

RUNNING HEAD: Shattering “The Minority Glass Ceiling”

Shattering “The Minority Glass Ceiling”: Does valuing diversity increase the emergence of
minority leaders?

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Abstract

Ethnic minorities are underrepresented in leadership positions. Drawing on earlier research on leadership categorization and diversity beliefs, this study investigated the leadership evaluations and selection of candidate-leaders with an ethnic minority vs. majority background by participants who were primed with either pro-diversity or pro-similarity beliefs. The results revealed that under equal circumstances the minority candidate-leader is expected to be less effective than the majority candidate-leader. The ethnicity of the candidate-leader, however, did not affect the leader selection tendencies by the participants. Male participants displayed a higher bias against minority leadership. Diversity beliefs did not affect the leadership evaluations and the leader selection tendencies of the participants. The implications of the results and future research directions are discussed.

Shattering “The Minority Glass Ceiling”: Does valuing diversity increase the emergence of minority leaders?

The proportion of ethnic minorities within the Dutch labour force is expected to increase from 10% in 2003 to 16% in 2020 (CBS, 2003). This increase, however, is disproportionably distributed over different levels and functions. Non-western minorities are overrepresented in lower, elementary positions and are underrepresented in higher, managerial functions (CBS, 2007). Only half of the differences between non-western minorities and native Dutch can be explained through variations in educational background, sex, age, and urbanization (CBS, 2007). Ethnic minorities, like women, seem to face an invisible barrier -a glass ceiling- that prevents them from reaching leadership positions in the organizational hierarchy.

The limited attention and a lack of theoretical framework for minority leadership are surprising considering the effects that this form of leadership can have on a multi-ethnic society. On the negative side, feelings of exclusion and perceived barriers that hinder the upward mobility of one’s social group are related to psychological disengagement (e.g., devaluing academic success, discounting performance feedback; Schmader, Major, & Gramzow; 2001). On the positive side, minority leaders can act as role-models for their ethnic group and they positively influence minority (academic) performance (Marx, Ko, & Friedman, 2009). Minority leaders can also serve as counter-stereotypical examples, which are shown to decrease implicit prejudice and stereotyping (Plant, Devine, Cox, Columb, Goplen, & Peruche, 2009).

The present research aims to illuminate variables that affect the strength of this so-called minority glass-ceiling effect. More specifically, I focus on the role that diversity beliefs play during leader selection. Diversity beliefs refer to attitudes towards the value of diversity on positive group outcomes (van Knippenberg & Haslam, 2003). Individuals with pro-

diversity beliefs value diversity more, are better able to cope with differences, and use diversity for its good (Homan, Hollenbeck, Humphrey, van Knippenberg, Ilgen, & van Kleef, 2008). Individuals with pro-similarity beliefs, on the other hand, value homogeneity more and believe that this is necessary for a group to function well. The main question is: do pro-diversity beliefs lead to an elevated favourability of minority leadership? I argue that diversity beliefs that individuals hold will influence their choice when they select a (team) leader from a number of candidates who either belong to a minority or a majority group. In the following section I will discuss the possible origins of the minority glass ceiling effects. Throughout this paper “minority” (within the Dutch context) refers to non-Western ethnic minorities and “White” refers to native-Dutch.

Theoretical Background

The minority glass ceiling

The “glass ceiling” was introduced to refer to formally non-existent barriers to women’s upward mobility in organizations (Morrison & von Glinow, 1990). Research has focused on identifying factors that inhibit women’s advancement (e.g., Hoobler, Wayne, & Lemmon, 2009), such as gender stereotypes and the association of masculine traits with leader effectiveness. Recent research has suggested that besides women, ethnic minorities also need to overcome barriers in order to advance in the organizational hierarchy (Killian, Hukai, & McCarty, 2005). In line with this idea, it has been shown that in the United States (US) White women *and* African-American employees have to wait longer for promotion to higher managerial positions than White men (Maume, 1999).

Recently, the limited upward mobility of ethnic minorities has been explained within the Leadership Categorization Theory (LCT; Lord & Maher, 1991). According to the LCT, perceived leadership is a result of cognitive processes by which the evaluator mentally matches the characteristics of the *target* individual with existing leader prototypes. When

there is a match, i.e. if the target person fits the leader prototypes, the favourability of their leadership is enhanced (e.g., Eagly & Karau, 2002). Attributes such as intelligence, initiative-taking and decisiveness are prototypical for leaders worldwide (Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984; Van Vugt, 2006). Crucially, a recent study in the US has shown that being White, at least in a Western society, is considered a leadership prototype (Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008). Leaders (compared to non-leaders) are perceived to be White, and non-leaders (compared to leaders) are more often perceived to be having to an ethnic minority background (Rosette et al., 2008). It has been argued that a White prototype leads to a pro-White leadership bias in both perception and evaluation of leadership potential and effectiveness (Rosette et al., 2008).

This bias may be the reason behind the underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in leadership positions. So, how can the effects of this bias be limited? Because minority leadership is a specific form of diversity, I argue that the answer can be found in diversity literature. Next, I will shortly review the relevant diversity beliefs literature. Later, I will introduce possible gender effects in minority leader emergence. The discussion of the theory will be followed by the specific hypotheses.

