

AN EXAMINATION OF THE MEDIATORS AND MODERATORS IN THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUSTIFICATIONS, ORGANIZATIONAL CONTEXTS, AND
DISCRIMINATION IN PERSONNEL SELECTION

by

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ABSTRACT

Discrimination research has largely focused on what has been called old-fashioned racism. However, research exploring modern racism is a burgeoning area. This dissertation attempted to extend and build theory on modern racism by explaining when justifications and organizational contexts can lead people to discriminate in personnel selection situations. Explicit and implicit justifications are examined and tested using directives from leaders, coworkers, and customers. Additionally, two organizational contexts, diversity climate and the hiring context, are examined to determine when they may lead to discrimination. Three-way interactions are hypothesized among modern racism, submissiveness to authority, and agreeableness that are posited to affect one's propensity to discriminate. Finally, two mediation processes, stereotype activation/application and casuistry, are hypothesized as the psychological processes that explain the decision making process. Binary logistic regression was used to test the hypotheses. Results from three lab studies revealed that explicit coworker justifications led to both the selection of fewer and more Black job applicants. Stereotype activation/application mediated the relationship between explicit justifications and organizational contexts on the selection of Black job applicants but not between implicit justifications and Black job applicants. A complete discussion of the results along with the theoretical and managerial implications, limitations, and directions for future research are also presented.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to all my ancestors who have made it possible for me to achieve this and to all my family, friends, and professors who have taught me, supported me, and have guided me along this journey.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

N	Sample Size
df	Degrees of freedom: Number of values free to vary after certain restrictions have been placed on the data
r	Pearson product-moment correlation
β	Beta coefficient
p	Significance Level
VIF	Variance Inflation Factor
χ^2	Chi-square
CFA	Confirmatory Factor Analysis
DPT	Discrimination Process Theory
Exp(B)	Exponentiation of the B coefficient
DC	Diversity Climate
LMR	Low/Lower in/on Modern Racism
HMR	High/Higher in/on Modern Racism
t	Computed value of t test
<	Less than
=	Equal to

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

We're setting ourselves up for a lawsuit, a civil rights lawsuit, if we don't hire one of the minority candidates (who) is overly qualified for this position. –Black Cincinnati Judge

Personnel selection has been of interest to scholars and practitioners for decades. This should be no surprise as hiring employees is one of the most essential managerial duties within organizations. Personnel selection, however, also has posed numerous challenges to managers. Challenges are present when managers must make complex decisions taking into consideration personal, organizational, and the applicants' goals (Porter, Lawler, & Hackman, 1975), which in many cases, may not be aligned with each other. One particularly challenging misalignment occurs when personnel selection decisions are made based on or challenged on the basis of social identity information.

Despite it being a controversial issue, many personnel selection decisions are made taking into account applicants' social identities (Brief, Dietz, Cohen, Pugh, & Vaslow, 2000; Goldman, Gutek, Stein, & Lewis, 2006). Social identities are categories in which people classify themselves based on shared attributes such as race/ethnicity, nationality, sex, sexual orientation, religion, age, profession, abilities, and traits name a few (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel, 1974). As the epigraph points out, concerns with applicants' race can become controversial issues in personnel selection (L. Harris, 2000; Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Triana, 2008; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005). In the highlighted example, a committee of 12 judges was responsible for selecting two magistrates. After reviewing over 30 résumés, the committee narrowed the pool down to 6 qualified candidates—three blacks and three whites (Perry, 2011). Two white female magistrates were hired by an 8-4 vote, which led to Judge Berry's statement in the epigraph. Judge Mock, who is white, took umbrage with Berry's comment and responded, "To consider

race as a factor in the hiring process is highly improper and it's illegal" (Perry, 2011). Perry reported that the eight white Republican judges voted for the two white applicants and the four black judges opposed one of the white applicants citing her lack of experience in their jurisdiction and her being hired only because of her participation in several Republican political campaigns. This dissertation does not take up the issue of whether considering race in the hiring process is legal or illegal. Instead, this dissertation examines which types of justifications and organizational contexts lead people to discriminate based on race in personnel situations.

Discrimination in Organizations

Despite widespread ideals of the United States being a meritocratic and egalitarian society (Ledgerwood, Mandisodza, Jost, & Pohl, 2011; Son Hing et al., 2011), discrimination still occurs within the American society and within organizations (Brief et al., 2000; Chugh & Brief, 2008a; Harcourt, Lam, Harcourt, & Flynn, 2008; Petersen & Dietz, 2008). This discrepancy between ideology and action has long been known as the "American Dilemma" (Dipboye & Colella, 2005; Myrdal, 1944). The U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) defines discrimination as the unfair treatment and harassment of others based on race, color, religion, sex (including pregnancy), national origin, age (40 and older), and disability or genetic information, denial of a reasonable workplace accommodation based on religious beliefs or a disability, and retaliation against an employee because of a discrimination claim (U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2012). In 2011, with 99,947 claims, the EEOC reported a record number of discrimination claims filed as well as obtained \$364.6 million in restitution for victims of workplace discrimination (U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011). In 2010, of the 99,922 discrimination charges filed, race discrimination made up the majority with 35,890 (35.9%) (U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity

Commission, 2010). It is important to note, however, that Black and White claimants have racial discrimination claims dismissed for *no reasonable cause* at relatively the same rate, 68.8% and 68.9% respectively (Goldman et al., 2006).

Nonetheless, considering the enormous number of discriminations charges filed with the EEOC, that employers have had to pay victims significant amounts of payments in restitution, and the damage that can be done to employee relations and morale, it is no surprise that scholars and practitioners have been interested in understanding factors leading to discrimination and how to resolve it.

For years, scholars have researched numerous areas of discrimination such as gender (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992; Ridgeway, 1997), age (Weiss & Maurer, 2004), sexual orientation (Ragins, Cornwell, & Miller, 2003; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001), religion (E. B. King & Ahmad, 2010; J. E. King, Stewart, & McKay, 2010), weight/attraction (Graziano, Bruce, Sheese, & Tobin, 2007; Judge, Hurst, & Simon, 2009), and (dis)ability (Colella, DeNisi, & Varma, 1998; Ren, Paetzold, & Colella, 2008). Consistent with its majority share of discrimination charges, research on racial discrimination remains prominent in the social psychology literature on discrimination, but surprisingly, remains relatively scant in the management literature (Chugh & Brief, 2008b). Highlighting this omission, Chugh and Brief (2008b, p. 1) wrote, “In fact, most of organizational scholarship looks as if no people of color work in organizations, else we would see more attention paid to research topics such as race and racism, as well as those often entwined with race – social class, immigration status, and coping with discrimination. As of now, all of these topics remain neglected in the management literature.” Chugh and Brief’s commentary suggests that more research needs to be conducted to

address the dearth of these topics in the management literature. This dissertation seeks to answer this call by examining issues related to discrimination and racism within personnel situations.

Factors Leading to Discrimination

Scholars have identified several factors that may lead to racial discrimination. In-group bias, stereotyping, and prejudicial attitudes are prominent among those factors (Petersen & Dietz, 2008; Umphress et al., 2008; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005). Social identity theory (SIT) has often been used to explain why these factors may lead to discrimination. SIT states that people realize that they are members of a social group and attach an emotional and value significance to their group membership (Tajfel, 1974). Salient identities, such as race, make it easy for people to classify themselves into in-groups and out-groups. Because people feel positive emotional attachments to their social identities and prefer to maintain a positive self-concept, they tend to favor their in-group members over out-group members (Oakes & Turner, 1980). This in-group favoring may lead people to discriminate against out-group members. In fact, researchers have found that in-group favoring that leads to bias against out-group members can happen quite quickly even when in-groups and out-groups are randomly assigned (Brewer, Manzi, & Shaw, 1993; Brewer, 1979). It is important to note, however, that although in-group/out-group bias may occur, research has established that this bias is not inevitable and is most likely to occur when group identity is threatened (van Ginkel & van Knippenberg, 2009; van Knippenberg, De Dreu, & Homan, 2004; van Knippenberg & van Ginkel, 2010). Certainly, any racial group can experience racial discrimination. However, in the United States, African-Americans have most commonly been the victims of racial discrimination, they perceive race-based discrimination is more prevalent than do White employees, and they more often occupy out-group member status within organizations whereas White employees generally occupy in-group member status

(Avery, McKay, & Wilson, 2008; Brief et al., 2000; Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996; Talaska, Fiske, & Chaiken, 2008). Therefore, for parsimony, this dissertation will only focus on Black/White racial discrimination. However, my theoretical implications should not be interpreted as being limited to these two racial groups.

