of the Newman-Keuls comparisons appear in Table 1.

Table 1
ANOVA Results for Factors of Sex-stereotype Scale

	Police Detective		Educational Counselor		Librarian	\bar{X} SD
Passive/ Aggressive	7.52 1.28	>	5.38 1.74	>	4.08 1.61	\bar{X} SD
Emotional/ Not emotional	6.14 1.77	>	4.49 1.55	=	4.69 1.67	\bar{X} SD
Not competitive/ Competitive	7.26 1.51	>	5.53 1.57	>	4.25 1.63	\bar{X} SD
Decisions not easy/ Easy decisions	7.97 1.24	>	7.46 1.93	>	6.81 1.65	\bar{X} SD
Not self-confident/ Self-confident	7.51 1.45	=	7.39 1.39	>	6.25 1.73	\bar{X} SD
Gentle/ Rough	6.60 1.35	>	3.95 1.48	>	3.42 1.53	\bar{X} SD
Intuitive/ Logical	6.38 1.90	=	6.53 1.83	=	6.63 2.09	\bar{X} SD
Soft/ Tough	7.18 1.28	>	4.42 1.54	>	3.47 1.58	\bar{X} SD
Expresses feelings/ Doesn't express	6.33 1.65	>	3.37 1.48	=	3.91 1.68	\bar{X} SD
Enjoys Art/ Doesn't enjoy art	5.43 1.63	>	3.71 1.55	>	2.03 1.87	\bar{X} SD
Warm/ Cold	5.60 1.51	>	3.12 1.50	=	3.36 1.80	\bar{X} SD
Average of Means	6.72		5.38		4.45	

Note: An ANOVA was run for each factor on the scale. With the exception of the intuitive/logical factor, each factor was significant at $p < .003$. The means and standard deviations are listed above. The higher the mean, the more masculine it is perceived to be. For each factor, the first adjective is the feminine-stereotype anchor and the second adjective is the masculine-stereotype anchor. A nine-point Likert Scale was used. Results of Newman-Keuls comparisons are noted by the > and = signs between the means.

Phase Two

The qualifications of each promotion candidate must be initially perceived as equal. If this is not the case, it will be difficult to unambiguously deduce the reasons for subsequent perceptions of fairness. To ensure that the qualifications were initially perceived as equal, another pilot study was conducted. For each job, two biographical backgrounds were written. Both backgrounds used both male and female stimulus persons. This made 4 different vignettes (background x sex of stimulus person) for each job. A separate group of 58 general psychology students (twenty-two males and thirty-six females) was used. Each student was randomly assigned three different vignettes (one for each job). The subjects were asked to rate the qualifications of the stimulus persons for both the job they were currently in and the job which was open for promotion. The descriptions of the stimulus persons and the measures of qualifications are presented in Appendix C.

For each job a 2 X 4 MANOVA was run using

sex-of-subject and stimulus persons' vignettes, respectively, as the two independent variables. This produced eight different groups within each job. For each MANOVA the six qualification measures were used as the dependent variables. Each MANOVA tested the hypothesis that those eight groups demonstrated the same pattern across all six qualification measures. Wilks criterion was the multivariate method used to produce the F ratios. There were no significant effects found in any of the three MANOVAs. The MANOVA results for the jobs of librarian, educational counselor, and police officer appear in Table 2.

The three nonsignificant MANOVAs indicate that the six qualification measures behaved in the same manner within each job. Coefficient alphas for the six qualification measures were computed, and substantial intercorrelations for the measures in each job were shown. Coefficient alpha for the six qualification measures in the job of librarian was .73. For the job of educational counselor, the six qualification measures yielded a coefficient alpha of .67. For the job of police officer, the six

Table 2

Multivariate Tests of Significance Using Wilks' Criterion

MANOVA for Job of Librarian				
Effect	df numerator	df denominator	F	Prob > F
Sex-of-Subject	6	45	.08	.9981
Vignettes	18	128	1.37	.1571
Sex by Vignettes	18	128	1.03	.4333

MANOVA for Job of Educational Counselor				
Effect	df numerator	df denominator	F	Prob > F
Sex-of-Subject	6	45	.73	.6306
Vignettes	18	128	.85	.6390
Sex by Vignettes	18	128	.91	.6831

MANOVA for Job of Police Officer				
Effect	df numerator	df denominator	F	Prob > F
Sex-of-Subject	6	45	1.29	.2802
Vignettes	18	128	1.11	.3488
Sex by Vignettes	18	128	1.29	.2032

qualification measures yielded a coefficient alpha of .58. The nonsignificant MANOVAs and these relatively high coefficient alphas justified the combination of the six qualification measures into a composite.

Within each job the scores for the six qualification measures were combined (i.e., the mean of the six qualification measures) to form a composite measure of job qualification. An ANOVA was then conducted for each job using the composite measures of job qualifications as the dependent variables. Sex of subject and stimulus persons' vignettes were again used as the independent variables. Consistent with the MANOVA results, none of these three ANOVAs produced significant effects. The ANOVA source tables for the jobs of librarian, educational counselor, and police officer appear in Table 3. The failure to reject the null hypotheses that the candidates within each job were perceived as equally qualified was a prerequisite for the next phase of the research. With no demonstration of perceived differences in the stimulus persons' qualifications, it is easier

Table 3

Univariate Tests of Significance Using
Composite Measure of "Qualifications"

ANOVA for Job of Librarian				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	F	Prob > F
Sex-of-Subject	1	14.14	.33	.5691
Vignettes	3	280.18	2.17	.1032
Sex by Vignettes	3	42.16	.33	.8062
Error	50	43.04		

ANOVA for Job of Educational Counselor				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	F	Prob > F
Sex-of-Subject	6	16.47	.73	.6306
Vignettes	18	102.08	1.68	.1843
Sex by Vignettes	18	18.22	.30	.8260
Error	50	1015.72		

ANOVA for Job of Police Officer				
Source	df	Sum of Squares	F	Prob > F
Sex-of-Subject	6	101.76	3.67	.0611
Vignettes	3	167.01	2.01	.1246
Sex by Vignettes	18	113.58	1.37	.2638
Error	50	1385.53		

to disregard it as a reason for the perceptions of fairness of the promotions.

Phase Three

Each of the 336 students in the main study was randomly assigned to one of 12 groups. The sexes were equally represented within the groups. Each group was given two court cases to read. The subjects were told that they were involved in research about the decision-making processes of judges in our judicial system. The first court case was simply a foil not related to the study at hand. This foil was added to help ensure that the subjects not discover the true intent of the study. After reading the foil court case, subjects answered a list of questions concerning that case and the role of the judge in the case. The foil case and the list of questions presented with it appear in Appendix D.

The other court case concerned a promotion where one person was promoted over another within an organization, and the person not promoted was

suing the organization. The court case was identical in structure for all 12 groups, except three different jobs were used (for the three sex types), and four different promotion scenarios were involved (i.e., male promoted over a male, male over a female, female over a female, and female over a male). This made for 12 different groups. For each promotion scenario, there were two different promotion cases. For instance, the scenario "male promoted over a female" consisted of: one male promoted over a female, and a different male promoted over a different female. These promotion cases were evenly divided between subjects within each of the 12 groups. The scenarios are presented in Appendix E.

After reading the second court case, the subjects answered questions (on a nine-point scale) measuring their perceptions of the fairness of the promotion and the qualifications of the employees considered for the promotion. The dependent measures of perceptions of fairness are listed in Appendix F. The dependent measures of perceptions of the candidates' qualifications are listed in

Appendix G. Composites (i.e., means) of these three domains were used as the three dependent variables for this study. Therefore, coefficient alphas were calculated on the measures of perceptions of fairness, the promoted employees' qualifications, and the qualifications of the nonpromoted employees. Coefficient alpha for the six measures of fairness was .96, demonstrating a high intercorrelation among the six measures. Coefficient alphas for the three qualification measures were .66 for the promoted employees and .62 for the nonpromoted employees. Although these two coefficient alphas were not high, they are sufficient to justify using the sums of the measures as composites to be used as dependent variables.

Distractor questions were also asked, and appear in Appendix H. In addition to the dependent measures and the distractor questions, other questions focused on subjects' feelings toward Affirmative Action, quota systems, and employment discrimination against women. These questions were included because they added important information

that is relevant to the issues presented in this study. These latter questions (listed in Appendix I) appeared on a separate sheet of paper, and were answered only after all other questions had been completed. This precaution was to ensure that the true purpose of the study was not realized by the subjects during the previous questioning.

Covariate factors of age, year of study, perceived status of the job in question, and having a family member associated with the job in question were also noted and utilized in the analysis. Responses to two questions were combined (i.e., the mean of the two questions' scores) to form the covariate "perceived status of the job." These two questions were 1) In your opinion, how prestigious is the job of . . . ?, and 2) How would you rate the status of the job of . . . ?.

Results

The data were analyzed using a MANCOVA. All three dependent variables (i.e., perceived fairness of the promotion, perceived qualifications of the

promoted employee, and perceived qualifications of the nonpromoted employee) were included in the MANCOVA. The use of MANCOVA was more advantageous than three separate ANCOVAs (one for each dependent variable), because the MANCOVA takes account of the intercorrelation between the dependent variables. Although the variable "perceived fairness of the promotion" was not significantly correlated with the perceived qualifications of the nonpromoted employees ($r = -.02$), it was significantly correlated with the qualifications of the promoted employees ($r = .44$). This indicates that as subjects perceived the promoted employees as being highly qualified, they also tended to perceive the promotion as fairer. The variables concerning the qualifications of the employees were also significantly correlated ($r = .24$).

Wilks' criterion was the multivariate method used to produce the F ratios, and two significant F ratios were found at an alpha level of $p < .05$. Two effects, the promotion effect and the promotion by sex-of-subject interaction, were significant. Further analyses centered on these two significant

effects. The MANCOVA results are listed in Table 4.

Univariate analyses were then conducted on each of the three dependent variables. For the dependent variable "perceived fairness of promotion," there were two significant effects: promotion and the promotion by sex-of-subject interaction. As the multivariate F 's for these two effects were significant, they were examined in more detail. The source table for "the perceived fairness of the promotion" variable appears in Table 5.

For the dependent variable "perceived qualifications of the nonpromoted employee," there were no significant effects found. The job by promotion interaction and the covariate "job status" did approach significance, but neither effect was significant in the overall MANCOVA (see Table 4). The source table for "the perceived qualifications of the nonpromoted employee" variable appears in Table 6. The lack of significance in both the multivariate and univariate analyses of variance indicate that

Table 4

Multivariate Tests of Significance Using Wilks' Criterion

Effect	df numerator	df denominator	F	Prob > F
Job	6	612	1.42	.2058
Promotion	9	745	3.42	.0004 *
Sex	3	306	1.24	.2964
Job x Promotion	18	866	1.53	.0739
Job x Sex	6	612	.45	.8466
Promotion x Sex	9	745	2.85	.0027 *
Job x Promotion x Sex	18	866	1.05	.4020
Family	3	306	1.05	.3709
Job Status	3	306	2.16	.0929
Year in School	3	306	.41	.7467
Age	3	306	1.88	.1330

Note: Three dependent variables were used in these multivariate tests: perceived fairness of the promotion, perceived qualifications of the promoted employee, and perceived qualifications of the nonpromotee employee. Significant F ratios are signified by asterisks.