Diversity beliefs

Diversity literature has been inconclusive about the effects of diversity on group outcomes (see for reviews Kochan, Bezrukova, Ely, Jackson, Joshi, Jehn, Leonard, Levine & Thomas, 2003; Millikens & Martins, 1996; van Knippenberg & Schippers, 2007). Empirical studies have shown positive effects of diversity on group functioning, such as generation of more high quality ideas (Maznewski, 1994; McLeod & Lobel, 1992). Other studies, however, have linked diversity to conflict (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999) and lowered team performance (Ancona & Caldwell, 1992).

The negative effects of diversity on group functioning are often explained from an intergroup bias perspective; i.e. a bias where one evaluates the members of the group one

belongs to more positively than the members of out-groups (Brewer, 1979). This bias can significantly reduce the elaboration of task-relevant information between members of a group and as a consequence lowers the performance (van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004). It has, however, been suggested that diversity leads to intergroup bias to the extent that it raises feelings of threat (van Knippenberg et al., 2004). This implies that perceiving diversity as threatening as opposed to valuing it for its good lead to significantly differential outcomes. This may be the underlying factor that explains the inconclusive results of past and present diversity research. In accordance with this, van Knippenberg and Haslam (2003) have argued that the beliefs that individuals hold about “the nature and value of diversity mediate between the social world and employees’ reactions to it” (p.69). Indeed, empirical research has found evidence for the proposed positive effects of pro-diversity beliefs on the functioning of heterogeneous groups.

Positive beliefs towards diversity held by group members enhance both expected and actual outcomes of diverse groups (Homan et al., 2008; Homan, van Knippenberg, van Kleef, & De Dreu, 2007; van Oudenhoven-van der Zee, Paulus, Vos, Parthasarathy, 2009). Moreover, pro-diversity beliefs lead to higher levels of group identification (van Dick, van Knippenberg, Hägele, Guillaume, & Brodbeck, 2008; van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Plattow, 2007) and are associated with high-quality intergroup relations, open discussion of differences and feelings of being valued and respected (Ely & Thomas, 2001). Recently, it has been shown that positive diversity beliefs make it less likely that people construe the diversity of their team in terms of subgroups and more in terms of unique individual differences (Homan, Greer, Jehn, & Koning, in press).

In sum, earlier research has found solid evidence regarding the positive influence of valuing diversity on both performance-related and relational-related outcomes in heterogeneous groups. Although these studies have not focused on the role that diversity

beliefs may play during decision making processes, they are likely to influence these processes as well. Earlier research has shown that attitudes that individuals hold can play a significant role in their decision making (e.g., Marquardt & Hoeger, 2009; Sanbonmatsu, Prince, Vanous, & Pasovac, 2005) and behaviour (e.g., Chuah, Hoffman, Jones & Williams, 2009). Thus, attitudes that individuals hold towards the value of diversity are likely to influence individuals’ diversity related decision making processes (e.g., during leader selection in diverse groups). Pro-diversity beliefs can reduce perceived threat that may be caused by having a leader who belongs to an ethnic minority group. Consequently, the pro-White leadership bias (Rosette et al., 2008) can decrease for those holding positive diversity beliefs. Pro-similarity beliefs, on the other hand, can amplify perceived threat caused by minority leaders, increasing the pro-White leadership bias. This mechanism is likely to lead to an enhanced preference by individuals with pro-diversity beliefs for a candidate-leader who belongs to a minority group compared to those who hold negative diversity beliefs.

Gender effects

The invisible, formally non-existent barriers of women’s vertical career development have gotten ample attention from social scientists during the last decades (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2007). Women, compared to men, have been shown to suffer from prejudices which decrease their favourability as leaders, cause greater difficulties for them to achieve leadership positions and lower their perceived effectiveness as leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Moreover, leadership role is perceived as more congruent with male than the female gender roles and all other factors being equal, men are perceived as more effective leaders than women (Garcia-Retamero & Lopez-Zafra, 2009; Johnson, Murphy, Zewdie, & Reichard, 2008). Evolutionary perspectives suggest a male leadership bias and argue that “the glass ceiling is a vestige of our ancestral past” (van Vugt, Hogan, & Kaiser, 2008).

Combining the pro-White leadership bias with the pro-male leadership bias leads to

the conclusion that ethnic minority women will have a double disadvantaged position to be selected as leaders. This idea, called the “double jeopardy hypothesis”, is empirically supported (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Earlier research has suggested that ethnic minority women have a doubly marginalized position because of belonging to two low-status groups (i.e., women and ethnic minority) simultaneously (Giscombe & Mattis, 2002). In line with this hypothesis it has, for instance, been shown that after displacement women (compared to men) less often find jobs in the same industry and on the same income level and ethnic minority women (compared to ethnic minority men) receive significantly lower wages (Spalter-Roth & Deitch, 1999).

The Present Study

Ethnic minorities are underrepresented in leadership positions. Building on the positive effects of pro-diversity beliefs on diverse groups (e.g., Homan et al., 2007; 2008), I focused on the influence of pro-diversity beliefs during diversity related decision making processes. More specifically, I studied the effect of diversity beliefs on ethnic minority leader selection.