Stereotypes are categorical schemas that people use to quickly group and make associations about people (Fiske & Lee, 2008). Stereotypes serve as cognitive heuristics that allow people to codify vast amounts of information more easily (Allport, 1954). Stereotypes can be easily activated, but stereotype activation does not necessarily lead to stereotype application (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Stereotype activation is the cognitive priming of a stereotype whereas stereotype application is when a person behaves, makes a decision, or treats someone in accordance to a stereotype. Even though people may not apply the stereotype to a target member, stereotype activation can still be detected via implicit measures (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Interestingly, stereotype activation also can influence people's thoughts about non-target members. For example, research has revealed that when the stereotype of Black people being aggressive was activated, respondents perceived White people to be more aggressive even though aggressiveness is a stereotype more attributable to Black people as opposed to White people (Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997). These findings support the notion that stereotype activation of one target group can affect perceptions of non-target group members. However, stereotype application leads to discrimination more often for target members than simply stereotype activation (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Hodson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2002; Kay et al., 2009). Although everyone does not act on stereotypes, people are aware of those that are commonly assigned to different racial groups (Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997). The more stereotypes are internalized and believed to be prototypical of a group, the more likely the

stereotypes will lead people to have prejudicial attitudes (Allport, 1954; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kunda & Spencer, 2003).

Although there has been great progress in terms of the reduction of overt racism and prejudice since the Civil Rights Movement, if the racial discrimination claims filed with the EEOC is any indication, racial discrimination is still prevalent, debilitating, and remain a significant issue in the United States (Brief et al., 2000; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Goldman et al., 2006; McConahay, 1983; U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011). Prejudicial attitudes also have been linked to discrimination (Fiske & Lee, 2008; Paluck & Green, 2009). In part, a discriminatory outcome occurs because prejudices can be activated automatically and unconsciously whenever social categorical or stereotypical information is primed (Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997). Similar to stereotype activation and application, however, simply having prejudicial attitudes does not necessarily mean that one will discriminate. In fact, people can avoid discriminating against others by engaging in self-corrective presentational behaviors if they are motivated to avoid prejudice (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Nonetheless, the more prejudiced that one is, the more likely that he or she will discriminate against others in accordance to his or her prejudices (Allport, 1954).

Individual and Organizational Effects of Racial Discrimination

Considering the implications that racial discrimination has on individuals and organizations, it is important that more attention is given the subject within the management literature. Even few instances of discrimination at the individual level can have dramatic long-term effects across levels (Donohue & Siegelman, 1991). Interestingly, modeling studies have found that even one percent of bias can aggregate upward toward a 15 percent bias at the societal

level (Martell, Lane, & Emrich, 1996). In the area of hiring, which this dissertation examines, perceptions of discrimination is more common than what is documented because job applicants have the most difficulty gathering sufficient evidence in order to file grievances (Goldman et al., 2006). Additionally, undetected discrimination may occur at the hiring phase unintentionally as a result of using certain personnel tests (Manese, 1986; McKay & Davis, 2008). Nonetheless, most EEOC claims of racial discrimination is alleged to be intentional discrimination rather than unintentional (Goldman et al., 2006). Generally, because higher pay, higher status, and higher level jobs are more congruent with stereotypes of White men (e.g. competent, assertive, leaders, etc.), racial minorities are more likely to suffer from the effects of discrimination (Goldman et al., 2006). Because discrimination during the hiring process may often go undetected, it is particularly important to examine the psychological processes and under which conditions and organizational contexts people are most likely to discriminate. This dissertation attempts to do this.

Within the management literature on discrimination, researchers have found that discrimination or perceptions of discrimination has been related to increased job stress and feelings of rejection (Mays, Coleman, & Jackson, 1996; Stroebe & Ellemers, 2009), distrust and reduction of responsiveness to supervisor feedback (G. L. Cohen, Steele, & Ross, 1999), biased performance appraisals (L. Roberson, Galvin, & Charles, 2008), increased work conflict (Jehn, Greer, & Rupert, 2008), and lower organizational commitment and job satisfaction (Bergman, Palmieri, Drasgow, & Ormerod, 2012; Foley, Kidder, & Powell, 2002). Numerous scholars have identified how many of these negative outcomes such as increased job stress and lower organizational commitment and job satisfaction may lead to decreased job performance

(Cropanzano, Rupp, & Byrne, 2003; Hunter & Thatcher, 2007; T. A. Judge, Thoresen, Bono, & Patton, 2001).

At the firm level, discrimination lawsuits threaten organizations' financial well-being, reputations, and survival (James & Wooten, 2006; Rindova, Williamson, Petkova, & Sever, 2005). In 2011, the EEOC was able to obtain \$364.6 million for the claimants of racial discrimination who had their cases settled against their employers (U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011). Other sources suggest that racial discrimination class action lawsuits average employers \$44 million (median \$28 million) (Selmi, 2003) and even in cases that do not result in cash settlements against organizations, employers still face substantial legal costs fighting discrimination cases (Terpstra & Kethley, 2002). Individual effects of discrimination also may lead to other hidden costs to organizations. Organizational justice research suggests that people attempt to restore perceptions of inequality (Adams, 1965; Bies, 2001). In this regard, people who perceive they have been discriminated against by an organization may engage in a number of negative activities such as theft, sabotage, and brand criticism in an effort to *get back* at the organization (Giacalone & Riordan, 1997). It is evident from the research findings presented above that discrimination can have significant negative outcomes for individuals, organizations, and our society.

Overview of the Present Study

Within the context of the above discussion, the purpose of this dissertation is to extend and build theory surrounding discrimination against African-Americans/Blacks in personnel selection situations.¹ As such, this dissertation attempts to answer the following research questions. Given that most people have knowledge of racial stereotypes, what are the frameworks that explain racial discrimination? What are the psychological processes through which

¹ African-American and Black are used interchangeably in this dissertation.

discrimination against Blacks occurs? Can justifications—written or verbal explanations— influence people to discriminate? Can justifications to discriminate favor Blacks? Can non-authority figures (e.g. employees with no formal authority) influence people to comply with discriminatory instructions? Are there individual differences that may interact with justifications that can influence people to discriminate against Blacks? Can different organizational contexts influence people to discriminate against Blacks? In attempting to answer these research questions, I will specifically examine the psychological process through which different types of justifications may lead people to discriminate against Blacks in personnel selection situations. Additionally, I explore possible individual differences that may either exacerbate or attenuate the effect that justifications have on discrimination against Blacks. Finally, I examine different organizational contexts that may lead to discrimination against Blacks. Answering these research questions will make valuable theoretical contributions by closing several gaps within the literature by providing a more complete theory of discrimination that will have significant implications for scholars and practitioners. This dissertation will employ a laboratory experimental design and the hypotheses will be tested over three studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND HYPOTHESIS DEVELOPMENT

Undoubtedly, racial minorities have made enormous progress in terms of obtaining equal rights in the United States. Many of these gains were the direct result of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Such gains included desegregating public schools (*Brown v. Board of Education*) and public transportation (*Bailey v. Patterson*), requiring equal pay for men and women (*Equal Pay Act of 1963*), and prohibiting discrimination in voting, public accommodations, public facilities, and public education (*Civil Rights Act of 1964*). The 1964 Act also created the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and other federally-assisted programs (FindLaw, 2012). The EEOC is in charge of enforcing laws related to employment discrimination. Despite the enormous gains racial minorities have made, employment discrimination is still prevalent in many organizations.

In 2010, the EEOC reported that over 35,000 people filed racial discrimination claims against their employer (U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011).² The EEOC reports that complaints of racial discrimination are consistently the most prevalent form of employment discrimination that the EEOC investigates. Racial discrimination lawsuits can be debilitating to organizations, but equally important, racial discrimination can be devastating to those who experience it. As a result, scholars have long been interested in the nature of racial discrimination (Allport, 1954; Avery et al., 2008; Brief et al., 2005; Cortina, 2008; McConahay & Hough, 1976), and have attempted to predict and explain the situations wherein people would discriminate (Petersen & Dietz, 2008; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007; Umphress et al., 2008; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005), and have offered suggestions to mitigate racial discrimination (Avery & McKay, 2010; James & Wooten, 2006; McKay et al., 2007).