Table 5

Source Table for Perceived Fairness of Promotions

Source	df	SS	F	Prob. > F
Job	2	2.425	0.65	.5254
Promotion	3	31.951	5.67	.0009 *
Sex	1	2.047	1.09	.2975
Job x Promotion	6	6.440	.57	.7534
Job x Sex	2	1.032	.27	.7602
Promotion x Sex	3	39.524	7.01	.0001 *
Job x Promo x Sex	6	7.40	.66	.6852
Family	1	.02	.01	.9199
Job Status	1	1.27	.67	.4122
Year in School	1	.63	.34	.5618
Age	1	3.39	1.80	.1804

Notes: Error Mean Square = 1.87977506

Significant F ratios are signified by asterisks.

Table 6
 Source Table for Perceived Qualifications
 of the Nonpromoted Employee

Source	df	SS	F	Prob. > F
Job	2	.055	.02	.9832
Promotion	3	4.094	.84	.4721
Sex	1	1.103	.68	.4102
Job x Promotion	6	19.265	1.98	.0683
Job x Sex	2	.561	.17	.8412
Promotion x Sex	3	4.898	1.01	.3902
Job x Promo x Sex	6	8.632	.89	.5047
Family	1	1.198	.74	.3908
Job Status	1	5.531	3.41	.0658
Year in School	1	.373	.23	.6319
Age	1	2.12	1.31	.2539

Note: Error Mean Square = 1.62219502

subjects' perceptions of the nonpromoted employees' qualifications were similar. The means for the nonpromoted employees' qualification ratings for the four promotion levels appear in Table 7.

For the dependent variable "perceived qualifications of the promoted employee," there were three significant univariate effects: the job main effect, the job by promotion by sex-of-subject interaction, and the job status covariate. Again, however, the multivariate F 's for these three effects were not significant (see Table 4). The source table for "the perceived qualifications of the promoted employee" variable appears in Table 8. The lack of significant multivariate F ratios for these three effects precludes their individual interpretation. Based on the MANCOVA results, the subjects' perceptions of the promoted employees' qualifications appear to be similar. This is demonstrated more clearly by an examination of the cell means appearing in Table 9. It should be noted that the univariate F ratios for the promotion by sex-of-subject interaction approached significance.

Table 7

Subjects' Ratings of
Nonpromoted Employees' Qualifications for the
Four Promotion Levels

		Males	=	Females
Males	\bar{x}	6.73		6.96
over	S.D.	1.60		1.06
Males				
<hr/>				
Males	\bar{x}	7.13		7.12
over	S.D.	1.30		1.36
Females				
<hr/>				
Females	\bar{x}	6.98		6.97
over	S.D.	1.22		1.29
Males				
<hr/>				
Females	\bar{y}	7.30		6.90
over	S.D.	1.27		1.13
Females				
<hr/>				

Note: A higher mean denotes perceptions of higher qualifications for the nonpromoted employee.

Table 8

Source Table for Perceived Qualifications
of the Promoted Employee

Source	df	SS	F	Prob. > F
Job	2	9.662	3.29	.0386 *
Promotion	3	4.756	1.08	.3578
Sex	1	.201	.14	.7115
Job x Promotion	6	13.876	1.58	.1539
Job x Sex	2	1.92	.65	.5208
Promotion x Sex	3	10.166	2.31	.0766
Job x Promo x Sex	6	20.354	2.31	.0338 *
Familiv	1	3.433	2.34	.1272
Job Status	1	7.482	5.10	.0247 *
Year in School	1	.077	.05	.8187
Age	1	1.821	1.24	.2663

Note: Error Mean Square = 1.62218502

Table 9

Subjects' Ratings of
Promoted Employees' Qualifications for the
Four Promotion Levels

		Males	=	Females
Males	\bar{x}	6.95	=	7.39
over	S.D.	1.18	=	1.19
Males				
<hr/>				
Males	\bar{x}	7.18	=	7.03
over	S.D.	1.40	=	1.40
Females				
<hr/>				
Females	\bar{x}	7.21	=	7.63
over	S.D.	1.13	=	1.13
Males				
<hr/>				
Females	\bar{x}	7.33	=	7.03
over	S.D.	1.32	=	1.26
Females				
<hr/>				

Note: A higher mean denotes a perception of higher qualifications for the promoted employee.

The promotion by sex-of-subject interaction in the "perceived fairness of promotion" variable was broken down into the simple main effects of promotion at the two levels of sex of the subject. Both the simple main effect of promotions for males and the simple main effect of promotions for females were significant, and their source tables are listed in Tables 10 and 11, respectively. Simple comparisons for the two simple main effects were conducted using the Newman-Keuls procedure. Results of the simple comparisons for both simple main effects appear in Table 12. In the "perceived fairness of the promotion" variable, males rated only one promotion significantly different from the others; the promotions of females over males were perceived as less fair than all of the other promotions. For female subjects the promotions of males over females were seen as less fair than the other three promotion situations. A graph of the promotion by sex-of-subject interaction for the "perceived fairness of the promotion" variable appears in Figure 1.

The main effect of promotion was significant.

Table 10

Source Table for the Simple Main Effect of Promotions for Males

Source	df	SS	F	Prob. > F
Promotion	3	28.31	5.02	.0022 *
Family	1	.55	.28	.5962
Job Status	1	.70	.36	.5500
Year in School	1	2.91	1.50	.2225
Age	1	4.80	2.47	.1181

Note: The error mean square from the overall ANOVA for the variable "perceptions of fairness of the promotion", (i.e., 1.87977506), was used to form the F ratios.

Table 11

Source Table for the Simple Main Effect of Promotions for Females

Source	df	SS	F	Prob. > F
Promotion	3	40.13	7.12	.0001 *
Family	1	.38	.20	.6417
Job Status	1	.11	.06	.8006
Year in School	1	.80	.43	.5003
Age	1	.02	.01	.9188

Note: The error mean square from the overall ANOVA for the variable "perceptions of fairness of the promotion", (i.e., 1.87977506), was used to form the F ratios.

Table 12

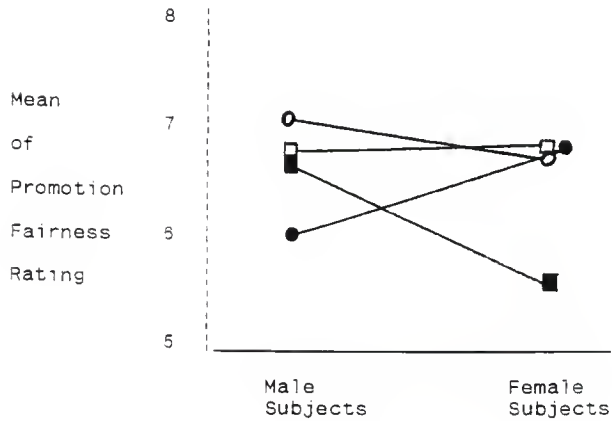
Means and Standard Deviations of Subjects' Ratings of
Promotion Fairness for the Four Promotion Levels

		Males / over Males	Males / over Females	Females / over Males	Females / over Females
Males: \bar{x}	6.79	6.75	6.04 *	7.16	
S.D.	1.2	1.34	1.63	1.37	
<hr/>					
Females: \bar{x}	6.84	5.67 *	6.83	6.79	
S.D.	1.21	1.69	1.08	1.18	

Note: An asterisk denotes which mean is significantly different from the other means for that particular sex. Also, a higher mean denotes perceptions of a fairer promotion.

Figure 1

Promotion by Sex-of-Subject Interaction



Key:

- Promotion of a male over a male
- Promotion of a male over a female
- Promotion of a female over a male
- Promotion of a female over a female

Simple comparisons of the means were conducted using the Newman-Keuls procedure. The results of these comparisons are listed in Table 13. These results must be qualified in light of the promotion by sex-of-subject interaction. The effect of the subjects' sex helps account for the lower ratings of perceptions of fairness for the promotions of females over males and for males over females.

Four covariates were included in the analyses: age of subject, year of study, perceived status of the job in question, and whether the subject had a family member associated with the job in question. None of the four covariates were found to be significant in the overall MANCOVA (see Table 4). The lack of significance in the MANCOVA indicates that the subjects' status with regard to a particular covariate did not affect their ratings of the promotions' fairness, nor of the candidates' qualifications.

Eight a priori predictions were made in this study. First, it was expected that the promotion of a woman over a man in a masculine-stereotyped job would be rated by both sexes as fairer than the

Table 13

Means Used in the
Simple Comparisons for the Promotion Main Effect
on the "Perceptions of Promotion Fairness" Variable

Promotion	N	Mean	Grouping
Female over Female	34	6.98	A
Male over Male	34	6.32	A, B
Female over Male	34	6.43	B, C
Male over Female	34	6.21	C

Note: Means with the same letter are not significantly different. Also, a higher mean denotes perceptions of a fairer promotion.

promotion of a man over a woman in a feminine-stereotyped job. Although the job by promotion interaction was not significant with an alpha level of .05, it did approach significance ($p = .0739$); see Table 4. Student's t tests were conducted for each sex, however, to test for a difference in the means of these two cells. The means involved in this prediction appear in Table 14. Although male subjects rated the promotion of a female over a male for the job of police detective as being slightly less fair than the promotion of a male over a female for the job of childrens' section librarian, the means were not significantly different ($t = 1.19$, $df = 26$, $p > .05$). For females, the direction of the difference in means was opposite. Females rated the promotion of a female over a male for the job of police detective as being slightly fairer than the promotion of a male over a female for the job of childrens' section librarian, but again the difference was not significant ($t = 1.39$, $df = 26$, $p > .05$). The results do not support the prediction that the promotion of a female over a

Table 14

Perceived Fairness of the
Promotion of a Female over a Male
for the Job of Police Detective
Compared to the Perceived Fairness of the
Promotion of a Male over a Female
for the Job of Childrens' Section Librarian

		Female Police Officer over Male Police Officer	=	Male Librarian over Female Librarian
Male Subjects	\bar{x} S.D.	5.98 1.97	=	6.80 1.68
Female Subjects	\bar{x} S.D.	6.65 1.02	=	5.80 2.06
Mean of Both Sexes	\bar{x}	6.32	=	6.30

Note: A higher mean denotes perceptions of a fairer promotion.

male for the job of police detective would be viewed by both sexes as fairer than the promotion of a male over a female for the job of childrens' section librarian.