Besides a pro-White bias, leadership is also associated with a pro-male bias (e.g., van Vugt et al., 2008). Because minority women are likely to be affected by both biases simultaneously, it is likely that female minority leaders will be found less favourable than male minority leaders and White leaders. Based on this, I formulated the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: In line with the minority glass ceiling hypothesis, when given identical information, a White candidate-leader will be evaluated as (a) more effective, (b) more prototypical as a leader and (c) will be selected significantly more often as team leader than a minority candidate leader.

Hypothesis 2: Diversity beliefs that individuals hold will influence their evaluation of

the candidate-leaders and their leader selection tendencies. Those with pro-diversity beliefs will evaluate (a) the effectiveness and (b) the prototypicality of the minority leader more positively than those with pro-similarity beliefs. Those with pro diversity beliefs will select a minority candidate-leader more often than those with pro-similarity beliefs (c).

Hypothesis 3: In line with the double-jeopardy hypothesis, the favourability of female minority leaders will be lower than the favourability of male minority leaders and White leaders. Female minority candidate-leaders will be selected less often as team leader than male minority and White candidate-leaders.

To test these hypotheses I conducted an experimental study in which the participants’ diversity beliefs (pro-diversity vs. pro-similarity) were manipulated. The participants then selected a leader for an “interactive team task” from two candidate-leaders who either belonged to an ethnic minority (male or female, depending on the condition) or the ethnic majority (male or female, depending on the condition) group.

Method

Participants and Design

Seventy-six students (26 men, 49 women, 1 missing) at a large Dutch university participated in exchange for course credits or a payment of €2,-. The average age was 21.2 years old ($SD = 2.8$). The participants were randomly assigned to one condition of a 2 (diversity beliefs: pro-diversity vs. pro-similarity) \times 2 (ethnicity candidate-leader: majority vs. minority, within participants) \times 2 (gender composition candidate-leaders: homogeneous vs. heterogeneous) mixed factorial design.

Procedure

Upon arrival at the experimental laboratory the participants were seated in a separate cubicle. The experimenter filled out the participant number on the computer screen. All

further instructions were administered by the computer.

First, depending on the condition the participants were primed with either pro-diversity or pro-similarity beliefs. The participants were told that they were first going to take part in a study on memory. They were asked to read two newspaper articles (i.e., one as priming, one as distraction) that were presented to them. They were also told that later in the experiment they were going to have to answer questions about these articles.

Following a slightly adopted version of the procedure applied by van Vugt and Spisak (2008), participants were then told that they were going to participate in an interactive computer task in teams of five and that the computer was going to assign them the letter A, B, C, D, or E. The participant always had the letter C. They were asked to fill out their name, age, study and three of their hobbies after which the computer allegedly randomly appointed two of the team members as candidate-leaders. The candidate leaders always had the letters A and E. Candidate A was described as: “Peter/ Ahmet/ Marieke/ Farida is 21 years old. (S)he studies law. His/her hobbies are playing basketball, backpacking and going out with friends.” Candidate E was described as: “Peter/ Ahmet/ Marieke/ Farida is 20 years old. (S)he studies economics. His/her hobbies are going out with friends, reading and playing the guitar.”

The participants were randomly assigned to one of the four dyad conditions of candidate-leaders. The candidates in the first dyad were Peter (male, majority) and Ahmet (male, minority). The candidates in the second dyad were Marieke (female, majority) and Farida (female, minority). In the third dyad the candidates were Peter (male, majority) and Farida (female, minority) and in the fourth they were Ahmet (male, minority) and Marieke (female, majority). Thus, the dyad was always ethnically diverse, only the gender composition was varied between participants.

The order in which the participants read about the fictitious team members was

counterbalanced.¹ The participants rated the anticipated effectiveness and leader prototypicality of the candidate leaders. They also selected one of the candidates as the leader for the task. After completion the participants filled out either the form for monetary payment or course credits.

Manipulations and Measures.

Diversity beliefs. The participants’ diversity beliefs were manipulated by presenting them a bogus newspaper article on the effects of diversity beliefs on profits in organizations. In the pro-diversity beliefs variant, the participants read an article about research that concluded that cultural diversity leads to elevated organizational profit. In the pro-similarity variant they read a similar article concluding that cultural diversity leads to decreased organizational profit. See Appendix A for the full texts.

Manipulation checks. The ethnicity and the gender manipulations were controlled by presenting the participants six statements that they could answer with “Yes” or “No”. The statements were: “One of the candidate-leaders was a minority group member.”, “One of the candidate-leaders was a majority group member.”, “One of the candidate-leaders was a woman.”, “One of the candidate leaders was a man.”, “Both candidate-leaders were men.”, “Both candidate-leaders were women.” The pro-diversity beliefs manipulation was controlled by presenting the participants with a three item scale (“the pro-diversity scale”) that they rated on a 7-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree). The items were: “Diversity leads to more profit.”, “Diversity increases harmony within groups.” and “Diversity prevents conflicts.” The reliability of the scale was .89 ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 2.15$). The pro-similarity beliefs manipulation was controlled by presenting the participants with a three item scale

¹ Because the counterbalance factor did not affect the variables of interest, I collapsed the data across this factor. I also recoded the data so that candidate A always represented the majority candidate-leader and candidate E always represented the minority candidate-leader.