² Efforts to obtain a breakdown of claims by race were unsuccessful.

A number of theoretical approaches have been used to predict and explain racial discrimination in organizations. Many of these approaches have focused on theories of prejudice, stereotypes, and in-group/out-group categorizations. Interestingly, in the case of in/out-group categorization, recent research suggests that racial discrimination may be rooted in an evolutionary biological process (Mahajan et al., 2011). For example, Mahajan and colleagues found that rhesus macaques (a species of monkeys) could distinguish between pictures of the faces of members of their species who were a part of their in-group since birth and rhesus macaques who were not a part of their group (out-group members). The rhesus macaques automatically responded more positively to their in-group members and more negatively toward the out-group members and showed greater vigilance toward the pictures of the out-group members. This result was found even when researchers eliminated familiarity with pictures as an alternative explanation, as the monkeys preferred in-group members even when they were more familiar with out-group monkeys. In fact, mirroring sex patterns in humans (e.g. men tend to show more intergroup bias than women), the male macaques showed greater out-group vigilance than the female macaques (Akrami, Ekehammar, & Araya, 2000; Mahajan et al., 2011; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). These findings elucidate that in-group/out-group biases also exist in non-human species and suggest that these psychological processing biases, to a certain extent, are likely evolutionary.

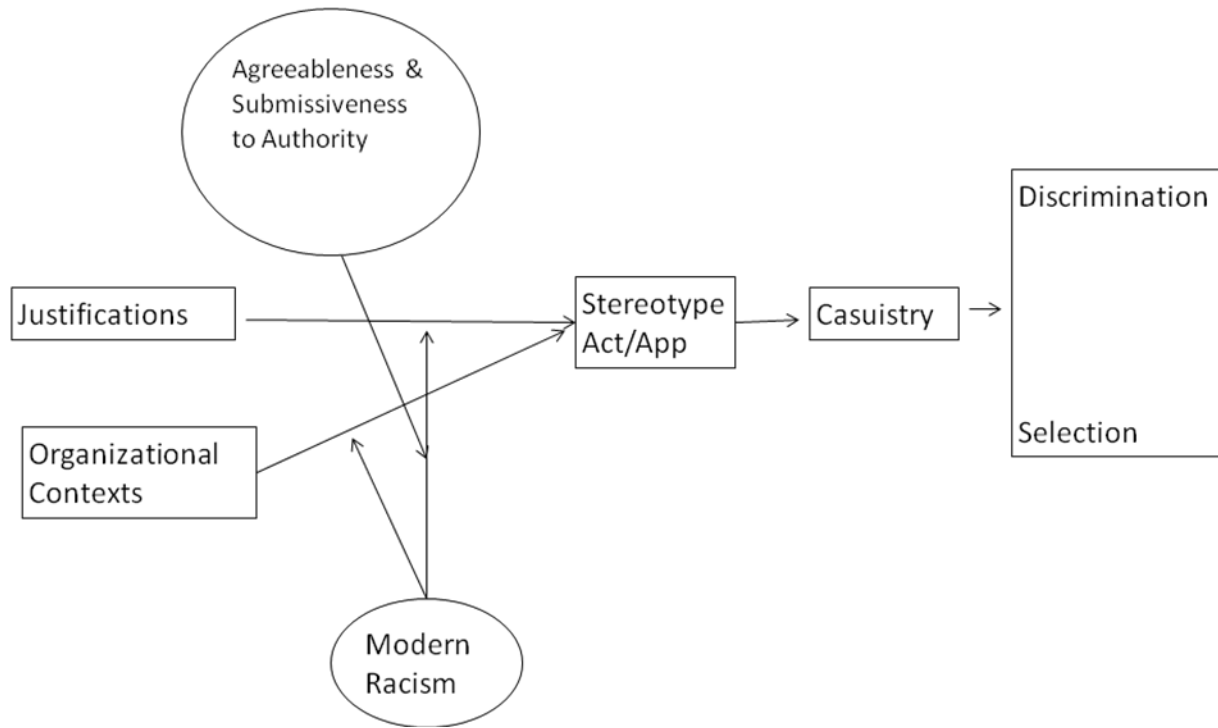
Although theories of prejudice, stereotypes, and in-group/out-group categorizations go far in explaining and predicting discrimination, they are incomplete in capturing all the aspects surrounding how racial discrimination occurs. For example, even when people endorse different degrees of racist attitudes and negative stereotypes about certain racial groups, they can, at times, refrain from acting on these attitudes and stereotypes, which presents challenges to the predictive

utility of theories of prejudice and stereotypes (Lepore & Brown, 1997; Plant & Devine, 1998). Additionally, people do not always disfavor out-group members and people may be simultaneously in both the in-group and out-group, so social identity and categorization theories fall short in explaining discrimination (van Knippenberg et al., 2004; van Knippenberg & van Ginkel, 2010). Practically speaking, one reason that racial discrimination in organizations still persists is because it can be hard to detect in individual cases. For example, audit studies have found that matched-résumés that had culturally Black names were 50 percent less likely to get callbacks than matched-résumés that had culturally White names (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). In a similar vein, people frequently make biased decisions based on one's social identity, yet justify their decisions using ostensibly objective criteria (Norton, Sommers, Vandello, & Darley, 2006; Norton, Vandello, & Darley, 2004). This can be particularly pernicious because valid cases of discrimination can continue to occur without ever being recognized or challenged. In fact, if they are challenged, they can be repudiated easily because the decision maker may argue convincingly that his or her decision was based on objective criteria rather than on a social identity. Equally troubling, people can make these discriminatory decisions unconsciously or simply discriminate as a result of some organizational directive, climate, knowledge, or norm (Brief et al., 2000; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). What is needed in the literature is a theoretical framework that provides additional insight into how and why discrimination in personnel situations persists despite its illegality, broad social illegitimacy, and people's general intention to appear to act in an unbiased manner. This dissertation attempts to fill this gap.

This literature review is organized into five parts. First, I will present the theory of modern racism. This is the overarching theory in which many of my hypotheses are grounded and where I attempt to make most of my theoretical contributions. Second, I will argue that

explicit and implicit justifications and non-authority figures can influence people to discriminate and identify whom these justifications will influence the most. Third, I will explain and hypothesize situations in which other individual differences (e.g. submissiveness to authority and agreeableness) can increase people's propensity to discriminate even when they personally hold little prejudicial attitudes. Fourth, I will go beyond individual differences and justifications to explain situations where organizational contexts (diversity climate and knowledge of hiring context) also can influence personnel discrimination. Finally, I explain the logic in which I ground my mediation hypotheses. In synthesizing these theoretical contributions, I present a more complete theory of discrimination that explains when and why discrimination against Blacks occurs in personnel selection situations. Although models are not often provided for experimental studies, to facilitate understanding, my dissertation model is presented in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Dissertation Model



Theory of Modern Racism

Despite the evidence that racism and racial discrimination still exist, it is clear that overt support and tolerance of racism have greatly diminished (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1983, 1986). Because of the passing of anti-discrimination laws and impressive social, political, and economic gains made by some racial minorities, some people believe racism in regard to racial minorities no longer exists (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1981). In fact, some White Americans use the social, political, and economic gains of some racial minorities as evidence that White Americans are now more readily the target of racism (Fraser & Kick, 2000; Kidder, Lankau, Chrobot-Mason, Mollica, & Friedman, 2004; Moses, 2010).