The second prediction was that both sexes would perceive the promotion of a man over a woman for the job of police detective as less fair than the promotion of a woman over a man for the job of childrens' section librarian. The results for this prediction were mixed. The means involved in the student's t tests for this prediction appear in Table 15. The female subjects did indeed rate the promotion of a man over a woman in the masculine-stereotyped job significantly lower (less fair) ($t = 2.88$, $df = 26$, $p < .05$) than the promotion of a woman over a man in the feminine-stereotyped job. Omega squared for this comparison was .21, indicating that twenty-one percent of the total variance in this comparison can be accounted for by the experimental treatment. Keppel (1982) discusses a rough scale with which to evaluate the size of an estimate of omega squared. According to this scale, a value of .15 or greater

Table 15

Perceived Fairness of the
Promotion of a Male over a Female
for the Job of Police Detective
Compared to the Perceived Fairness of the
Promotion of a Female over a Male
for the Job of Childrens' Section Librarian

		Male Police Officer over Female Police Officer		Female Librarian over Male Librarian
Male	\bar{x}	7.03	>	5.71
Subjects	S.D.	1.19		1.73
<hr/>				
Female	\bar{x}	5.50	<	6.92
Subjects	S.D.	1.34		1.26
<hr/>				

Note: A higher mean denotes perceptions of a fairer promotion.

is suggestive of a "large" effect. The male subjects' fairness ratings for the two promotion situations were also significantly different ($F = 2.44$, $df = 26$, $p < .05$, $\omega^2 = .15$), but the direction of the difference was opposite to that predicted. Males rated the promotion of a man over a woman for the job of police detective significantly higher (fairer) than the promotion of a woman over a man for the job of childrens' section librarian. The second prediction was, therefore, only supported by the female subjects. It is noteworthy that the male subjects' ratings not only failed to support the second prediction, but in fact were in direct opposition to it. This will be examined further in the discussion section.

The third prediction was that females would perceive the promotions, with the exception of the condition in which women were promoted over men, as less fair than men would. An examination of the simple main effects of sex at the four levels of promotion demonstrate that the prediction was only partially correct. Males' and females' mean

fairness ratings for all four promotion situations appear in Table 16. The simple main effect of sex for the promotion of a male over male was not significant ($F = .013$; $df = 1,78$; $p > .05$). The simple main effect of sex for the promotion of a female over a female, was also nonsignificant ($F = 1.38$; $df = 1,78$; $p > .05$).

The simple main effect of sex for the promotion of a male over a female, however, was significant ($F = 10.00$; $df = 1,78$; $p < .004$; $\omega^2 = .10$). Comparison of the two means demonstrated that males rated this promotion situation as fairer than did females. The simple main effect of sex for the promotion of a female over a male was also significant ($F = 4.38$; $df = 1,78$; $p < .041$; $\omega^2 = .07$), but the difference in these two means was in the opposite direction. For these promotions, males' ratings of fairness were lower (i.e., less fair) than females' ratings of fairness. The results supported the third prediction for only one of the four promotion situations: a male promoted over a female. According to the rough scale mentioned by Reppel

Table 16

Simple Main Effect of Sex for the Four Promotions
for the Variable "Perceived Fairness of the Promotion"

	Female Subjects			Male Subjects	
Promotions:					
Male over a	\bar{x}	6.84	=		6.79
Male	S.D.	1.21			1.20
<hr/>					
Female over a	\bar{x}	6.79	=		7.16
Female	S.D.	1.18			1.37
<hr/>					
Male over a	\bar{x}	5.67	<		6.75
Female	S.D.	1.70			1.34
<hr/>					
Female over a	\bar{x}	6.83			6.04
Male	S.D.	1.08			1.63
<hr/>					

Note: A higher mean denotes a perception of a fairer promotion.

(1982), a value of omega squared between .06 and .14 suggests a "medium" effect. The estimates of omega squared for these two simple main effects reflect the variation explained by the treatment (i.e., sex of the subjects.)

The fourth prediction proposed that females would perceive the promotion of a male over a female as being less fair than any of the other three promotion possibilities. This prediction was supported by examination of the simple main effect of promotion for females ($F = 7.12$; $df = 3,160$; $p < .0001$; omega squared = .11). Newman-Keuls comparisons demonstrated that females' fairness ratings of a promotion of a male over a female were lower (i.e., less fair) than all of the other promotions. Females' mean fairness ratings for each of the promotions appear in Tables 12 and 16.

The fifth prediction proposed that, for the job of police officer, male subjects would perceive the promotion of a female over a male as less fair than the promotion of a male over a female. Male subjects' fairness ratings for the promotion of a policeman over a policewoman ($M = 7.08$, $SD = 1.19$)

were higher (i.e., fairer) than for the promotion of a policewoman over a policeman ($M = 5.98$, $SD = 1.97$). This difference, however, was not significant ($F = 3.25$; $df = 1,26$; $p > .05$).

The sixth prediction was that, for the job of childrens' section librarian, both male and female subjects would perceive the promotion of a male over a female as less fair than the promotion of a female over a male. For males the mean fairness ratings of the promotion of a male librarian over a female librarian were higher (i.e., fairer) than for the promotion of a female librarian over a male librarian. This difference, however, was not significant ($F = 2.83$; $df = 1,26$; $p > .05$). Nor was the prediction supported for females ($F = 3.00$; $df = 1,26$; $p > .05$), whose mean fairness ratings for the promotion of a male librarian over a female librarian were lower (i.e., less fair) than for the promotion of a female librarian over a male librarian. The means used in these comparisons appear in Table 17.

The seventh prediction was that there would be no difference in female subjects' and male

Table 17

Perceptions of Fairness for the
Promotion of a Male Librarian over a Female Librarian
Compared to the Perceptions of Fairness for the
Promotion of a Female Librarian over a Male Librarian

		Male Librarian over a Female Librarian	=	Female Librarian over a Male Librarian
Male	\bar{x}	6.90		5.71
Subjects	S.D.	1.68		1.73
<hr/>				
Female	\bar{x}	5.80	=	6.92
Subjects	S.D.	2.06		1.26
<hr/>				

Note: A higher mean denotes the perception of
a fairer promotion.

subjects' qualification ratings for the promoted employees, excluding those situations where a woman is promoted over a man. For the "perceived qualifications of the promoted employee" variable, there was no significant main effect for sex-of-subject. The promotion by sex-of-subject interaction did approach significance, but failed to meet the a priori .05 alpha level (see Table 3). The means and standard deviations for the males' and females' qualification ratings for the promoted employees appear in Table 9.

The eighth prediction was that there would be no difference in female subjects' and male subjects' qualification ratings for the nonpromoted employees, except for those promotion situations in which women were promoted over men. Neither the main effect of sex-of-subject, nor the promotion by sex-of-subject interaction, was significant (see Table 6). The means and standard deviations for the males' and females' qualification ratings for the nonpromoted employees appear in Table 7.

In addition to these eight specific predictions, five questions were asked to tap the

subjects' feelings toward quotas, affirmative action programs, and sexual discrimination in employment situations. These five questions are listed in Appendix I. For each question, a Student's t test was conducted to detect if males and females differed significantly in their opinions.

For the first question regarding the extent to which sexual quotas should be used in promotions, the males' and females' ratings were not significantly different ($t = .47$, $df = 334$). The second question was the same as the first, except that it concerned sexual quotas for use in hiring people rather than for promotions. The results were also similar. The difference between the males' ratings and the females' ratings was not significant ($t = 1.06$, $df = 334$). The means used in the comparisons for these two questions appear in Table 18.

The third question asked the subjects how much discrimination they thought women had faced in employment situations during the last ten years. Comparing the male subjects' ratings with the

Table 13

Comparison of Males' and Females' Ratings
of Whether Quotas Should Be Used in
Promoting and Hiring Employees

		Males	=	Females
Promoting	\bar{x}	3.17	=	3.10
	S.D.	2.20		2.00
<hr/>				
Hiring	\bar{x}	3.23	=	2.99
	S.D.	2.10		1.98
<hr/>				

Note: The ratings were based on a 9-point Likert scale (1-never, 9-always).

female subjects' ratings resulted in a significant difference ($t = 4.81$, $df = 334$). The males' lower ratings indicate that they believed women have faced less discrimination in the last ten years compared with the females' beliefs. The means used in this comparison appear in Table 19.

The fourth question asked the subjects how much progress they thought women had made in employment during the last ten years. There was no significant difference ($t = .79$, $df = 334$) between the males subjects' ratings and the female subjects' ratings. The means used in this comparison appear in Table 19. For both the third and fourth questions, the subjects' ratings were above 6.0. This suggests that, although there may be some differences in males' and females' beliefs concerning the employment situation for women during the last ten years, both sexes believe that women have faced sizeable discrimination during those years. More hopeful, both sexes agree that women have made progress ($M = 7.19$) in employment over the last ten years.

The fifth question asked subjects how much

Table 19

Comparison of Males' and Females' Ratings
Concerning Employment of Women
During the Last Ten Years

Question: During the last ten years, how much have women been discriminated against in employment situations?

	Males	=	Females
\bar{x}	3.17		3.10
S.D.	2.20		2.00

Note: The ratings were based on a 9-point Likert scale (1-none, 9-a lot)..c)

Question: How much progress have women made in employment during the last ten years?

	Males	=	Females
\bar{x}	7.24		7.14
S.D.	1.24		1.25

Note: The ratings were based on a 9-point Likert scale (1-no progress, 9-much progress).

they thought affirmative action programs or quota systems would affect them during the next ten years. There was no significant difference ($t = .74$, $df = 334$) in male subjects' and female subjects' ratings (see Table 20.)

Discussion

A major thrust of this research was to test whether there was a double standard in attitudes toward affirmative action and discrimination in employment promotions. Specifically, it was expected that subjects would see the promotion of a woman over a man in a masculine-stereotyped job as fairer than the promotion of a man over a woman in a feminine-stereotyped job. This double standard did not emerge, however, as neither sex rated one promotion significantly different from the other. Nevertheless, a similar comparison did yield partial support for this double standard. When fairness ratings for the promotion of a man over a woman for the job of police detective were compared with those of the promotion of a woman over a man

Table 20

Comparison of Males' and Females' Ratings

Question: In the next ten years, do you feel you will be affected by affirmative action programs or quota systems? (1-not affected. 9-affected a lot)

	Males	=	Females
\bar{x}	5.94		6.09
S.D.	2.04		1.65

for the job of childrens' section librarian, the female subjects rated the former promotion as less fair. This suggests that women may be more tolerant of discrimination against "minority" men than they are of discrimination against "minority" women.

An unexpected result, however, was that the male subjects perceived the promotion of a man over a woman for the job of police detective as significantly fairer than the promotion of a woman over a man for the job of childrens' section librarian. This suggests that men may also hold a double standard concerning sexually-based employment discrimination, albeit in favor of men. This is somewhat alarming when one considers that men currently dominate our managerial and governmental institutions. This may explain why womens' quest for equality in the workplace has been a very long battle, and indeed continues to be.