(“the pro-similarity scale”) that they rated on a 7-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 7=strongly agree). The statements were: “Diversity leads to less profit.”, “Diversity disturbs the harmony within groups.” and “Diversity raises conflicts.” The reliability of the scale was .91 ($M = 3.96$, $SD = 2.27$).

Anticipated effectiveness. The participants filled out an anticipated leadership effectiveness scale for both candidate-leaders. The participants assessed the extent to which the items were true for each candidate on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). The scale consisted of five items that were either self-developed or adopted from existing scales that measure anticipated effectiveness, including “To what extent do you trust this candidate to be a good leader?” (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005) and “To what extent do you think that this candidate has qualities for good leadership?” (Hains, Hogg, & Duck, 1997). (See Appendix B). The scale’s reliability for the candidate-leaders A and E was .91 ($M = 4.93$, $SD = 0.98$) and .94 ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.04$) respectively.

Leader prototypicality. The participants filled out a perceived leader prototypicality scale for both candidate-leaders. The participants assessed the extent to which the items were true for each candidate on a 7-point scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree). The scale consisted of three items that were self-developed, including “To what extent do you think that this candidate will behave as a typical leader?” and “To what extent does this candidate have the qualities of a typical leader?” (See Appendix C). The scale’s reliability for the candidate-leaders A and E was .83 ($M = 4.59$, $SD = 1.04$) and .86 ($M = 4.22$, $SD = 1.24$) respectively.

Leader selection. The participants selected one of the candidates as team leader for the “interactive task” by clicking on one of the two icons that represented the candidates.

Demographics. Finally, the participants were asked to fill out their age, gender, study, year of study, nationality, and the place of birth of their parents.

Results

Manipulation checks

Ethnicity and gender of the candidate leaders. Of the 76 participants, 12 failed to report “Yes” to the statement that “one of the candidate leaders was a minority group member”. Because the ethnic heterogeneity of the dyads was a constant factor in the design, these participants were removed from the data set. The remaining participants reported the correct response on the “Yes/No-statements” (see above) depending on the condition they were in. The analyses were conducted using 64 participants.

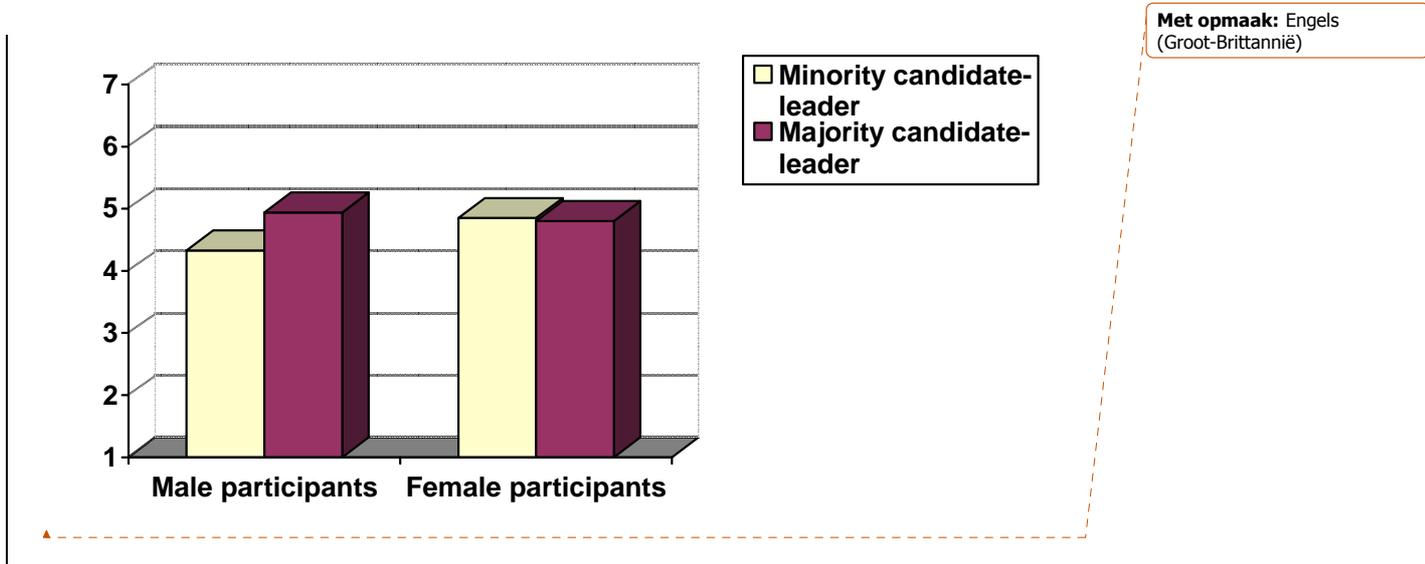
Diversity Beliefs. As expected, the participants in the pro-diversity condition scored higher on the pro-diversity scale ($M = 5.53, SD = 1.18$) than the participants in the pro-similarity condition ($M = 1.72, SD = 0.82$), $F(1, 63) = 220.25, p = .000$. The specific dyad the participants were randomly assigned to did not have an effect on these scores, $F(3, 63) = 0.18, ns$. The participants in the pro-similarity condition scored higher on the pro-similarity scale ($M = 5.80, SD = 1.42$) than the participants in the pro-diversity condition ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.11$), $F(1, 63) = 142.88, p = .000$. The specific dyad the participants were randomly assigned to did not have an effect on these scores, $F(3, 63) = 0.06, ns$.