The manifestation of racism has changed dramatically. Observing this change, scholars have delineated the distinction between old-fashioned racism and modern racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; McConahay, 1983; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Old-fashioned racism is described as the more overt expressions of racism such as physical attacks and murders of others based on one's race (i.e. hate crimes), public racial slurs, government-enforced segregation and discrimination, and other more blatant displays of racial inequality. In contrast, modern racism is described as the more covert forms of racism such as harboring negative racial attitudes, acting on or judging others based on racial stereotypes, racially-motivated interpersonal mistreatment and incivility, avoidance, and other more subtle displays of racial inequality and animus (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1983, 1986). In contrast with the acceptance of past behavior, many White Americans now work hard not to appear racist or behave in a racist manner (Plant & Devine, 1998) and if they behave in a racist manner, they often try to correct their behavior in order not to appear prejudiced (Tetlock, Kristel, Elson, Green, & Lerner, 2000). For example, it was found in an experimental field study that inappropriately dressed Black customers were significantly more likely than inappropriately dressed White customers to be served at an upscale restaurant (Dutton, 1971). The researcher reasoned that the restaurant staff was more likely to allow inappropriately dressed Black customers to be served because a refusal to serve them may be more readily interpreted as a racist action, which is opposite of how many people want to appear (i.e. people generally want to appear non-racist). The staff did not face an allegation of racism when they refused to serve inappropriately dressed White patrons, so they were more likely to enforce the restaurant's dress code. Toward this end, although cases of overt racism still occur, scholars argue that modern

racism prevails as the most common form of racism today as people are more conscious of the implications of appearing racist.

Though some manifestations of modern racism are not legally sanctioned (e.g. incivility, avoidance, etc.) and are seen as less severe than old-fashioned racism, the conundrum is that modern racism can still have deleterious effects and unlike old-fashioned racism, it can be much harder to prove, challenge, and resolve (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986). This conundrum can exacerbate negative race relations within society and organizations because racial minorities may experience racism and discrimination, but have little objective evidence to present to support their claims (Avery, Richeson, Hebl, & Ambady, 2009; Bergsieker, Shelton, & Richeson, 2010). Without objective evidence, some White Americans may view minorities who express their experiences as trouble makers, dishonest, race baiters, or delusional (Q. M. Roberson & Stevens, 2006; Roberts, Davies, & Jupp, 1992; Stubbe et al., 2003).

The theory of modern racism does not suggest that White Americans have simply converted their old-fashioned racism to a newer, modern form. The theory posits that White Americans have differential cognitive beliefs about Black Americans which are driven by their affective attitudes toward Black Americans (McConahay, 1983, 1986; McConahay & Hough, 1976; McConahay et al., 1981). These beliefs and attitudes are a function of the historical context of race relations in the United States and White Americans' values and belief systems. McConahay (1986) outlined several tenets of the theory. He explained that some White Americans believe: 1) discrimination against Black Americans no longer exists and they can now freely compete and enjoy anything they can afford; 2) Black Americans are too demanding in trying to obtain access into places they are not wanted; 3) the tactics and demands that Black Americans use and make are unfair; 4) Black Americans' social, educational, and economic

gains are undeserved and they receive more attention than necessary; 5) racism is bad, but the aforementioned beliefs are not racist because they are facts; and 6) many of the negative stereotypes (e.g. lower in intelligence, honesty, and ambition, etc.) about Black Americans are true. An important distinction of the theory is that modern racists do not believe that this ideology is racist. Therefore, modern racists will outwardly espouse egalitarian views on race and refrain from discriminating when such an act would clearly jeopardize their self-concept of being non-racist, but will do so when they can offer a relatively objective justification for their decision (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay, 1983).

White Americans differ in the degree to which they endorse the ideology of modern racism. Some people completely reject all the tenets, some people believe some of them, and some people completely endorse all of them (McConahay, 1983). People who are low modern racists (LMR) endorse more egalitarian views on race and generally behave accordingly. Therefore, LMR people generally have fewer prejudicial attitudes toward Black people and, therefore, should discriminate against Black people less frequently. In contrast, people who are high modern racist (HMR) also espouse egalitarian views on race, but HMR people endorse more stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes toward Blacks, which is evidenced by their more frequent discrimination than LMR people against Black people (Brief et al., 2000). An important stipulation of the theory, however, is that HMR people are most likely to act on their prejudices by discriminating against Black Americans when they can rationalize their discriminatory decision using an ostensibly objective and unbiased justification devoid of race (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1983). Important to the theory is that the authority figure's directive or rationale provided an ostensibly objective justification that freed people to act on their biases and discriminate while also allowing them to maintain their positive identity

of being a non-racist person. In personnel selection situations, absent such a justification, LMR and HMR people should have relatively equal hiring rates of Black applicants.

A practical example may be in order to elucidate the tenets of the theory. If a manager expresses skepticism to an HMR person over hiring a Black applicant for a job because, in the past, Black employees have resigned shortly after being hired, HMR people are more likely, to view this as an unbiased, non-racist justification which frees them to act on their racist beliefs and discriminate against Black job applicants in the future (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1983). Because retention is important to an organization's operation and these retention patterns may be true and valid for an organization, managers may convincingly argue and believe that such a decision or directive is not racist at all, but rather a prudent business decision. However, if one analyzes the decision, a conclusion that modern racism played a role in the decision may become more lucid.

In the above example, managers have observed a pattern (low retention) based on a group of people (past employees) who are members of a certain racial category (e.g. Black). As a result, it is directed or inferred to reject Black applicants who later applies for the position because they are prejudged to be or behave in the same manner as the previous Black employees who held the job simply because the past employees and current applicants are members of the same race. If an organization has trouble retaining African-American employees (the assumption is that they were qualified since they were hired), managers may attempt to investigate this pattern by conducting thorough exit interviews and auditing their operations. Does the organization have a negative diversity climate? Are competitors luring away racial minorities because they have a value-in-diversity strategy? Does the organization need to address its socialization or training program? Investigating some of these questions may lead to

uncovering the reason for the low retention and allow managers to make any necessary changes to their operations. Such an investigation should go further to improve organizational operations instead of directives not to hire African-Americans. Nonetheless, it is clear to see how people who do not scrutinize and question such directives may easily interpret them as objective and non-racist. Therefore, they may act on these racist directives and maintain a positive, non-racist self-concept. Such directives are often passed along as legitimate business-case justifications.

Explicit and Implicit Justifications

Justifications are written or verbal statements one uses to support, defend, rationalize, or offer as an excuse or explanation for one's decisions, behaviors, beliefs, or attitudes (Bies & Shapiro, 1988; Bies, 1987). In an organization, employees make numerous decisions, engage in numerous behaviors, and have numerous beliefs and attitudes. Because many of these activities naturally entail a great deal of subjectivity at times, organizational members are constantly trying to make sense of their experiences and the behaviors, decisions, beliefs, and attitudes of others (Walsh & Ungson, 1991; Weick, 1979, 1995). Generally, people expect others to behave fairly and make fair decisions (Leventhal, 1980). However, in instances when an unfavorable decision or outcome has taken place, people will search for reasons or explanations for why the decision was made or the outcome obtained prior to formulating fairness opinions (Wong & Weiner, 1981). In many cases, people will overlook unfair outcomes if they perceive the procedures that led to those outcomes to be fair (Greenberg, 1987). Additionally, providing plausible justifications may assuage one's fairness concerns if they explain away suspicious or inappropriate intentions on part of the decision maker (Bies, 1987). Therefore, the content of justifications appears to offer people information to determine the cause, fairness, propriety, and plausibility of one's behaviors and decisions in order to make sense of the situation (Bies &

Shapiro, 1988; Lind & Lissak, 1985; Weick, 1995). Indeed, research has found that respondents rated procedural justice higher when a plausible justification was given for an unfavorable outcome as opposed to when no justification was given for the same unfavorable outcome (Bies & Shapiro, 1988).

People have both internal and external motivations to use justifications (McMackin & Slovic, 2000). Because people generally want to maintain a positive self-concept (Tajfel, 1974; Turner & Oakes, 1989), but at times, do negative things, justifying their negative behavior by deflecting responsibility onto an external referent allows them to reduce the cognitive dissonance they may experience (Festinger, 1957). Likewise, people generally want others to view them positively (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Baumeister, 1982) and are accountable to others (Tetlock & Boettger, 1994), so providing plausible justifications help them more effectively manage their relationships and circumstances. As such, offering justifications or reasons for one's behaviors serve as an important mechanism in decision-making processes because people generally make decisions under internal and external pressures and scrutiny (McMackin & Slovic, 2000; Olson, 1990; Tetlock & Boettger, 1994; Wilson, 1990). Interestingly, scholars have found that when justifications are available, at times, decisions made are of poorer quality than when justifications were not available (McMackin & Slovic, 2000; Wilson, Dunn, Kraft, & Lisle, 1989; Wilson & Schooler, 1991). The scholars reasoned that justifications may lead to poorer quality decisions because they may free biases that decision makers rely upon to make their decision. In short, justifications can free HMR people to act on their biased cognitions if their actions can be explained via the justifications as opposed to their biases.