A second major thrust of this research concerned womens' feelings toward the employment system in general and promotions specifically. It

was expected that women would perceive the promotions, with the exception of a female promoted over a male, as less fair than would men. In addition, the promotions of a male over a female were expected to be perceived by women as less fair than the other promotions. Such results would have supported the idea that women are more distrustful of employment practices in general and more sensitive to perceived discrimination involved in promotions. These predictions were only partially supported by the results. Female subjects did rate the promotions of men over women as less fair than did the male subjects. Indeed, of all the promotions, females rated the promotions of men over women as the least fair. Females rated the promotions of men over men and women over women, however, about the same as did the male subjects.

It seems that if women are indeed more distrustful than men of employment practices, such distrust may be apparent only when there is an identifiable cue (i.e., difference in the promotion candidates' sex) to elicit a negative response towards the particular employment practice (i.e.,

promotions). This is also consistent with the fact that female subjects rated the promotions of men over women as being the least fair of all the promotion situations.

It also seems that men may be as sensitive to discrimination in promotion situations as women are. The simple main effect of promotions for males showed that males rated all promotions, except for promotions of a woman over a man, at about the same level of fairness. The promotions of a woman over a man were perceived by males as the least fair of all the promotions. When the promotion candidates were of the same sex, male subjects did not differ from female subjects in their perceptions of fairness. Moreover, male subjects' fairness ratings for promotions of women over men ($M = 5.04$, $SD = 1.63$) did not differ significantly from female subjects' fairness ratings for promotions of men over women ($M = 5.67$, $SD = 1.7$). A Student's t test for the two means was not significant: $t = .38$, $df = 83$. If women were indeed more sensitive than men to discrimination in promotion situations, their

fairness ratings for promotions in which a woman was "defeated" by a man should be lower than men's fairness ratings of promotions in which a man was "defeated" by a woman. This lack of a significant difference was not an expected result.

Although both sexes may be similar in their sensitivity to discrimination in promotions, this does not necessarily mean that their fairness ratings were motivated by the same factors. More specifically, it is possible that women rated promotions of men over women as the least fair because they perceived this as a continuance of years of unfair discrimination against women by the work establishment that is dominated by men. Women may feel that this male-dominated establishment is unfair because it tries to keep women in a lower economic "class" than men.

Men, on the other hand, may have rated promotions of women over men as the least fair because they perceived the promotions as being due to preferential treatment that is required or encouraged by the government. Men may view such preferential treatment as unfair because it can

reduce the effect of employee merit in the attainment of a particular job, or may compel an organization to give some jobs to less qualified persons. Unfortunately, the present design did not measure subjects' rationales for their specific ratings, so interpretation of these results is purely speculative. Future studies of discrimination in promotions should examine the dynamics of such results.

These particular results are important for employers. Employers should be aware that when one sex is promoted over the other, the likelihood of the nonpromoted person perceiving the promotion as less fair than usual may be greater. In these situations the employer should take extra precautions in documenting the reasons for promoting one person over the other. This should be done because nonpromoted persons may be more likely to sue employers for unfair sexual discrimination if they feel that the promotion was not as fair as they would have liked. When one sex is promoted over another, the employer should also meet with the nonpromoted person and discuss the

promotion. In such a discussion, the employer could let the nonpromoted person know the exact reasons why he or she was not promoted. The chances of future promotions, and possible ways of increasing those chances, could also be discussed. Such openness may help alleviate any perceptions of unfairness that the nonpromoted person may have concerning the promotion. This is important to the employer, as it may decrease the likelihood of ill will and negative responses (e.g., sabotage, increased absences, etc.) on the part of the nonpromoted employee who may feel that he or she was unfairly denied a promotion.

Two additional predictions focused on the job's sex stereotypes. It was predicted that, in the masculine-stereotyped job, male subjects would perceive the promotion of a woman over a man as less fair than the promotion of a man over a woman. A similar result was found by Muchinsky and Harris (1977). They found that male raters perceived male applicants as more suitable than female applicants for a mechanical engineering job. This prediction was consistent with the theory that men perceive

women as deviating from the role of model employee in masculine-stereotyped jobs (Lord, 1986; O'Leary, 1973). However, the results did not support this prediction. Consequently, the results did not support the theory mentioned above as a possible reason for the employment discrimination women have faced in male-dominated jobs.

The opposite effect was expected in the feminine-stereotyped job. Specifically, it was predicted that in the feminine-stereotyped job, both sexes would perceive the promotion of a man over a woman as less fair than the promotion of a woman over a man. This was not supported for either sex, however. This was inconsistent with the finding of Muchinsky and Harris (1977) that both sexes rated females as more suitable than males for a job in a child day-care center (a feminine-stereotyped job.)

As reported previously, the fairness ratings for the male subjects did not support the prediction. In fact, in the feminine-stereotyped job, males' fairness ratings for the promotion of a man over a woman were slightly higher or fairer

(although nonsignificantly higher) than the promotion of a woman over a man. This was in direct opposition to the hypothesis that men would see the promotion of a man over a woman in a feminine-stereotyped job as unfair sexual discrimination against women. Nor did it support prior research that showed that some men tend to view the entrance of other men into feminine-stereotyped jobs as improper, or that the masculinity of men trying to enter feminine-stereotyped jobs would be questioned by other men (Levinson, 1975). This finding is also inconsistent with the findings of Muchinsky and Harris (1977) that male raters perceived male applicants to be significantly less suitable than female applicants for a feminine-stereotyped child day-care center job, and that male raters perceived those male applicants as less suitable for the job than did female raters.

A possible reason for the inconsistencies discussed above may be due to changes in the attitudes of American men toward men who work in sexually-incongruent jobs. To the extent that

American men have become more accepting of effeminate men, they may perceive promotions of males in feminine-stereotyped jobs as being fairer than similar promotions in previous years. To the extent that American men's idea of the "model" American man has changed from a rough and rugged individual to a more sensitive, caring, emotional or "effeminate" individual, differences in males' attitudes toward men who work in sexually-incongruent jobs would have occurred during previous years.

Another reason for the inconsistencies discussed above may be due to the perspective of the raters. The raters used in the research mentioned above were making judgments of applicants before employee selection had taken place, and were assuming a role equivalent to a manager making a selection decision. The subjects in this thesis, however, are making judgments after the selection has taken place, and are more comparable to an employee of the organization or an average citizen who has acquired information about the promotion. It makes sense that a manager, based on his or her

sex-role stereotypes. may deem an applicant more suitable for a particular job, while an employee or an onlooker may deem the promotion as less fair because the manager used stereotypes in the selection process.

It should be noted that some discrepancies were anticipated between the present study and Levinson's (1975) study because Levinson's study used feminine-stereotyped jobs that may be perceived as "less professional" than a childrens' section librarian. These jobs were secretary, receptionist, dental assistant, nurse's aide, waitress, and typist. All of these jobs require less education, and offer lower pay, than a childrens' section librarian of a large public library. Before this experiment began, the possibility that feelings toward sexually-based employment discrimination may differ depending on the professional status of the job was noted. Job status was accordingly used as a covariate to control for such an effect. Job status did not emerge, however, as a significant covariate (see Table 5). This lack of a significant covariate

indicates that perceptions of fairness concerning promotions similar to those in this experiment may not differ regardless of the perceived status of the job in question.

The results for those predictions concerning the subjects' fairness ratings were mixed. Some were supported, while others were not. Some results were the exact opposite of what was expected. When examined as a whole, however, the results are internally consistent. Male subjects repeatedly perceived the promotions of a woman over a man as the least fair of the promotions, while they did not perceive a significant difference in the fairness of the other three promotions. Women, on the other hand, perceived the promotions of a man over a woman as the least fair of the promotions. Similar to the males' data, female subjects did not rate the fairness of the other three promotions as being significantly different from each other. The most parsimonious explanation of these results is that each sex favors its own kind for promotions regardless of the sex-stereotype of the job. This is different from

what was expected, and from previous research, but is a very intriguing and challenging theory.

Research on distributive justice and procedural justice is relevant to the present study. As defined by Greenberg (1986), distributive justice refers to the fairness of outcomes received relative to the work performed. Procedural justice refers to the fairness of the procedures used in determining the outcomes. In one study, Greenberg (1987) hypothesized that outcomes based on fair procedures would be perceived as fairer than outcomes based on unfair procedures. His results, however, demonstrated that the perceptions of fairness were significantly different only when the outcomes were low. This is consistent with the results of the present study. Regardless of whether or not gender discrimination occurred in the promotions, males and females only rated the promotions in which their particular sex did not prevail (i.e., low outcome) as being less fair. Future research on attitudes toward gender discrimination should incorporate the growing body of research concerning distributive and procedural

justice.

The two final predictions of this thesis concerned the subjects' perceptions of the candidates' qualifications. It was expected that female subjects would not perceive the promoted candidates as less qualified than the male subjects perceived them. It was also expected that female subjects would not perceive the nonpromoted candidates as more qualified than the male subjects perceived them. The results supported these predictions, as there were no significant differences between males and females concerning the qualifications of the promoted candidates or the nonpromoted candidates. This is consistent with the finding of Sherman et al. (1993) that female subjects did not differ from male subjects in their perceptions of fairness concerning promotions in which race was a salient factor.

The two final predictions, if restated to conform to the results of this study concerning the fairness of the promotions, still do not change the discussion. The initial reasoning of the predictions was that if one sex perceived

particular promotions as being less fair than the other sex perceived them, then the first sex might perceive the promoted candidate as less qualified and the nonpromoted candidate as more qualified than the latter sex perceives them. If this idea had been supported, then females, compared to males, would have rated the promoted employee as less qualified and the nonpromoted employee as more qualified in the promotions of men over women. Likewise, males, compared to females, would have rated the promoted employee as less qualified and the nonpromoted employee as more qualified in the promotions of women over men. Neither prediction was borne out, however. These data revealed no significant main effect for sex-of-subject, nor promotion by sex-of-subject interaction, in the univariate analyses for the two qualification variables. The results suggest that differences between the sexes in perceptions of promotion fairness may not be related to the sexes' perceptions of candidate qualifications.

None of the four covariates included in the analyses performed in this thesis had a significant

effect on subjects' scores on the dependent measures. This suggests that persons' perceptions of promotion fairness and promotion candidates' qualifications are not a function of age. Of course, the age range of the sample used in this study was restricted. Therefore, the results concerning age should not be generalized beyond the normal age range of college students.

It must be kept in mind that the subjects in this experiment were all college students. It is possible that persons not involved in collegiate affairs, or who have not attended college, may rate these promotion variables differently. For such a sample, age may indeed play a role in their perceptions of promotion fairness and promotion candidates' qualifications.