Anticipated Leader Effectiveness

An analysis of variance (repeated measures variant) was conducted to assess the impact of candidate-leader’s ethnicity on the anticipated leadership effectiveness of the candidate-leaders. In line with Hypothesis 1a, the results showed that the minority candidate-leader had a lower anticipated leader effectiveness score ($M = 4.70, SD = 1.12$) than the majority candidate-leader ($M = 4.84, SD = 0.90$), $F(1, 62) = 3.27, p < .05^2, \eta^2 = .05$. In addition, the results revealed an unpredicted interaction between the anticipated leader effectiveness scores and participant’s sex. Male participants scored the anticipated

² One-sided test.

effectiveness of the minority candidate-leader significantly lower ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 1.23$) than the female participants ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.05$), $F(1, 62) = 4.65$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .07$. This result is schematically displayed in Figure 1. The main effect of participant’s sex on anticipated leader effectiveness ratings was non-significant, $F(1, 62) = 0.72$, *ns*.



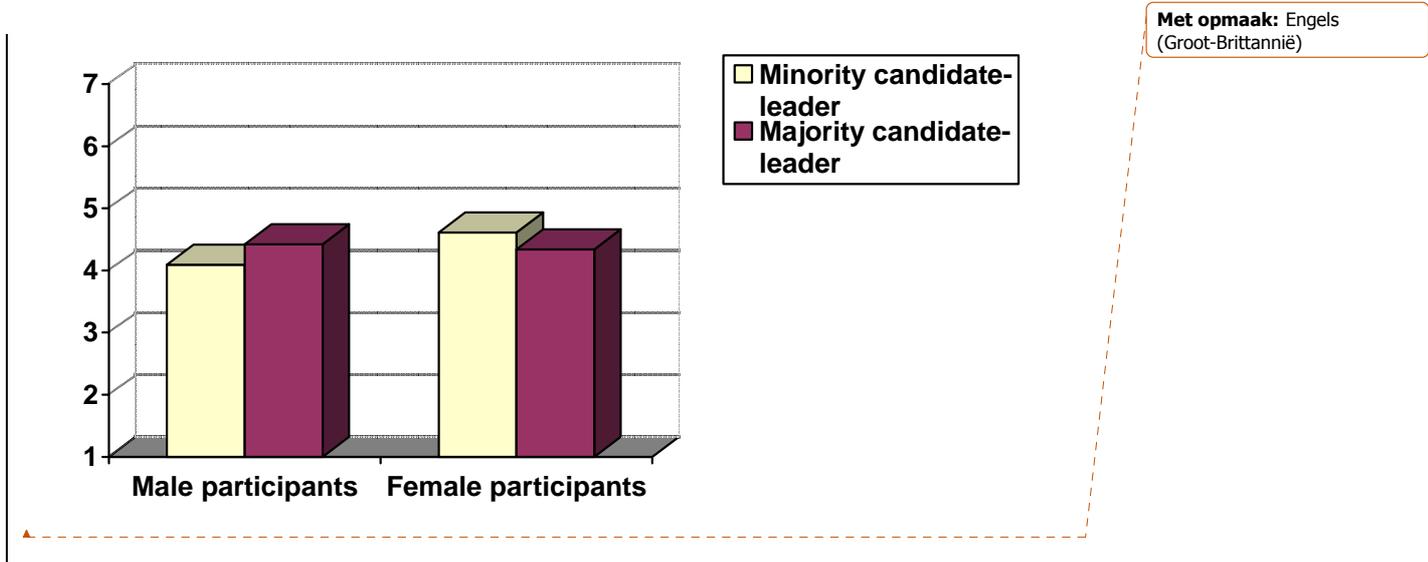
Met opmaak: Engels (Groot-Brittannië)

Figure 1. Interaction effect between participants’ gender and the anticipated effectiveness ratings of the candidate-leaders.

Perceived Leader Prototypicality

An analysis of variance (repeated measures variant) was conducted to assess the impact of the candidate-leader’s ethnicity on the perceived leader prototypicality of the candidate-leaders. Contrary to the prediction that the minority candidate-leader would be scored as less prototypical as a leader than the majority candidate-leader (Hypothesis 1b), the results showed no significant difference between the prototypicality ratings of the candidates, $F(1, 62) = 0.30$, *ns*, $\eta^2 = .00$. Again, an unpredicted interaction effect was found between the participant’s gender and the prototypicality ratings. Male participants scored the prototypicality of the minority leader lower ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.25$) than the female participants

($M = 4.61$, $SD = 1.16$). This effect, however, was only marginally significant, $F(1, 62) = 2.33$, $p < .10^3$, $\eta^2 = .04$. This interaction effect is schematically displayed in Figure 2.



Met opmaak: Engels
(Groot-Brittannië)

Figure 2. Interaction effect between participants' gender and the perceived prototypicality ratings of the candidate-leaders.