Although scholars (Bies, 1987; Cox, 1994; Ely & Thomas, 2001) have coined several different types of justifications (e.g. business-case, moral-case, mitigating circumstances, access-

and-legitimacy, etc.), the reasoning content of the justifications can be either explicit or implicit. Explicit justifications are those in which the reason for acting or engaging in a behavior or making a decision is overtly provided within the content of the justification. For example, managers often have suggested that applicants be hired in jobs to match the clientele they will serve because it is expected that such matching would increase productivity, efficiency, and profit (Avery, McKay, Tonidandel, Volpone, & Morris, 2012; Brief et al., 2000; Cox, 1994; Ely & Thomas, 2001). The aforementioned case is an example of an (business-case) explicit justification because the reasoning content for a specific action or behavior is overtly expressed within the justification. As one might expect, the reasoning content for a specific action or behavior is not overtly expressed within an implicit justification, but rather it is more covert. This is the case because a behavior may be seen as selfless, yet beneficial to others, so verbal or written justifications may not be needed because the justification can be implied from the behavior or action (Diekmann, 2011). The latter description offers an important extension to the definition of justifications beyond being written or verbal statements by also including tacit explanations of behavior and actions that also can function similarly to explicit justifications.

I will offer two illustrations to elucidate both types of implicit justifications. Take for instance, as they discuss who to hire for a position, a manager may explain to his subordinate (who is also a hiring manager) that a company markets product X to an affluent clientele and the customers have reported that they are very satisfied with the high level of professionalism that the company's employees display. This is an implicit justification because the manager does not directly tell the subordinate who to hire, but rather provides information that may influence the subordinate's decision by sending certain signals concerning whom to hire within the content of the justification (e.g. affluent clientele, keep them satisfied, and employees' professionalism).

Alternatively, another example when an implicit justification can be evoked is when a manager makes a decision that his or her organization will financially sponsor a non-profit organization. In this case, the manager need not provide any written or verbal justification for his or her decision to others because the behavior itself (e.g. sponsoring a non-profit) may sufficiently serve as an implicit justification to stakeholders (e.g. a selfless, benevolent act). It is important to note that in the latter example, the manager, in fact, could have been acting selfishly in his or her decision to sponsor the non-profit. For instance, the manager's spouse could have been on the board of that non-profit or the manager could have been personally seeking a seat on the non-profit's board and financial sponsorship could ensure that the manager obtain a seat on the board. Nonetheless, because the action itself reasonably can be seen as selfless, fair, or non-suspicious, it can function effectively as an implicit justification. Establishing that implicit justifications also can influence personnel selection decisions is an important theoretical contribution because prior research has examined only the effect of explicit leader justifications on personnel selection decisions. This is especially important because it will illustrate how easily people can influence others (intentionally or inadvertently) to adopt their hiring preferences (real or perceived) yet promote and appear that their decision making is non-biased and objective.

Modern Racism, Justifications, and Personnel Selection Decisions

Hiring personnel is one of the most important decisions and fundamental activities that managers make and perform in organizations. Managers generally take into account applicants' knowledge, skills, abilities, experience, and educational background when they seek to hire an applicant. Although applicants can be screened on ostensibly objective criteria, the final hiring decisions are quite often subjective (Norton et al., 2006; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007). This is the case because final candidates tend to be similar on many objective criteria (e.g. education,

experience, etc.) and therefore, all are generally qualified for the job. But final candidates can differ greatly in terms of personality, appearance, interviewing skills, and perceived fit with the organization, job, or work group. Taken together, these objective and subjective criteria are known as elasticity in justifiable factors (Hsee, 1996). The elasticity describes the varied criteria people can use to interpret these factors and justify their decisions in various manners (Hsee, 1996). Hsee explained that objective criteria like education and work experience are generally seen as “justifiable factors” whereas subjective criteria like social identity information and physical attraction are generally seen as “unjustifiable factors.” It is important to note that these are just names Hsee used to describe the different criteria, not that one can or cannot legitimately justify the criteria.

Although managers may believe that they should only take into consideration justifiable factors when making hiring decisions, they frequently consider unjustifiable factors whether consciously or unconsciously (Hsee, 1996; Norton et al., 2006, 2004). A substantial amount of research has documented that discrimination based on unjustifiable factors occurs (Barron, Hebl, & King, 2011; Crow, Fok, & Hartman, 1998; Harcourt et al., 2008; Luzadis, Wesolowski, & Snavely, 2008; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007; Umphress et al., 2008; Weiss & Maurer, 2004; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005); however, far less research has established why this discrimination still persists.

As modern racism theory (McConahay et al., 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; McConahay, 1983, 1986) suggests, people may persist in making discriminatory decisions because they do not see their decisions as racist or discriminatory when a justification is available. A decision maker can maintain a non-racist or non-discriminatory self-concept when he or she receives a justification to discriminate. Brief and colleagues (2000) found that HMR people made discriminatory hiring decisions when they perceived they received an explicit

justification from a legitimate authority figure. Importantly, when the authority figure was presented as illegitimate, HMR people did not make discriminatory hiring decisions. The researchers reasoned that only an explicit justification from a legitimate authority figure could be used as a plausible justification for people to act on their own biases, but still maintain an ostensibly non-racist, objective self-concept.

Based on the rationale provided above, I propose that both explicit and implicit justifications will be seen as plausible justifications for people to act on their own biases. Thus, I propose my first set of hypotheses:

H1a: Implicit leader justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H1b: The negative relationship between implicit leader justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

Coworker Justifications

Taking it a step further, I suggest that managers or authority figures may not be the only people who influence a manager's hiring decisions. I propose that managers' hiring decisions also can be influenced by coworkers or the customers they serve. Increasingly, work is conducted interdependently in teams and individual job performance is often dependent on coworkers' individual performance and the group outcomes or group performance (Balkundi & Harrison, 2006; Mesmer-Magnus & DeChurch, 2009; Reagans, Zuckerman, & McEvily, 2004). Additionally, organizations and work groups are increasingly becoming more diverse (Homan, Van Knippenberg, Van Kleef, & De Dreu, 2007; van Knippenberg et al., 2004). However, increased diversity does not always result in increased work group performance because work group diversity can lead to intergroup interpersonal conflict (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999),

perceived group threat (Morrison, Fast, & Ybarra, 2009), decreased group identification (Van Knippenberg, Haslam, & Platow, 2007), and distancing and isolation (Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008). It is also important to note that there are other reasons independent of racial diversity that may result in reduced team/group performance such as social loafing within work groups (Erez, Lepine, & Elms, 2006; Shepperd, 1993). Despite these shortcomings, when designed appropriately, work teams can be very productive and beneficial to organizations (Campion, Papper, & Medsker, 1996; Erez et al., 2006; Mohrman, Cohen, & Mohrman, 1995).

In addition to their increased presence, work groups are increasingly becoming self-managed teams. Having the ability to manage themselves naturally grants members of work teams increased autonomy and greater decision-making authority (Lawler, Mohrman, & Ledford, 1995). This increased autonomy and decision-making authority can be seen in the use of peer evaluation, 360-degree feedback, and team members having an active voice in recruiting and hiring new team members (Caudron, 1994; Druskat & Wolff, 1999; Saavedra & Kwun, 1993). In fact, oftentimes, coworkers (used collectively to describe work peers and subordinates) sit on hiring committees and have an equal vote in hiring job applicants (Caudron, 1994). Likewise, job, team, and organization fit is important to managers and an abundance of research suggests that managers take fit into consideration when they hire job candidates (Arthur, Bell, Villado, & Doverspike, 2006; Bretz, Rynes, & Gerhart, 1993; Cable & Judge, 1996; Greguras & Diefendorff, 2009; Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005; Yu, 2009). As such, it seems likely that managers may take coworkers' hiring preferences (real or perceived) of a new employee into account when hiring an applicant. In other words, legitimate coworkers' justifications also should influence managers' hiring decisions.