The results also suggest that a person's year in college does not have an effect on their perceptions of promotion fairness nor promotion candidates' qualifications. A college sample was used in this study because they are choosing and preparing for their careers, and thus job discrimination should be very important to them.

In addition, college students were readily available for this study. This nonsignificant covariate suggests that college students' perceptions of promotion fairness and promotions candidates' qualifications do not differ as a function of how far along the students are in their preparation for a career. It would be interesting to compare college students' perceptions of these variables with the perceptions of persons who have entered a career job. It is possible that, confronted with the reality of the workplace, these working persons may change their views toward employment discrimination.

A word of caution should be mentioned. It was assumed in this study that the subjects would view the promotion candidates as being white. This would be expected because the vast majority of the raters were white, and because they attended a university in central Kansas where the proportion of blacks to whites in the population is very low. To the extent that any subjects viewed a promotion candidate as being nonwhite (or a member of a minority group other than female), there is a

possibility of some bias in the results.

It should also be mentioned that the coefficient alphas for the three dependent variables were not high by traditional standards (Heilman and Herlihy, 1984.) The reliability coefficient for the composite measure "perceived fairness of the promotion" was .86. Reliability coefficients for the composites "perceived qualifications of the promoted employee" and "perceived qualifications of the nonpromoted employee" were .65 and .62, respectively. If the measures had been more reliable (demonstrated by higher coefficient alphas), the increase in reliability would have decreased the error terms used and increased the power of the significance tests. Therefore, the significance tests are probably more conservative than they would be if the measures for the dependent variables were more reliable.

There was no disagreement between males and females concerning whether sexual quotas should be used in the promoting or hiring of employees. Even more interesting, perhaps, is the finding that

subjects were generally against the use of quotas in both promotions and hirings. This is interesting in light of the results of Sherman et al. (1983), whose similar experiment manipulated the stimulus persons' race, rather than sex, in different promotion situations. In their study, blacks tended to favor preferential treatment for minorities in the workplace, whereas whites did not. The vast majority of women in this thesis were white. Perhaps white women, a recognized minority, view preferential treatment in employment differently than the black minority. In general, the cultures of these two minorities are very different. The intervening sociocultural mechanisms affecting persons' views toward preferential treatment in the workplace would be a worthy area for further research.

When questioned about how much discrimination they felt women had faced in the last ten years, the subjects differed in their responses. While both sexes seemed to feel that women had faced considerable discrimination over the last decade, the male subjects had lower scores for this

question. This suggests that males did not feel that women have faced as much discrimination over the last ten years as females felt they have. Nevertheless, both sexes felt that women have made much progress in employment over the last ten years. Finally, males and females both felt that they would be affected by affirmative action or quota systems during the next ten years.

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Appendix A

Scale Used to Measure Perceived
Sex-stereotypes of the Jobs

Passive	Very aggressive
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Very emotional	Not at all emotional
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Not at all competitive	Very competitive
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Not able to make decisions	Makes decisions easily
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Not at all self-confident	Very self-confident
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Very gentle	Very rough
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Very intuitive	Very logical
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Soft	Tough
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Easily expresses tender feelings	Does not express tender feelings at all
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Enjoys art and literature	Does not enjoy art or literature at all
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	
Warm	Cold
1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9	

Appendix B

Three sex-stereotyped jobs used with scale.

Educational Counselor

Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options.

Police Detective

Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests.

Librarian

Librarians select, purchase, and process materials; publicize services, and provide reference help to groups and individuals.

Appendix C

Descriptions of Stimulus Persons
and the Measures of Qualifications

Male Police Officer (1)

George Simpson, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. His final grade point average was 3.72. He worked to keep his grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school he was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, he learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation he moved to Cleveland, where he worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. He enjoyed his work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that his true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 he went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training,

he became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working. Due to his excellent work, his supervisor nominated him for "Officer of the Year" after giving him above-average ratings on his last performance appraisal.

How qualified is George Simpson for his current job of uniformed police officer?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is George Simpson for the position of uniformed police officer?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of uniformed police officer?

Do not match Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Police Detective

Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests.

How qualified is George Simpson for the job of police detective?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is George Simpson for the position of police detective?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of police detective?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Male Police Officer (2)

Paul Myers, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B. S. in both sociology and criminal justice. He made the Dean's List most semesters and his final grade point average was 3.48. He was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government his sophomore year, and president of it his junior year. During his last two years of college, he worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation he moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here he worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training to become a police officer in 1982, he joined the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working as a uniformed police officer. His partner has the highest trust in him during emergencies, and has often commented to others how well he handles crisis situations. On all of his performance appraisals, he has received above average ratings.

How qualified is Paul Myers for his current job of uniformed police officer?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Paul Myers for the position of uniformed police officer?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of uniformed police officer?

Do not match Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Police Detective

Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests.

How qualified is Paul Myers for the job of police detective?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Paul Myers for the position of police detective?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of police detective?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Female Police Officer (2)

Cynthia Davis, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B. S. in both sociology and criminal justice. She made the Dean's List most semesters and her final grade point average was 2.48. She was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government her sophomore year, and president of it her junior year. During her last two years of college, she worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation she moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here she worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training to become a police officer in 1992, she joined the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working as a uniformed police officer. Her partner has the highest trust in her during emergencies, and has often commented to others how well she handles crisis situations. On all of her performance appraisals, she has received above average ratings.

How qualified is Cynthia Davis for her current job of uniformed police officer?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Cynthia Davis for the position of uniformed police officer?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of uniformed police officer?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Police Detective

Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests.

How qualified is Cynthia Davis for the job of police detective?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Cynthia Davis for the position of police detective?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of police detective?

Do not match Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Female Police Officer (1)

Pam Mitchell, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. Her final grade point average was 3.72. She worked to keep her grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school she was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, she learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation she moved to Cleveland, where she worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. She enjoyed her work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that her true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 she went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, she became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working. Due to her excellent work, her supervisor nominated her for "Officer of the Year" after giving her above-average ratings on her last

performance appraisal.

How qualified is Pam Mitchell for her current job of uniformed police officer?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Pam Mitchell for the position of uniformed police officer?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of uniformed police officer?

Do not match Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Police Detective

Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests.

How qualified is Pam Mitchell for the job of police detective?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Pam Mitchell for the position of police detective?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of police detective?

Do not match Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

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Male Educational Counselor (1)

Jack Sinclair, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. His grade point average was 3.41. He then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years he worked on his master's degree, he worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of his good work, the counseling center supervisor asked him to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of his master's. Instead, Jack took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. He has been working there since 1983. He has a good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

How qualified is Jack Sinclair for his current job of educational counselor assistant?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Jack Sinclair for the position of educational counselor assistant?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of educational counselor assistant?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Educational Counselor

Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options.

How qualified is Jack Sinclair for the job of educational counselor?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Jack Sinclair for the position of educational counselor?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of educational counselor?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

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Male Educational Counselor (2)

Michael Pierce, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, he graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During his training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, he learned to communicate well with students. He then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After his first year, he was offered a scholarship for the rest of his graduate studies, because he was at the top in his class. After graduation in 1982, he began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 he began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to him and confiding in him. He has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

How qualified is Michael Pierce for his current job of educational counselor assistant?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Michael Pierce for the position of educational counselor assistant?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of educational counselor assistant?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Educational Counselor

Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options.

How qualified is Michael Pierce for the job of educational counselor?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Michael Pierce for the position of educational counselor?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of educational counselor?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

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Female Educational Counselor (1)

Sharon Malone, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. Her grade point average was 3.41. She then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years she worked on her master's degree, she worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of her good work, the counseling center supervisor asked her to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of her master's. Instead, Sharon took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. She has been working there since 1983. She has good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

How qualified is Sharon Malone for her current job of educational counselor assistant?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Sharon Malone for the position of educational counselor assistant?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of educational counselor

assistant?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Educational Counselor

Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options.

How qualified is Sharon Malone for the job of educational counselor?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Sharon Malone for the position of educational counselor?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of educational counselor?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

111
Female Educational Counselor (2)

Sandra Jones, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, she graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During her training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, she learned to communicate well with students. She then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After her first year, she was offered a scholarship for the rest of her graduate studies, because she was at the top in her class. After graduation in 1982, she began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983, she began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to her and confiding in her. She has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

How qualified is Sandra Jones for her current job of educational counselor assistant?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Sandra Jones for the position of educational counselor assistant?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of educational counselor assistant?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Educational Counselor

Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options.

How qualified is Sandra Jones for the job of educational counselor?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Sandra Jones for the position of educational counselor?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of educational counselor?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Male Librarian (1)

Bob Carlson, age 28, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During his senior year, he served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year he began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently he is working as a library associate in the reference department. He also works as a free-lance writer in his spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago he received his Master of Library Science degree from the University of Oklahoma, where he had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals, he received above-average ratings.

How qualified is Bob Carlson for his current job of library associate?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Bob Carlson for the position of library associate?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of library associate?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Childrens' Section Librarian

The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials; publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals.

How qualified is Bob Carlson for the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Bob Carlson for the position of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Male Librarian (2)

John Williams, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. His undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later he earned his Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on his master's degree, he worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. His supervisor at that library consistently praised him for his organizational skills. In 1981, he began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of his semi-annual performance appraisals, he has received average to above-average ratings.

How qualified is John Williams for his current job of library associate?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is John Williams for the position of library associate?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of library associate?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Childrens' Section Librarian

The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials; publicizes services, and provides reference help to children, groups, and individuals.

How qualified is John Williams for the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is John Williams for the position of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do his credentials match the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Female Librarian (1)

Mary Brock, age 28, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During her senior year, she served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year she began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently she is working as a library associate in the reference department. She also works as a free-lance writer in her spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago she received her Master of Library Science degree from the University of Oklahoma, where she had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals she received above-average ratings.

How qualified is Mary Brock for her current job of library associate?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Mary Brock for the position of library associate?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of library associate?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Childrens' Section Librarian

The librarian of the library's childrens' section selects, purchases, and processes materials; publicizes services, and provides reference help to children, groups, and individuals.

How qualified is Mary Brock for the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Mary Brock for the position of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very comoeent

How well do her credentials match the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Female Librarian (2)

Anne Patterson, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. Her undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later she earned her Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on her master's degree, she worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. Her supervisor at that library consistently praised her for her organizational skills. In 1981, she began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of her semi-annual performance appraisals, she has received average to above-average ratings.

How qualified is Anne Patterson for her current job of library associate?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Anne Patterson for the position of library associate?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of library associate?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Childrens' Section Librarian

The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials; publicizes services, and provides reference help to children, groups, and individuals.

How qualified is Anne Patterson for the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not qualified 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very qualified

How competent is Anne Patterson for the position of librarian of the childrens' section?

Not competent 1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9 Very competent

How well do her credentials match the job of librarian of the childrens' section?