Leader Selection

To investigate whether the participants choose the candidate-leader who was a majority group member significantly more often than the candidate-leader belonging to a minority group member (Hypothesis 1c), I conducted a chi-square goodness-of-fit test. There was no significant difference between the preference for the majority or the minority group candidate-leader, $\chi^2(1, N = 63) = 0.78$, *ns*.

To investigate the influence of several factors on leader selection tendencies in more depth, a logistic regression was performed. The model contained the independent variables: the participant's gender, ethnicity and the specific dyad (s)he was randomly assigned to. The full model was only marginally significant, $\chi^2(5, N = 63) = 10.21$, $p < .10$. This means that

³ One-sided test.

the model was not able to fully distinguish between those participants who chose a minority group member and those who chose the majority group member as team leader.

As shown in Table 1, only one independent variable had a statistically significant contribution to the model (Dyad 2). The strongest predictor of choosing an ethnic minority member as team leader was when the choice was between two women, recording an odds ratio of 7.40, $p < .05$. This means when participants were asked to choose a leader out of two female candidates who either were a minority group member or a majority group member, they significantly more often chose the minority group member. While statistically not significant, it is interesting to note the effects of participant’s gender and ethnicity on leader selection. As shown in the table, participants with an ethnic minority background were more likely to choose the minority group candidate as leader than those with a majority background. Furthermore, the likeliness to choose a minority group candidate as team leader decreased if the participant was male.

Based on these results Hypothesis 1c is rejected. When given identical information, the participants do not select a majority group member more often than an ethnic minority group member as the team leader. There is, however, a slight difference between the male and the female participants. Male participants are less likely to choose a minority group member as team leader than the female participants. Also, participants with an ethnic minority background are more likely to choose the minority group candidate as the leader than those with a majority group background.

Table 1.

Logistic regression predicting the likelihood of choosing a minority group member as team-leader.

	<i>B</i>	S.E.	Wald	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	Odds Ratio	95.0% C.I. for Odds Ratio	
							Lower	Upper
Dyad 1	-.465	.728	.408	1	.523	.628	.151	2.617
Dyad 2	2.001	.939	4.540	1	.033	7.398	1.174	46.619
Dyad 3	.658	.725	.822	1	.364	1.931	.466	8.001
Gender	-.537	.627	.733	1	.392	.585	.171	1.998
Ethnicity	.745	.588	1.604	1	.205	2.106	.665	6.666
Constant	-.272	.574	.224	1	.636	.762		

Diversity Beliefs and Anticipated Effectiveness

An analysis of variance (repeated measures variant) was conducted in order to investigate whether the minority candidate-leader’s anticipated leader effectiveness was rated higher by those with pro-diversity beliefs than those with pro-similarity beliefs (Hypothesis 2a). The results revealed no significant relationship between the participants’ diversity beliefs and their anticipated leadership effectiveness ratings of the candidates, $F(1, 62) = 0.69$, *ns*, $\eta^2 = .01$. Based on this result Hypothesis 2a is rejected.

Diversity Beliefs and Perceived Prototypicality

An analysis of variance (repeated measures variant) was conducted in order to investigate whether the minority candidate-leader’s perceived leader prototypicality was rated higher by those with pro-diversity beliefs than those with pro-similarity beliefs (Hypothesis 2b). The results revealed no significant relationship between the participants’ diversity beliefs and their perceived leadership prototypicality ratings of the candidates, $F(1, 62) = 0.38$, *ns*, $\eta^2 = .01$. Based on this result Hypothesis 2b is rejected.

Diversity Beliefs and Leader Selection

A Chi-square test is conducted in order to investigate whether the participants with pro-diversity beliefs tended to choose the minority group candidate more often as team leader than those with pro-similarity beliefs (Hypothesis 2c). The Chi-Square test indicated no significant relationship between diversity beliefs and leader selection tendencies, $\chi^2 (1, N = 63) = 0.01, ns, \phi = -.04$.

In order to assess the relationship between diversity beliefs and the leader selection tendencies more in detail, I conducted a logistic regression in which leader selection was the dependent variable. The predictor variables were participant’s diversity beliefs, the specific dyad they were assigned to and their product terms. The full model was not significant, $\chi^2 (7, N = 63) = 9.41, ns$. None of the predictors had a statistically significant contribution to the model. Based on these findings Hypothesis 2c was rejected.

Gender Effects

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the female-minority candidate would be selected less often as the leader than the male-minority and the majority candidates because of their double disadvantaged position. To test this hypothesis a chi-square goodness-of-fit test was conducted in which the proportion of times that the four candidates were chosen as the leader was compared to each other. The results showed that there were no significant differences in the proportion of times that the four different candidates (male majority, male minority, female majority and female minority) were selected, $\chi^2 (1, N = 63) = 0.01, ns$. Based on this result Hypothesis 3 was rejected.