My argument departs significantly from previous work in this area and as such makes several extensions. An important theoretical distinction is that although team members may evaluate each other, they are seen as peers and not as authority figures (Michener & Burt, 1975; Umphress et al., 2008). This is an important theoretical distinction because previous research has suggested that people comply with unfavorable or unethical decisions because they are simply adhering to the directives of an authority figure, and in order to fulfill the responsibilities of their role, they feel they must obey the authority figure's directives (Brief et al., 2000; Michener & Burt, 1975; Milgram, 1974; Petersen & Dietz, 2008; Umphress et al., 2008). Maintaining that one is simply fulfilling one's role and following an authority figure's directive frees the decision maker from feelings of guilt over his or her decision (Festinger, 1957; Michener & Burt, 1975; Milgram, 1974). However, coworkers do not have authority over managers and therefore would not possess legitimate power (Brief et al., 2000; Milgram, 1974). Nonetheless, coworkers can often induce social pressures and exercise informal power and influence over others by establishing social norms, excelling in their position, or leveraging network ties (Brass & Burkhardt, 1993; Brass, Galaskiewicz, Greve, & Wenpin, 2004; Brass, 1984; Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950; Pfeffer, 2010). Therefore, I posit that suggestions or preferences (real or perceived) from coworkers also may function like legitimate authoritative directives. As such, coworker directives that disfavor Black applicants may also function as justifications to free someone to act upon his or her biases while also allowing him or her to maintain a positive self-concept. Based on the above reasoning, I hypothesize the following:

H2a: Explicit co-worker justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H2b: The negative relationship between explicit co-worker justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

Customer Justifications

Similar to the way coworkers' preferences and opinions (real or perceived) can influence managers' decisions, I suggest that customers' preferences and opinions also may influence managers' decisions. This notion seems to be supported by Moss and Tilly's (2001) research. Using in-depth face-to-face and telephone interviews, Moss and Tilly interviewed over 360 employers and managers in over 3,000 firms in the Boston, Atlanta, Detroit, and Los Angeles area to learn what they really felt about applicants' race, skills, and personnel selection and how it relates to their success with their customers. One would be hard-pressed to find any business or industry that did not depend at least to some extent on its relationship with its customers to survive. The recognition that customers and customer service are instrumental to business success goes back more than a century as evidenced by the popular adage "The customer is always right," coined in 1909 by Harry Gordon Selfridge, the founder of Selfridge's department store in London (Martin, 2012). Echoing the importance of customers and hiring personnel who can fulfill their needs, one manufacturing manager stated, "They've [employees] got to be customer-oriented because they've got to understand that if we don't satisfy the customer, then we're not in business" (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 58). Additionally, the popular press includes countless examples of managers taking action to fulfill the desires of their customers. For example, when Coca-Cola changed the signature design of their cans because they wanted to raise \$3 million for the World Wildlife Fund to bring awareness to the plight of polar bears, they were inundated with customer complaints over the new design. As a result, Coca-Cola decided not to make any more of the special edition cans and returned to their signature can design

(Francis, 2011). Within the same story, Francis recounted other examples of managers reversing the strategic decisions they made as a response to customer dissatisfaction. PepsiCo lost \$35 million when customers rejected its new packaging for Tropicana orange juice and quickly returned to the standard packaging, Gap changed its logo back within days after customers expressed disapproval of its new design via social media, and Frito-Lay redesigned their Sun Chips compostable bag to be quieter after customers disapproved of the design of its original compostable bag (Francis, 2011). These are just a few examples that shed light on how responsive managers have been to the preferences and opinions of their customers. Next, I will expound upon how customers' preferences and opinions (real or perceived) can affect personnel decisions.

Organizations have many different identities and cultures and managers generally attempt to hire people who most closely fit in and match their organization's identity and culture (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Cable & Judge, 1997; Schein, 1990). For more than a decade, scholars have suggested that organizations can increase profits if their employees match their clientele in terms of cultural diversity (Cox, 1994; Ely & Thomas, 2001). Although research has been mixed on the efficacy of race-matching (Avery et al., 2012; Ely & Thomas, 2001; Sacco & Schmitt, 2005), the theoretical rationale for why it may be effective is convincing. Ely and Thomas's three perspectives on diversity shed light on the theoretical arguments of race-matching.

Ely and Thomas's integration-and-learning perspective on diversity explains that people gain valuable insights, skills, and experiences from their various cultural backgrounds and employees can use this knowledge to redesign their work practices to achieve greater effectiveness and efficiency and increase their markets. In this perspective, diversity is valued, integrated into the workforce, and everyone learns from the different cultural insights available

to them so that everyone can perform their jobs better. Ely and Thomas's access-and-legitimacy perspective on diversity endorses the race-matching suggestion most strongly. This perspective explains that managers recognize that diverse markets are a reality and in order for organizations to more easily gain access and legitimacy in markets, they hire employees who are culturally representative of those markets to execute those transactions and relations. In many industries, before business transactions occur, employees need to spend a considerable amount of time establishing relationships and building goodwill with customers. It is believed that these relationships and goodwill will be more quickly and easily established when employees and customers share similar cultural backgrounds. This perspective differs from the integration-and-learning approach in that the organization does not inherently value diversity, but rather see it only as a means to an end. Finally, Ely and Thomas's discrimination-and-fairness perspective on diversity evokes a moral argument for why organizations should have culturally diverse workforces. This perspective believes that justice and fair treatment are important societal goals and should be reflected within organizations as evidenced by their diverse workforces. This perspective sends employees and customers signals that cultural diversity is valued and that the organizations believes in diversity, promotes fair and just treatment as an organizational value and not simply to achieve an instrumental outcome. Ely and Thomas discovered that different organizations have implemented each of these diversity perspectives.

Although each of these diversity perspectives concentrates on the employees who are hired, it is clear that the underlying reasoning of these perspectives recognizes that how employees interact and relate to customers is an important component of the organization's success. As such, these perspectives identify those employees with whom customers are most likely to want to relate and interact. Indeed, although cross-race interactions are inevitable,

research has found that they can be extremely uncomfortable, difficult, and threatening, which leads some people to avoid them as much as they can, thus preferring to interact with same-race individuals (Avery et al., 2009; Page-Gould, Mendoza-Denton, & Tropp, 2008; Shelton & Richeson, 2006; Townsend, Major, Sawyer, & Mendes, 2010; Trawalter, Richeson, & Shelton, 2009). Although some research has found that clients did not show same race employee matching preferences (McCormick & Kinloch, 1986), other research has uncovered these preferences in diverse industries such as food-service, retail, and medical settings (Juni, Brannon, & Roth, 1988; E. B. King et al., 2011; Laveist & Nuru-Jeter, 2002; Malat & Hamilton, 2006; Page, 1997). Managers are likely to know the demographics of their customers and how successful their employees are in interacting with and servicing their customers. Because this race-matching approach is viewed as purely instrumental, I will expound upon the reasoning of this approach.

In a study that empirically supported the efficacy of race-matching, Avery and colleagues (2012) found that racioethnic representativeness (i.e. race-matching) in the employee workforce signaled fairness and equity to employees and customers. This representativeness increased employees' commitment to providing better service to their customers, which in turn, increased customer loyalty, satisfaction, and patronage. Indeed, Moss and Tilly (2001) uncovered in their interviews many stories where managers explained their concern with the racial makeup of their employees and clientele and their responsiveness to their customers' personnel preferences. For example, to avoid losing White customers, a retail manager of a store in a racially-diverse Detroit suburb that had a majority Black workforce stated that "we are forced to have an Affirmative action program for nonminorities in this particular store" in an effort to hire more White employees so that White customers would continue to patronize the store (Moss & Tilly,

2001, p. 106). A manager of a home-improvement chain store on the outskirts of Detroit admitted, “You do get customers coming in and they’ll tell you, ‘You need to hire more whites,’ or if the line is long at the register, the guy will blame it on the black girl behind the register” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 106). The manager went on to share, “Yeah, I think here because you do have a little more of the upscale and you get more of the older, senior shoppers that are still from the old school—you know, ‘White or no way’” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 106).