Do not match

Match very well

1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9

Appendix D

Foil Case and Questions

This case arose from a controversial Pennsylvania law concerning ice cream. The case centered around a specific part of the law which stated that "no person or firm shall sell ice cream . . . containing less than eight percent butter-fat." (Butter-fat is the natural fat of milk. Its amount is sometimes used as a measure of the quality of the milk or milk-product.) Under this law, ice cream companies could sell ice cream-like products, but they could not call them "ice cream." In order to be labeled as ice cream, the product had to be at least eight percent butter-fat.

An ice cream company sued the state of Pennsylvania, arguing that the state law was unconstitutional, and therefore illegal. The company gave a number of reasons why it thought the law was wrong. First, "ice cream" is a common name for a number of products, many of which do not contain butter-fat or milk cream. Neither does the name imply that there is

butter-fat or milk cream in it. Since the product is not an imitation for any other type of food, producers and sellers should be able to call it ice cream.

The ice cream company also argued that the law was purely arbitrary (i.e., without reasonable or logical basis). In essence, the state legislature selected one variety of the product (i.e., ice cream containing butter-fat) and then declared that all other varieties of the same product could not be sold under the name of "ice cream," when they had been sold under that name for over a hundred years.

Finally, the ice cream company argued, when manufacturers are deprived of the name under which their product is always bought and sold, they are deprived of the right to sell it. Thus, their business is injured, and their property, or right to sell it, is taken.

The attorneys for the state argued that states have the right to regulate the sale of products in order to prevent fraud and protect the public health. This regulation was proper, according to the state, because the ordinary purchaser at a store would assume that ice cream did contain cream (and thus, butter-fat). Therefore, the law was necessary to prevent the buyer from being misled. Also, the state argued, the standard of eight percent butter-fat is not arbitrary, since numerous

14. Do you think the requirement of butter-fat in ice cream helped "prevent fraud"?

yes 1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9 no

15. Do you think the requirement of butter-fat in ice cream helped "protect the public health"?

no 1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9 yes

16. Do you think the name "ice cream" implies that there is butter-fat or milk cream in the product?

yes 1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9 no

17. Assuming that the state law is held to be legal, do you think an ice cream company that only puts seven percent butter-fat in their ice cream should be fined or punished?

no 1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9 yes

18. Would you buy an ice cream product if it did not contain butter-fat or milk cream?

yes 1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9 no

19. How do you feel about the following statement?

"When manufacturers are deprived of the name under which their product is always bought and sold, they are deprived of the right to sell it."

not true 1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9 true

Appendix E

Promotion Scenarios

Male Police Officer Promoted
Over a Male Police Officer

(1)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are George Simpson and Paul Myers. They have both worked for the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

George Simpson, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. His final grade point average was 3.72. He worked to keep his grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school he was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, he learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation he moved to Cleveland, where he worked for two years as a counselor for

juvenile delinquents. He enjoyed his work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that his true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 he went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, he became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working. Due to his excellent work, his supervisor nominated him for "Officer of the Year" after giving him above-average ratings on his last performance appraisal.

Paul Myers, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. He made the Dean's List most semesters and his final grade point average was 3.48. He was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government his sophomore year, and president of it his junior year. During his last two years of college, he worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation he moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here he worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, he joined the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working as a uniformed police officer. His partner has the

highest trust in him during emergencies, and has often commented to others how well he handles crisis situations. On all of his performance appraisals, he has received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Mr. Simpson and Mr. Myers were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both George and Paul received serious consideration for the job of police detective, George was ultimately promoted to that position. Paul Myers filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Male Police Officer Promoted

Over a Male Police Officer

(2)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are Paul Myers and George Simpson. They have both worked for the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

Paul Myers, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. He made the Dean's List most semesters and his final grade point average was 3.48. He was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government his sophomore year, and president of it his junior year. During his last two years of college, he worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation he moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here he worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, he joined the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working as a uniformed police officer. His partner has the highest trust in him during emergencies, and has often commented

to others how well he handles crisis situations. On all of his performance appraisals, he has received above-average ratings.

George Simpson, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. His final grade point average was 3.72. He worked to keep his grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school he was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, he learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation he moved to Cleveland, where he worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. He enjoyed his work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that his true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 he went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, he became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working. Due to his excellent work, his supervisor nominated him for "Officer of the Year" after giving him above-average ratings on his last performance appraisal.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Mr. Myers and Mr. Simpson were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Paul and George received serious consideration for the job of police detective, Paul was ultimately promoted to that position. George Simpson filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Male Police Officer Promoted
Over a Female Police Officer

(1)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are George Simpson and Cynthia Davis. They have both been with the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

George Simpson, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. His final grade point average was 3.72. He worked to keep his grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school he was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, he learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation he moved to Cleveland, where he worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. He enjoyed his work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that his true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 he went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, he became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working. Due to his excellent

work, his supervisor nominated him for "Officer of the Year" after giving him above-average ratings on his last performance appraisal.

Cynthia Davis, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. She made the Dean's List most semesters and her final grade point average was 3.48. She was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government her sophomore year, and president of it her junior year. During her last two years of college, she worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation she moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here she worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, she joined the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working as a uniformed police officer. Her partner has the highest trust in her during emergencies, and has often commented to others how well she handles crisis situations. On all of her performance appraisals, she has received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Mr. Simpson and Ms. Davis were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. They both went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both George and Cynthia received serious consideration for the job of police detective, George was ultimately promoted to that position. Cynthia Davis filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because she felt that she had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Male Police Officer Promoted
Over a Female Police Officer

(2)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are Paul Myers and Pam Mitchell. They have both been with the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

Paul Myers, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. He made the Dean's List most semesters and his final grade point average was 3.48. He was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government his sophomore year, and president of it his junior year. During his last two years of college, he worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation he moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here he worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, he joined the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working as a uniformed police officer. His partner has the highest trust in him during emergencies, and has often commented

to others how well he handles crisis situations. On all of his performance appraisals, he has received above-average ratings.

Pam Mitchell, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. Her final grade point average was 3.72. She worked to keep her grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school she was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, she learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation she moved to Cleveland, where she worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. She enjoyed her work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that her true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 she went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, she became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland police department, where she is currently working. Due to her excellent work, her supervisor nominated her for "Officer of the Year" after giving her above-average ratings on her last performance appraisal.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Mr. Myers and Ms. Mitchell were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. They both went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Paul and Pam received serious consideration for the job of police detective, Paul was ultimately promoted to that position. Pam Mitchell filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Female Police Officer Promoted
Over a Male Police Officer

(1)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are Pam Mitchell and Paul Myers. They have both been with the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

Pam Mitchell, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. Her final grade point average was 3.72. She worked to keep her grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school she was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, she learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation she moved to Cleveland, where she worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. She enjoyed her work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that her true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 she went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, she became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working. Due to her

excellent work, her supervisor nominated her for "Officer of the Year" after giving her above-average ratings on her last performance appraisal.

Paul Myers, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. He made the Dean's List most semesters and his final grade point average was 3.48. He was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government his sophomore year, and president of it his junior year. During his last two years of college, he worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation he moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here he worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, he joined the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working as a uniformed police officer. His partner has the highest trust in him during emergencies, and has often commented to others how well he handles crisis situations. On all of his performance appraisals, he has received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Ms. Mitchell and Mr. Myers were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. They both went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Pam and Paul received serious consideration for the job of police detective, Pam was ultimately promoted to that position. Paul Myers filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Female Police Officer Promoted
Over a Male Police Officer

(2)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are Cynthia Davis and George Simpson. They have both been with the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

Cynthia Davis, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. She made the Dean's List most semesters and her final grade point average was 3.48. She was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government her sophomore year, and president of it her junior year. During her last two years of college, she worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation she moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here she worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, she joined the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working as a uniform police officer. Her partner has the highest trust in her during emergencies, and has often commented

to others how well she handles crisis situations. On all of her performance appraisals, she has received above-average ratings.

George Simpson, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. His final grade point average was 3.72. He worked to keep his grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school he was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, he learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation he moved to Cleveland, where he worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. He enjoyed his work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that his true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 he went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, he became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where he is currently working. Due to his excellent work, his supervisor nominated him for "Officer of the Year" after giving him above-average ratings on his last performance appraisal.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Ms. Davis and Mr. Simpson were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. They both went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Cynthia and George received serious consideration for the job of police detective, Cynthia was ultimately promoted to that position. George Simpson filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Female Police Officer Promoted
Over a Female Police Officer

(1)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are Pam Mitchell and Cynthia Davis. They have both worked for the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

Pam Mitchell, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. Her final grade point average was 3.72. She worked to keep her grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school she was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, she learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation she moved to Cleveland, where she worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. She enjoyed her work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that her true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 she went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, she became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working. Due to her

excellent work, her supervisor nominated her for "Officer of the Year" after giving her above-average ratings on her last performance appraisal.

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When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Ms. Mitchell and Ms. Davis were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Pam and Cynthia received serious consideration for the job of police detective, Pam was ultimately promoted to that position. Cynthia Davis filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Female Police Officer Promoted
Over a Female Police Officer

(2)

This court case involves two uniformed police officers in the Cleveland Police Department. The two officers are Cynthia Davis and Pam Mitchell. They have both been with the Cleveland Police Department since 1982.

Cynthia Davis, age 29, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1978 with a B.S. in both sociology and criminal justice. She made the Dean's List most semesters and her final grade point average was 3.48. She was elected vice-president of the Student Association for Good Government her sophomore year, and president of it her junior year. During her last two years of college, she worked for a local attorney doing research work for court cases. After graduation she moved to Ohio to work for the Ohio State Correctional Institution. Here she worked directly with criminals, helping them to make parole and adjust to life after their release from the Institution. After going through Academy training in 1982 to become a police officer, she joined the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working as a uniformed police officer. Her partner has the highest trust in her during emergencies, and has often commented

to others how well she handles crisis situations. On all of her performance appraisals, she has received above-average ratings.

Pam Mitchell, age 27, graduated from the University of Houston in 1980 with a B.S. in sociology. Her final grade point average was 3.72. She worked to keep her grades up, and at the same time, took part in school and civic activities. During school she was a member of the Pre-law Club and worked as a volunteer at the local drug crisis center. As a volunteer at the crisis center, she learned much about different kinds of drugs and their effects. Directly after graduation she moved to Cleveland, where she worked for two years as a counselor for juvenile delinquents. She enjoyed her work as a juvenile counselor, but knew that her true ambition was to work in the police force. In 1982 she went to the police academy for training to be a police officer. After this initial training, she became a uniformed police officer for the Cleveland Police Department, where she is currently working. Due to her excellent work, her supervisor nominated her for "Officer of the Year" after giving her above-average ratings on her last performance appraisal.