Discussion

In the present study I focused on the minority glass ceiling effect and the factors that may influence its strength. In line with the literature on biases against minority leadership (e.g., Rosette et al., 2008), I predicted that when given identical information participants would prefer a team-leader with an ethnic majority background rather than one with an ethnic

minority background. Contrary to this prediction, the results showed no difference between the preference for a minority or a majority group candidate-leader. The results, however, did show a difference between the anticipated effectiveness ratings of the minority and the majority candidate-leaders. In line with Hypothesis 1a, the majority group candidate-leader had a significantly higher rating on the anticipated leadership effectiveness than the minority group candidate-leader. Contrary to the predictions no difference was found between the perceived leader prototypicality ratings of the candidate-leaders. The results also showed no differences between the anticipated leader effectiveness, perceived leader prototypicality ratings and leader selection tendencies for those with pro-diversity vs. pro-similarity beliefs. Finally, no support was found for the predicted double disadvantaged position of minority females in leader selection: there were no significant differences between the number and proportion of times that the four fictitious candidate-leaders were selected as team leader.

Although beforehand not predicted a striking finding was the interaction between the participant's gender and their ratings of the candidate leaders: male participants (compared to female candidates) rated the anticipated effectiveness of the minority candidate-leader significantly lower than the majority candidate-leader. Male participants were also less likely to choose the minority candidate as team leader. Given the fact that the information about the candidate-leaders was identical and counterbalanced, this result implies that the bias against minority leadership is particularly a bias hold by males. This result, however, is less surprising when it is studied in the light of earlier research on gender differences in prejudice. Men, compared to women, have been shown to display more prejudice against minority groups (e.g., Chen & Brown, 2005; Herek, 2003). Besides, evolutionary psychology suggests that prejudice is an inter-male aggression phenomenon (Sidanius & Pratto, 2004) which may explain these gender differences in prejudice against minority leadership. The evolutionary perspective might also be the underlying factor for the lack of evidence for a double

disadvantaged position of female minority candidates (Hypothesis 3). If prejudice is a form of aggression by and toward males, it is rational that females are less likely to be affected by its negative effects.

Interestingly, the results not only revealed a bias by male participants but also a lack of a bias by female participants. Earlier research has shown that women (compared to men) have a higher internal motivation to react without prejudice (Ratcliff, Lassiter, Markman & Snyder, 2006). This may be the mechanism behind this lower bias against minority leadership displayed by females. A practical implication of this gender effect might be to make sure that women are represented in selection committees that decide about promotions within organizations or the hiring of new managers. Women’s less prejudiced attitude toward minority leadership might help shatter the minority glass ceiling.

Contrary to the predictions and findings from earlier research on the relationship between the attitudes that people hold regarding the value of diversity and outcomes of diversity, the present study was not able to reveal any relationship between the diversity beliefs of the participants and their ratings and selection of candidate-leaders. This finding may be explained in two ways. First, there may be no relationship between diversity beliefs and biases against minority leadership. Considering the cumulating evidence for the effects of diversity beliefs on diverse group processes (e.g., Homan et al., 2007; 2008; van Dick et al., 2008, van Oudenhoven-van der Zee et al., 2009), this first explanation seems unlikely. A possible second explanation is that the diversity manipulation was not strong enough to affect the participants’ attitudes. The manipulation, a bogus newspaper article about the results of scientific research which concludes that diversity increases the organizational benefits by, for example, avoiding conflicts, might not have been realistic enough. In the Netherlands, the multicultural society has been, especially in the last decade, more often associated with conflicts than with harmony. Given this situation, the newspaper article might have lost its

credibility resulting in a failing priming. Also, it has been suggested that diversity beliefs need to be specific (and not generalized) to affect people’s reactions (van Dick et al., 2008). The newspaper article used for priming might have been too general and might have worked better if it consisted of more specific information regarding the importance of diversity of leadership.

Related to this last point, the first limitation of this study is the likely weakness of the manipulation. Future variations or replications of the study need to use more realistic and specified tools to manipulate participants’ diversity beliefs, such as videos. A less persuading way might be measuring, instead of manipulating, diversity beliefs. One way to do this is to administer a personality questionnaire. Earlier research has, for instance, used the ratings on the personality dimension “openness to experience” as an indication of pro-diversity beliefs (Homan et al., 2008). Another option is the use of existing scales that measure diversity beliefs such as the “Attitudes Toward Workplace Diversity Scale” (DeMeuse & Hostager, 2001) and “Miville-Guzman Universality-Diversity Scale” (M-GUDS; Miville, Gelso, Pannu, Liu, Turadji, Holloway, & Fuertes, 1999).

Another limitation of the study is the use of names in order to manipulate the ethnicity of the candidate-leaders. Twelve of the initial participant pool, almost 16%, did not realize that one of the candidate-leaders was someone with an ethnic minority background. In the future, it is recommended to use visual cues (e.g., pictures or videos) which make it possible to process ethnic variability between the candidate-leaders more quickly and reliably. This could not only increase the credibility of the selection situation but also help avoid unnecessary decrease of the sample size.

Despite the above mentioned limitations, this study also has a couple of strengths. First, in spite of its importance and relevance to a multi-ethnic society, the number of studies on the minority glass ceiling effect is limited. The present study forms a first step toward explaining the underlying mechanisms of this phenomenon. This study has, for the

first time, shown that under equal circumstances a minority candidate-leader is expected to be less effective than a majority candidate and that especially men prefer a majority group member as team-leader rather than a minority group member. Another strength is the use of the experimental design. This makes it possible to plot causal relationships between variables (e.g., differences in the ethnicity of the candidate-leaders *lead to* differences in anticipated effectiveness ratings).