In another interview, a manager of a Boston area home health agency stated that their White clients shared race-matching preferences more often than their clients of other racial backgrounds. The manager shared, “The clients, absolute vast majority, it’s whites not wanting blacks. In my time I have not heard of any black client refusing a white caregiver” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 106). A manager of another Boston home health agency shared a similar experience. The manager stated that, “Our patients, not a lot of them but every organization has a certain patient population that says, ‘I don’t want Hispanics. I don’t want blacks.’ So we deal with that. And that’s tough, because you could have the most compassionate home health aide and here she is black and the patient has a certain, you know...” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 106-107). In another interview, a White lawyer employed at a Detroit law firm revealed that he did not face barriers working with Black clients, but admitted, “I think I have some white clients who would be very uncomfortable with a black attorney” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 107). A lawyer of a Los Angeles firm proclaimed that “she would not hire a black receptionist because her clients would object” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 107).

Similar to the quotes above, additional research has revealed interviews where managers candidly revealed that they acquiesced to customers’ preferences when hiring personnel. Brief and colleagues (2000) recounted that managers at Shoney’s restaurants were directed to “lighten

up” their staff (i.e. do not hire any more African-Americans) and hire “attractive White girls” (p. 73-74). As cited in Brief et al. (2000, p. 74), a former Shoney’s top executive disclosed that the CEO promoted a tacit rule that, “Blacks should not be employed in any position where they would be seen by customers” (Watkins, 1993, p. 427). Collectively, the employers’ and managers’ revelations quoted above support the notion that customers do share their personnel preferences with employers and managers and, at least in some cases, they acquiesce to their customers’ personnel preferences. In addition to the large number of managers they interviewed being a strength of Moss and Tilly’s study, another strength is that they provided stories from managers and employers from various cities across the United States. This breadth indicates that racial discrimination is not only an issue in the south, as many believe, but is also an issue in the northern, mid-western, and western parts of the United States. Additionally, a particularly revealing point from the interviews is that customers’ biases can affect job opportunities for a broad group of racial minorities in jobs requiring relatively few skills (e.g. cashier) to those requiring advanced education and complex skills (e.g. attorney). This is a particular poignant point because educational attainment is often touted as the *great equalizer*. It is true that educational attainment does provide greater access and mobility for racial minorities, but these interviews reiterate that discriminatory barriers are real even for some racial minorities who are highly educated.

Managers use a variety of mechanisms to receive feedback from customers. Most use either one or all of the following: customer feedback boxes and other forms of written communication, toll-free numbers, website email and links, social media, and on-the-spot verbal communication. Managers also should be keenly aware of employee performance data and their overall organizational performance. Considering the importance that customers have on an

organization's bottom line and the findings of the above cited research in race-matching, it seems logical to contend that managers may, at the very least, minimally consider customers' preferences and opinions (real or perceived) when they hire personnel. In other words, legitimate customers' justifications also may influence managers' hiring decisions.

Similar to my argument on coworker justifications, my argument on customer justifications depart significantly from previous work. Another theoretical distinction outlined in my argument, as with coworkers, customers do not have formal power over managers. So theoretically, managers should not see them as legitimate authority figures, thus not feel obligated to comply with their instructions in personnel situations. Moreover, unlike coworkers who share an internal space with managers, customers are external constituents with whom managers may interact less frequently with any one particular customer, so they may not feel as obligated to comply with specific customers' preferences. Nonetheless, based on the research on race-matching and diversity perspectives, the fact that managers have acquiesced to customers' demands concerning other strategic matters, the anecdotal evidence found in Moss and Tilly's (2001) interviews, and the fact that customers are important to organizational survival, I argue that managers may take into account customers' preferences and opinions in hiring personnel. Therefore, I posit that suggestions or preferences (real or perceived) from customers also may function as legitimate authoritative directives. As such, customer directives that disfavor Black applicants also may function as justifications to free someone to act upon his or her biases while also allowing him or her to maintain a positive self-concept. Based on the above reasoning, I hypothesize the following:

H3a: Explicit customer justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H3b: The negative relationship between explicit customer justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H4a: Implicit customer justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H4b: The negative relationship between implicit customer justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

Obedience to Authority and Personnel Situation

To this point, I have posited how justifications are related to discrimination in personnel selection situations and when that relationship will be stronger. I hypothesized that LMR people will comply less often with those justifications than HMR people because LMR people do not endorse prejudicial attitudes against Black Americans to the degree of HMR people. However, are there additional individual differences that interact with modern racism such that LMR people's hiring decisions will be more similar to those of HMR people when it comes to discriminating against Black applicants in personnel situations? I suggest that one plausible individual difference is one's propensity to comply with an authority figure's directive.

Certainly, Milgram's program of research has shed light on the extent to which people will follow an authority's malevolent directives (Blass, 1991; Milgram, 1974). In fact, a key assumption of Brief and colleagues' (2000) study was that HMR people discriminated because they were able to act on their internal beliefs because their obedience to a legitimate authority's directive provided them with a justification that still allowed them to maintain a non-racist self-concept. When the authority figure was presented as illegitimate, HMR people did not discriminate against Black applicants. An illegitimate authority figure did not provide them with an objective justification, hence, their self-concept of being non-racist would have been

threatened. However, there are at least two concerns with this premise. First, the theory does not suggest that discriminatory decisions are made because people are simply obeying an authority figure's directive and second, Brief and colleagues did not measure participants' individual differences in obedience to authority.

According to modern racism theory, it is suggested that HMR people discriminate not because they are simply obeying a legitimate authority figure's directive, but rather they have a relatively objective justification that allows them to maintain a non-racist self-concept.

However, the theory offers little guidance as to when LMR people may discriminate. I posit that LMR people who are more submissive to authority will be more influenced by justifications that disfavor Black applicants, and thus, more likely to discriminate against Black applicants than LMR people who are less submissive to authority. Some people are more submissive to authority figures' objectives than others. Petersen and Dietz (2008) defined submissiveness as "a tendency toward accepting an organizational authority's directives, as long as these directives are viewed as falling within organizational norms and values" (p. 1289). Authority figures (i.e. leaders/managers) shape the culture of organizations in which subordinates work and use to gather cues on how to behave and the norms and values of the organization (Schein, 1990). From this reasoning, people who are more submissive are more likely to suspend their personal beliefs and follow an authority figure's directive if they seem to be an organizational norm or value. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H5a: The negative relationship between justifications to disfavor Black applicants and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for LMR people who are lower in submissiveness to authority.

H5b: The negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for HMR people who are lower in submissiveness to authority.

Agreeableness and Personnel Selection

Despite Allport's (1954) assertion that prejudice stems from a personality trait, research has not supported this assertion (Graziano et al., 2007; Reynolds, Turner, Haslam, & Ryan, 2001). Subsequently, scholars have abandoned the notion of a "prejudice" personality trait, and have since turned to examining specific dimensions of the Big Five personality factor. People who are high in agreeableness are described to be good-natured, flexible, cooperative, caring, trusting, and tolerant (Mount, Barrick, & Stewart, 1998; Mount & Barrick, 1995). The most relevant descriptors relating agreeableness and prejudicial actions are cooperative, trusting, and tolerant.

People who are both low and high in agreeableness can hold prejudices, but it seems that people who are high in agreeableness attempt to suppress their prejudicial attitudes in accordance with public norms than people who are low in agreeableness (Graziano et al., 2007). However, in this case, I am less concerned with a person's level of prejudice as LMR people have a lower level of racial prejudice than HMR people. What is important in this context is the degree to which people comply with other people's wishes. Because people who are highly agreeable like to maintain peace and cooperate with others, they are more likely to follow rules, procedures, and conform to the pressures of others than someone who is low on agreeableness (J. W. Johnson, 2001). Additionally, highly agreeable people are more likely to trust that others have good intentions and are more willing to help others (Kamdar & Van Dyne, 2007). Therefore, it is likely that people who are low in modern racism, but high in agreeableness might comply with

an authority figure's demographic preferences in personnel situations. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H6a: The negative relationship between justifications to disfavor Black applicants and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for LMR people who are lower in agreeableness.

H6b: The negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for HMR people who are lower in agreeableness.