When there was an opening for the position of police detective, both Ms. Davis and Ms. Mitchell were considered for the job. Police detectives are plain-clothes investigators who

gather facts and collect evidence for criminal cases. They conduct interviews, examine records, observe the activities of suspects, and participate in raids and arrests. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. Lieutenants John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Cynthia and Pam received serious consideration for the job of police detective, Cynthia was ultimately promoted to that position. Pam Mitchell filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of police detective unfairly.

Male Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Male Educational Counselor Assistant

(1)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Jack Sinclair and Michael Pierce. They have both worked in the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Jack Sinclair, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. His grade point average was 3.41. He then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years he worked on his master's degree, he worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of his good work, the counseling center supervisor asked him to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of his master's. Instead, Jack took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. He has been working there since 1983. He has a good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

Michael Pierce, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in

education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, he graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During his training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, he learned to communicate well with students. He then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After his first year, he was offered a scholarship for the rest of his graduate studies, because he was at the top in his class. After graduation in 1982, he began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 he began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to him and confiding in him. He has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Pierce were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School administrators

John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Jack and Michael received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Jack was ultimately promoted to that position. Michael Pierce filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Male Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Male Educational Counselor Assistant

(2)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Michael Pierce and Jack Sinclair. They have both worked in the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Michael Pierce, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, he graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During his training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, he learned to communicate well with students. He then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After his first year, he was offered a scholarship for the rest of his graduate studies, because he was at the top in his class. After graduation in 1982, he began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 he began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to him and confiding in him. He has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

Jack Sinclair, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. His grade point average was 3.41. He then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years he worked on his master's degree, he worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of his good work, the counseling center supervisor asked him to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of his master's. Instead, Jack took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. He has been working there since 1983. He has a good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Mr. Pierce and Mr. Sinclair were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both Mr. Pierce and Mr. Sinclair went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School

administrators John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Michael and Jack received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Michael was ultimately promoted to that position. Jack Sinclair filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Male Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Female Educational Counselor Assistant

(1)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Jack Sinclair and Sandra Jones. They have both worked for the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Jack Sinclair, age 29, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. His grade point average was 3.41. He then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years he worked on his master's degree, he worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of his good work, the counseling center supervisor asked him to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of his master's. Instead, Jack took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. He has been working there since 1983. He has a good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

Sandra Jones, age 23, earned a bachelor's degree in

education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, she graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During her training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, she learned to communicate well with students. She then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After her first year, she was offered a scholarship for the rest of her graduate studies, because she was at the top in her class. After graduation in 1982, she began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 she began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to her and confiding in her. She has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Mr. Sinclair and Ms. Jones were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School administrators

John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Jack and Sandra received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Jack was ultimately promoted to the position. Sandra Jones filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Male Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Female Educational Counselor Assistant

(2)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Michael Pierce and Sharon Malone. They have both worked in the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Michael Pierce, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, he graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During his training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, he learned to communicate well with students. He then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After his first year, he was offered a scholarship for the rest of his graduate studies, because he was at the top in his class. After graduation in 1982, he began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 he began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to him and confiding in him. He has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

Sharon Malone, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. Her grade point average was 3.41. She then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years she worked on her master's degree, she worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of her good work, the counseling center supervisor asked her to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of her master's. Instead, Sharon took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. She has been working there since 1983. She has good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Mr. Pierce and Ms. Malone were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both Mr. Pierce and Ms. Malone went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School

administrators John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Michael and Sharon received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Michael was ultimately promoted to that position. Sharon Malone filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because she felt she was denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Female Educational Counselor Promoted
Over a Male Educational Counselor Assistant

(1)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Sharon Malone and Michael Pierce. They have both worked for the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Sharon Malone, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. Her grade point average was 3.41. She then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years she worked on her master's degree, she worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of her good work, the counseling center supervisor asked her to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of her master's. Instead, Sharon took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. She has been working there since 1983. She has good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

Michael Pierce, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in

education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, he graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During his training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, he learned to communicate well with students. He then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After his first year, he was offered a scholarship for the rest of his graduate studies, because he was at the top in his class. After graduation in 1982, he began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 he began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to him and confiding in him. He has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Ms. Malone and Mr. Pierce were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School administrators

John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Sharon and Michael received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Sharon was ultimately promoted to the position. Michael Pierce filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Female Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Male Educational Counselor Assistant

(2)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Sandra Jones and Jack Sinclair. They have both worked in the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Sandra Jones, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, she graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During her training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, she learned to communicate well with students. She then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After her first year, she was offered a scholarship for the rest of her graduate studies, because she was at the top in her class. After graduation in 1982, she began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 she began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to her and confiding in her. She has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

Jack Sinclair, age 29, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. His grade point average was 3.41. He then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years he worked on his master's degree, he worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of his good work, the counseling center supervisor asked him to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of his master's. Instead, Jack took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. He has been working there since 1983. He has a good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on his performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Ms. Jones and Mr. Sinclair were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both Ms. Jones and Mr. Sinclair went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School

administrators John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Sandra and Jack received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Sandra was ultimately promoted to that position. Jack Sinclair filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Female Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Female Educational Counselor Assistant

(1)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two assistants are Sharon Malone and Sandra Jones. They have both worked in the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Sharon Malone, age 29, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. Her grade point average was 3.41. She then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years she worked on her master's degree, she worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of her good work, the counseling center supervisor asked her to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of her master's. Instead, Sharon took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. She has been working there since 1983. She has good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

Sandra Jones, age 20, earned a bachelor's degree in

education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, she graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During her training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, she learned to communicate well with students. She then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After her first year, she was offered a scholarship for the rest of her graduate studies, because she was at the top in her class. After graduation in 1982, she began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983 she began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to her and confiding in her. She has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both Ms. Malone and Ms. Jones were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better--their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics--and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. Both Ms. Malone and Ms. Jones went through a series of interviews with the same set of persons. School administrators

John Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Sharon and Sandra received serious consideration for the job of educational counselor, Sharon was ultimately promoted to that position. Sandra Jones filed a suit against the school system's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of educational counselor unfairly.

Female Educational Counselor Assistant Promoted
Over a Female Educational Counselor Assistant

(2)

This court case involves two educational counselor assistants in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. The two educational counselor assistants are Sandra Jones and Sharon Malone. Both of them have worked in the Montgomery school system since 1983.

Sandra Jones, age 29, earned a bachelor's degree in education, with an emphasis in psychology. In 1979, she graduated from the University of Tennessee with a 3.30. During her training as a teacher's aid and student teacher at a local high school, she learned to communicate well with students. She then went to graduate school in Tennessee to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. After her first year, she was offered a scholarship for the rest of her graduate studies, due to being the top in her class. Upon graduation in 1982, she began looking for work in a public school system. In 1983, she began work as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. Students enjoy talking to her and confiding in her. She has received good ratings on her

performance appraisals.

Sharon Malone, age 28, received a bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of North Carolina in 1980. Her grade point average was 3.41. She then went on to earn a master's degree in counseling psychology. During the two years she worked on her master's degree, she worked as an intern in the vocational counseling center. Because of her good work, the counseling center supervisor asked her to remain with the center on a full-time basis after the completion of her master's. Instead, Sharon took a job working as an assistant to the educational counselor in the Montgomery, Alabama school system. She has been working there since 1983. She has good rapport with the students and has received good ratings on her performance appraisals.

When there was an opening for the position of educational counselor, both of them were considered for the job. Educational counselors help students understand themselves better- their abilities, interests, talents, and personality characteristics- and help translate these into realistic academic and career options. They may run career information centers and career education programs. They use tests and other tools to help students understand themselves and their options. They both went through a series of interviews. School

administrators John Williams and Patricia Scotts were two of the interviewers. Although both Sandra and Sharon were considered for the job of educational counselor, Sandra was promoted to that position. Sharon Malone filed a suit against the police department's promotion decision because he felt that variables other than performance had been taken into account.

Male Library Associate Promoted
Over a Male Library Associate

(1)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are Bob Carlson and John Williams. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

Bob Carlson, age 23, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During his senior year, he served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year he began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently he is working as a library associate in the reference department. He also works as a free-lance writer in his spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago he received his Master of Library Science from the University of Oklahoma, where he had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals, he received

above-average ratings.

John Williams, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. His undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later he earned his Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on his master's degree, he worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. His supervisor at that library consistently praised him for his organizational skills. In 1981, he began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of his semi-annual performance appraisals, he has received average to above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Mr. Carlson and Mr. Williams were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Jones and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Bob and John received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, Bob was ultimately promoted to the position. John Williams filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Male Library Associate Promoted
Over a Male Library Associate
(2)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are John Williams and Bob Carlson. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

John Williams, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. His undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later he earned his Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on his master's degree, he worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. His supervisor at that library consistently praised him for his organizational skills. In 1981, he began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of his semi-annual performance appraisals, he has received average to

above-average ratings.

Bob Carlson, age 28, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During his senior year, he served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year he began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently he is working as a library associate in the reference department. He also works as a free-lance writer in his spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago he received his Master of Library Science from the University of Oklahoma, where he had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals, he received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Mr. Williams and Mr. Carlson were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head librarians Paul Jones and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both John and Bob received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, John was ultimately promoted to the position. Bob Carlson filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Male Library Associate Promoted
Over a Female Library Associate

(1)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are Bob Carlson and Anne Patterson. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

Bob Carlson, age 39, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During his senior year, he served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year he began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently he is working as a library associate in the reference department. He also works as a free-lance writer in his spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago he received his Master of Library Science from the University of Oklahoma, where he had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals, he received

above-average ratings.

Anne Patterson, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. Her undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later she earned her Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on her master's degree, she worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. Her supervisor at that library consistently praised her for her organizational skills. In 1981, she began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of her semi-annual performance appraisals, she has received average to above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Mr. Carlson and Ms. Patterson were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of

interviews with the same set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Bob and Anne received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, Bob was ultimately promoted to the position. Anne Patterson filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Male Library Associate Promoted
Over a Female Library Associate

(2)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are John Williams and Mary Brock. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

John Williams, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. His undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later he earned his Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on his master's degree, he worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. His supervisor at that library consistently praised him for his organizational skills. In 1981, he began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of his semi-annual performance appraisals, he has received average to

above-average ratings.

Mary Brock, age 29, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During her senior year, she served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year she began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently she is working as a library associate in the reference department. She also works as a free-lance writer in her spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago she received her Master of Library Science degree from the University of Oklahoma, where she had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals she received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Mr. Williams and Ms. Brock were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Jones and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both John and Mary received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, John was ultimately promoted to that position. Mary Brock filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Female Library Associate Promoted
Over a Male Library Associate

(1)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are Mary Brock and John Williams. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

Mary Brock, age 28, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During her senior year, she served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year she began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently she is working as a library associate in the reference department. She also works as a free-lance writer in her spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago she received her Master of Library Science degree from the University of Oklahoma, where she had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals

she received above-average ratings.