In this study the specific ethnicity of the minority candidate-leader was not a factor of interest. The participants were only asked to report whether the candidate-leader had a minority or the majority background. For future studies it might be interesting to investigate biases against leadership by specific minority groups. Empirical research in the Netherlands has, for instance, shown that attitudes towards certain minority groups (e.g., Surinamese) were more positive than toward other minority groups (e.g., Turkish; Dijker, 1987; Verkuyten, 1997). These general attitudes might influence specific forms of bias, such as the bias against minority leadership. Future research can reveal possible differences in the bias against leadership by members of specific minority groups.

Another direction for the future studies might be to investigate the effect of one's own ethnicity on leader selection tendencies when given the opportunity to choose from a pool of candidates who either are minority or majority group members. Although statistically not significant, the present study has shown that those with an ethnic minority background are more likely to choose the minority candidate-leader as team-leader than those with a majority background. This finding resembles the “Social Identity Theory of Leadership” (SITL; Hogg, 2001) which states that people tend to prefer a leader that is prototypical of their own social group. Future studies should investigate this effect more in depth for leader emergence in ethnically diverse groups. It might also be interesting to pay attention to the degree of identification that one has with one's ethnic group and its effect on leader selection tendencies.

Conclusion

Investigating the minority glass ceiling effect and factors that may affect its strength, this study shows that under equal circumstances a candidate-leader who belongs to the majority group is expected to be more effective than a minority group candidate. Although there are no significant differences in the selection of minority vs. majority candidate-leaders, male participants show a stronger preference for the majority candidate than the female participants. Diversity-beliefs that the participants hold and the candidate’s double marginalized background (i.e., belonging to two low status groups -female and ethnic minority- simultaneously) do not seem to have an influence on the minority glass ceiling effect. It is, however, recommended to investigate the influence of diversity beliefs on the bias against minority leadership using stronger manipulations or measurements of these beliefs in future studies.

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Appendix A

Artikel Pro-diversity**Diversiteit leidt tot meer winst**

AMSTERDAM – Goed nieuws voor organisaties die veel verschillende culturen in huis hebben: onderzoek heeft uitgewezen dat er een directe, positieve relatie bestaat tussen organisatiediversiteit en de jaarlijks gemaakte winst.

114 organisaties hebben meegedaan aan een twee jaar durend onderzoek. Onderzoekers hebben eerst de mate van diversiteit bepaald door demografische gegevens van de werknemers te bestuderen. Hieruit bleek dat 53 van de organisaties over een divers tot zeer divers werknemersbestand beschikte. De overige 61 organisaties scoorden laag op diversiteit.

Onderzoekers hebben vervolgens gekeken naar de relatie tussen een divers werknemersbestand en de netto winst en kwamen tot een opvallende conclusie. De 53 organisaties met veel diversiteit in huis, maakten gemiddeld 11% meer netto winst dan de organisaties die laag op diversiteit scoorden.

Volgens de onderzoekers wordt dit verschil veroorzaakt doordat diversiteit de harmonie in de organisatie versterkt en conflicten voorkomt.

Artikel Anti-diversity/Pro-similarity**Diversiteit leidt tot minder winst**

AMSTERDAM – Slecht nieuws voor organisaties die veel verschillende culturen in huis hebben: onderzoek heeft uitgewezen dat er een directe, negatieve relatie bestaat tussen organisatiediversiteit en de jaarlijks gemaakte winst.

114 organisaties hebben meegedaan aan een twee jaar durend onderzoek. Onderzoekers hebben eerst de mate van diversiteit bepaald door demografische gegevens van de werknemers te bestuderen. Hieruit bleek dat 53 van de organisaties over een divers tot zeer divers werknemersbestand beschikte. De overige 61 organisaties scoorden laag op diversiteit.

Onderzoekers hebben vervolgens gekeken naar de relatie tussen een divers werknemersbestand en de netto winst en kwamen tot een opvallende conclusie. De 61 organisaties met weinig diversiteit in huis, maakten gemiddeld 11% meer netto winst dan de organisaties die hoog op diversiteit scoorden.

Volgens de onderzoekers wordt dit verschil veroorzaakt doordat diversiteit de harmonie in de organisatie verstoort en conflicten oproept.

Appendix B: Scale Anticipated Effectiveness

1. In hoeverre vertrouw je erop dat deze kandidaat een goede leider zal zijn? (van Knippenberg & van Knippenberg, 2005)

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

2. In hoeverre denk je dat deze kandidaat over goede leiderschapskwaliteiten beschikt? (Hains et al., 1997)

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

3. In hoeverre zal deze persoon als leider effectief zijn? (Hains et al., 1997)

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

4. In hoeverre denk je dat het team onder leiding van deze persoon goed zal presteren?

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

5. In hoeverre in hoeverre denk je dat deze persoon in staat is om goede prestaties te leveren?

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

Appendix C: Perceived Leader Prototypicality

1. In hoeverre denk je dat deze persoon zich al seen typisch leider zal gedragen?

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

2. In hoeverre denk je dan deze persoon over de eigenschappen van een typisch leider beschikt?

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel

3. In hoeverre past deze persoon bij het beeld dat je van een leider hebt?

<u>Kandidaat A</u>	<u>Kandidaat E</u>
helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel	helemaal niet 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 helemaal wel