John Williams, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. His undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later he earned his Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on his master's degree, he worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. His supervisor at that library consistently praised him for his organizational skills. In 1981, he began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of his semi-annual performance appraisals, he has received average to above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Ms. Brock and Mr. Williams were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Jones and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Mary and John received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, Mary was ultimately promoted to the position. John Williams filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Female Library Associate Promoted
Over a Male Library Associate
(2)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are Anne Patterson and Bob Carlson. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

Anne Patterson, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. Her undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later she earned her Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on her master's degree, she worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. Her supervisor at that library consistently praised her for her organizational skills. In 1981, she began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of her semi-annual performance appraisals, she has received average to

above-average ratings.

Bob Carlson, age 29, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During his senior year, he served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year he began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently he is working as a library associate in the reference department. He also works as a free-lance writer in his spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago he received his Master of Library Science from the University of Oklahoma, where he had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals, he received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Ms. Patterson and Mr. Carlson were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Anne and Bob received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, Anne was ultimately promoted to the position. Bob Carlson filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because he felt he had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Female Library Associate Promoted
Over a Female Library Associate
(1)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are Mary Brock and Anne Patterson. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

Mary Brock, age 28, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During her senior year, she served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year she began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently she is working as a library associate in the reference department. She also works as a free-lance writer in her spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago she received her Master of Library Science degree from the University of Oklahoma, where she had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals

she received above-average ratings.

Anne Patterson, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. Her undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later she earned her Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on her master's degree, she worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. Her supervisor at that library consistently praised her for her organizational skills. In 1981, she began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of her semi-annual performance appraisals, she has received average to above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Ms. Brock and Ms. Patterson were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Mary and Anne received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, Mary was ultimately promoted to the position. Anne Patterson filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Female Library Associate Promoted
Over a Female Library Associate
(2)

This court case involves two library associates working for the Oklahoma City public library. The two associates are Anne Patterson and Mary Brock. They have both worked for the Oklahoma City public library since 1981.

Anne Patterson, age 30, graduated from the University of North Carolina in 1978 with a bachelor's degree in both journalism and communications. Her undergraduate grade point average was 3.03. Two years later she earned her Master of Library Science degree from the same university. While working on her master's degree, she worked as a library associate for the University of North Carolina library in both the circulation and cataloguing departments. Her supervisor at that library consistently praised her for her organizational skills. In 1981, she began working for the Oklahoma City public library as a library associate in the cataloguing department. In each of her semi-annual performance appraisals, she has received average to

above-average ratings.

Mary Brock, age 28, graduated from the University of Tennessee in 1980 with a B.A. in English and a 3.44 grade point average. During her senior year, she served as the president of the Collegiate Literary Society. The very next year she began working at the circulation desk for the Oklahoma City public library. Currently she is working as a library associate in the reference department. She also works as a free-lance writer in her spare time for a well-known magazine, and as a lecturer for different literary events. Three years ago she received her Master of Library Science from the University of Oklahoma, where she had attended night school for three and one-half years. In each of the semi-annual performance appraisals she received above-average ratings.

When there was an opening for the position of librarian of the childrens' section, both Ms. Patterson and Ms. Brock were considered for the job. The childrens' section librarian selects, purchases, and processes materials for the childrens' section of the library, publicizes services, and provides reference help to groups and individuals. Both applicants went through a series of interviews with the same

set of persons. Head Librarians Paul Williams and Patricia Scott were two of the interviewers. Although both Anne and Mary received serious consideration for the job of childrens' section librarian, Anne was ultimately promoted to the position. Mary Brock filed a suit against the public library's promotion decision because she felt she had been denied the job of childrens' section librarian unfairly.

Appendix F

Dependent Measures of Fairness

1) To what extent do you think the (name of the organization) was fair in promoting (name of the promoted person)? (1-very fair, 9-not fair at all)

2) Did the (name of the organization) do the right thing in promoting (name of the promoted person)? (1-no, 9-yes)

3) How just was the decision made by the (name of the organization)? (1-not at all just, 9-very just)

4) To what extent do you think the (name of organization) was biased in promoting the person they did? (1-very biased, 9-not biased at all)

5) How do you rate the following statement?

"(Name of nonpromoted person) has good and reasonable grounds for suing the (name of organization.)" (1-strongly agree, 9-strongly disagree)

6) If you were the judge in this case, whom would you be more likely to decide in favor of? (1-(name of nonpromoted person), 9-(name of organization))

Appendix G

Dependent Measures of Candidates' Qualifications

- 1) To what extent do you think (name of the promoted employee) was qualified for the job of (name of higher position)? (1-totally unqualified, 9-very qualified)
- 2) To what extent do you think (name of the nonpromoted employee) was qualified for the job of (name of higher position)? (1-totally unqualified, 9-very qualified)
- 3) How capable do you think (name of the promoted employee) will be as a (name of higher position)? (1-Not at all capable, 9-Very capable)
- 4) How capable do you think (name of the nonpromoted employee) would be as a (name of the higher position)? (1-Not at all capable, 9-Very capable)
- 5) How competent is (name of the promoted employee)? (1-very incompetent, 9-Very competent)
- 6) How competent is (name of the nonpromoted employee)? (1-very incompetent, 9 Very competent)

Appendix H

Distractor Questions

Note: The distractor questions were the same for each job and promotion, except for changes in the names of the jobs and employees.

1. In deciding this case, what is more important, following the decisions of previous similar cases (i.e., following a precedent) or viewing this case by itself with its own specific set of facts?

following a precedent

by itself

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

2. What would be the best method of selecting educational counselors--promoting an educational counselor assistant or hiring an educational counselor from a different school system?

promoting

hiring

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

3. Should a judge or a jury decide this case?

judge

jury

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

4. If you were the judge in this case, would you allow administrators John Williams and Patricia Scott (i.e., two of the interviewers) to testify in court?

no

yes

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

5. Do you think these two educational counselor assistants had been working for the school system long enough to be considered for the job of educational counselor?

no yes

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

6. In making this decision, should the judge rely more on logic or written law?

logic written law

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

7. When a job like educational counselor is open, how many interviews should one go through when being considered for the job?

1 interview---2 interviews---3 interviews---4 interviews

8. How much time should the judge be permitted to make a decision in this case?

less than an hour at least two days

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

9. Would a person with a law degree be able to decide this case any better than a person without a law degree?

yes no

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

10. Do you think the judge in this case has enough available information to make a good decision?

yes no

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

11. Should an educational counselor assistant be required to have more than a master's (i.e., M.S.; degree)?

no yes

1---2---3---4---5---6---7---8---9

12. Knowing what you know about educational counselors, what is the least number of years someone should work in the school system before they are eligible for a promotion to educational counselor?

Circle the number of years you think is best.

1 yr. --- 2 yrs --- 3 yrs --- 4 yrs --- 5 yrs --- more than 5 yrs

13. Should this case be decided by one judge, or by a panel of judges?

one judge

panel of judges

1 --- 2 --- 3 --- 4 --- 5 --- 6 --- 7 --- 8 --- 9

14. Would you want to be the judge in this case?

yes

no

1 --- 2 --- 3 --- 4 --- 5 --- 6 --- 7 --- 8 --- 9

15. As a whole, do you think judges are more analytical than the average American?

No

Yes

1 --- 2 --- 3 --- 4 --- 5 --- 6 --- 7 --- 8 --- 9

16. What is the minimum education an educational counselor should be required to have?

Circle the degree (amount of schooling.)

4 yrs. of college --- Master's --- Ph.D. (Doctor's)

17. Before making a decision, should the judge be allowed to talk with anyone who does not have a direct relationship with the case?

No

Yes

1 --- 2 --- 3 --- 4 --- 5 --- 6 --- 7 --- 8 --- 9

Appendix I

- 1) To what extent do you think that quotas (regarding sex) should be used in promotions? (1-never, 9-always)

- 2) To what extent do you think that quotas (regarding sex) should be used when hiring people? (1-never, 9-always)

- 3) During the last ten years, how much have women been discriminated against in employment situations? (1-none, 9-a lot)

- 4) How much progress have women made in employment during the last ten years? (1-no progress, 9-much progress)

In a situation where a person in a majority group and a person in a minority group are being considered for the same job, and the two persons are equally qualified for that job, the employer will often choose the minority member over the majority member. Such a procedure is called "affirmative action," and is supported by the United States government.

- 5) In the next ten years, do you feel you will be affected by affirmative action programs or quota systems? (1-Not affected, 9-affected a lot)

MALES' AND FEMALES' PERCEPTIONS OF FAIRNESS OF
PROMOTIONS IN THREE JOBS OF DIFFERING SEX
STEREOTYPES

by

STEPHEN CRAIG MOORE

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The present study examined three hundred thirty-six undergraduates' (168 males and 168 females) perceptions of promotion fairness and of promoted and nonpromoted employees' qualifications. The effects on these variables of the sex of the subjects, job sex stereotype (i.e., masculine-stereotyped, nonsex-stereotyped, and feminine-stereotyped) and promotion situation (i.e., a male promoted over a male, a male promoted over a female, a female promoted over a male, and a female promoted over a female) were measured.

It was expected that promotion discrimination against males would be viewed by both sexes as fairer than promotion discrimination against females. Such an outcome would suggest that there is a double standard favoring women in attitudes toward promotion discrimination. The results were mixed. Some findings were nonsignificant and failed to support the prediction. One other comparison resulted in support of the prediction by females, but rejection of it by males.

It was also expected that women would perceive the promotions, with the exception of a female

promoted over a male, as less fair than would men. This result would have supported the idea that women are more distrustful of employment practices in general, and perhaps more sensitive to perceived discrimination involved in promotions. However, females rated only the promotions of men over women as being less fair than did men.

Unexpectedly, males perceived only the promotions in which women were promoted over men as less fair than did females. This suggests that the sexes may be similar in their sensitivity to promotion discrimination. Based on their perceptions of fairness, however, it seems that each sex tends to favor its own, regardless of the job's sex-stereotype. The relationship of this finding with previous studies is discussed.

Males and females did not differ in their perceptions of the promoted and nonpromoted employees' qualifications. This was expected, and is consistent with previous research. The results suggest that differences between the sexes in perceptions of promotion fairness may not be related to the sexes' perceptions of candidate

qualifications.

Four covariates were included in the study. They were 1) status of the job, 2) age of the subject, 3) year of college study, and 4) presence of a family member in the job in question. None of the four covariates was significant in the overall MANCOVA. The implications of their nonsignificance are discussed.

Finally, the practical implications of this research for employers are discussed. Employers should educate themselves to their employees' perceptions of promotion fairness. Steps to improve employer-employee relations, and to reduce employees' possible negative feelings toward the employer, are suggested.