Stereotype Congruency, Justifications, and Personnel Selection Decisions

Previous research generally has focused on discrimination against racial minorities in personnel situations, and this dissertation mainly followed this theme. Research most commonly focuses on discrimination against racial minorities because racial minorities are generally seen as low-status members and are more likely to be discriminated against (Brief et al., 2000; Goldman et al., 2006; Hodson et al., 2002). However, I posit that in some cases, racial minorities may be favored for some jobs. This “favorability” is likely to occur when job roles are congruent with stereotypes for that racial group. As mentioned before, research shows that whether or not people believe the stereotypes, they are aware of the stereotypes of different racial groups (Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997). There are a host of negative stereotypes of Black people (e.g. aggressive, hostile, loud, incompetent, trouble-makers, etc.) (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Devine, 1989; Hodson et al., 2002; Steele, 1997). Job roles perceived to (a) have negative characteristics congruent with stereotypes of Black Americans or (b) require more interaction with Black coworkers and customers, Black applicants will be favored over White applicants for these jobs. This favorability should be more pronounced for people who are more prejudiced

because their beliefs and attitudes are generally more congruent with the stereotypes. If the stereotype congruent hypothesis is supported, this presents an important theoretical contribution because previous research has generally addressed situations when highly prejudiced people disfavored Black applicants for jobs, but this hypothesis explains situations when highly prejudiced people will favor Black applicants for jobs.

As explained in chapter 1 of this dissertation, stereotypes are categorical schemas that people use to quickly group and make associations about people (Fiske & Lee, 2008). Stereotypes serve as cognitive heuristics that allow people to codify vast amounts of information more easily (Allport, 1954). Stereotype activation is the cognitive priming of a stereotype whereas stereotype application is when a person behaves, makes a decision, or treats someone in accordance to a stereotype. Stereotypes can be activated easily, but stereotype activation does not necessarily lead to stereotype application (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Stereotype activation is an automatic process that generally happens unconsciously when one sees, thinks, hears, or reads about a target member in which they have to judge (Bargh, 1989; Devine, 1989; Dijksterhuis & van Knippenberg, 1998; Lepore & Brown, 1997). Although scholars have debated what specifically triggers stereotype activation (e.g. category membership, representative traits, categorical words), when exactly stereotypes are triggered (goal attainment, judging situations) and in which people the triggers activate stereotypes (high prejudiced people vs. low prejudiced people), they agree that the activation process is largely unconscious and especially likely to occur when people are judging or rating others (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Bargh, 1989, 1994; Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997; Locke & Walker, 1999).

Stereotypes entail both descriptive and prescriptive components (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Descriptive components entail beliefs about how one may behave

or the characteristics that one may possess (e.g. women are caring, Blacks are athletic, Whites are competent, etc). Prescriptive components entail beliefs about how one should behave or the characteristics that one should possess (e.g. women should be passive, Blacks should be aggressive, Whites should be confident, etc.). Stereotype components can affect people's decisions during personnel selection situations because different jobs require people to fulfill different roles (Katz & Kahn, 1978).

Prototype theory posits that people have implicit theories of who is the most typical or average member of a category and then judge others by how closely they fit that particular prototype (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; M. M. Harris, 2004; Inman & Baron, 1996). People's prototypes can affect their choices for who is selected for a job as well as the evaluation of people's performance in a job (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Fiske & Lee, 2008; Fiske & Taylor, 1991). When category membership stereotypes (e.g. race, sex, etc.) are congruent with the job roles, those people will be seen as more prototypical and generally favored for the job or evaluated more positively if they already have the job. When those stereotypes are incongruent with the job roles, those people may be seen as incongruent with the job roles and will generally be disfavored for the job or may be evaluated less positively if they already have the job (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rosette, Leonardelli, & Phillips, 2008; Rosette & Tost, 2010). For example, Eagly and Karau's role incongruity theory argued that women occupy leadership positions less often than men and are evaluated less positively than men in leadership positions because the communal characteristics (e.g. warm, caring, etc.) that are proscribed to the female gender role are incongruent with the agentic characteristics (competent, assertive, etc.) that are proscribed to the leader and male gender role.

The inference-based processing approach suggests that people evaluate leaders' performance on internal attributes whereas the recognition-based processing approach suggests that evaluations of leaders can be influenced by social identity information (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Lord, Foti, & De Vader, 1984; Meindl & Ehrlich, 1987). In the case of Blacks, the recognition-based approach posits that in a leadership context, people are less likely to evaluate Black leaders positively because stereotypes of Blacks are incongruent with those of a leader (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Devine, 1989). However, there are situations in which people can praise stigmatized or low-status individuals while maintaining negative stereotypes about those individuals. These situations are explained by theory on goal-based stereotyping (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Goal-based stereotyping suggests that people will base positive leader performance evaluations of stigmatized or low-status individuals when they can explain leader success on stereotypical qualities that the stigmatized individuals are believed to possess that compensates for their perceived lacking of the stereotypical quality on the dimension of interest (e.g. leadership). However, when that stigmatized or low-status individual fails, their performance failure will be attributed to their perceived lacking of the stereotypical quality on the dimension of interest and not for their positive stereotypical qualities. For example, Carton and Rosette (2010) found that goal-based stereotyping explained why when Black quarterbacks won football games, reporters attributed their win not to their superior competence, but rather to their superior athleticism whereas when Black quarterbacks lost, reporters attributed their loss to their inferior competence, not to their athleticism. In contrast, White quarterbacks were significantly less likely to be labeled as incompetent when they lost a game, but they were significantly more likely to be perceived as less athletic than Black quarterbacks when they lost. As expected, reporters attributed superior competence to White quarterbacks when they won. In

regard to this study, I suggest that goal-based stereotyping can explain when HMR people can favor Black applicants for jobs. I posit that when jobs or job duties are congruent with stereotypes of Black Americans, then HMR people will favor Black applicants over White applicants for these jobs. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H7a: Black stereotype-congruent justifications will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H7b: The positive relationship between Black stereotype-congruent justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

Diversity Climate and Personnel Selection

To this point, I have explained how justifications influence people to discriminate in personnel selection situations and how individual differences can exacerbate that relationship. This is the case because when people work in organizations, they generally want to fulfill their roles satisfactorily, and therefore, take cues from authority figures regarding how they should behave (Brief et al., 2000; Katz & Kahn, 1978; Milgram, 1974). I have presented these cues as directives in the forms of various justifications. However, are there also organizational contexts other than justifications that can influence people to discriminate? I posit that an organization's diversity climate will provide a context that will also influence people to discriminate. Because an organization's climate and activities send signals to others about what it values and supports (Avery & McKay, 2006; Schein, 1990; Turban, 2001), there is reason to believe that managers are more likely to make personnel decisions congruent with their organization's climate.

Diversity climate is one's perceptions of the value in diversity and how supportive or unsupportive one's organization is of diversity (McKay et al., 2007; Mor Barak, Cherin, & Berkman, 1998). Inclusive and pro-diversity human resource policies and practices, female and

racial minority representation, corporate sponsorships and advertisements, and an organization's past diversity successes and failures shape people's diversity climate perceptions (Avery & McKay, 2006; Thomas & Wise, 1999). In fact, some organizations go to great lengths to signal their support for and promote their success with diversity by competing to be ranked on popular "Best Companies for Diversity" lists (DiversityInc, 2012). Although most employees appreciate a positive diversity climate, research suggests that women and racial minorities are more concerned than White males with an organization's diversity climate (Kossek & Zonia, 1993; McKay, Avery, & Morris, 2008, 2009; Mor Barak et al., 1998). Women's and racial minorities' heightened awareness of an organization's diversity climate may be expected considering they are more likely to perceive negative and discriminatory experiences in the workplace (Avery et al., 2008; Cortina, 2008; Goldman et al., 2006).

For instance, it is likely that managers who work for an organization that promotes progressive and inclusive human resource policies and practices and competes and ranks on "Best Companies for Diversity" lists, will infer that their organization values (or at least pretends to value) diversity, and thus, surmise that their organization is signaling that managers ought to hire racial minorities and women whenever it is appropriate (Avery & McKay, 2006). In fact, many organizations actively recruit at historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), aggressively promote their achievements and accolades in regard to their diversity management and support for diversity (e.g. *McDonald's* celebrate Black history 365 campaign), and conspicuously advertise that they are "equal opportunity and/or affirmative action organizations" that "strongly encourage women and minorities to apply." Just as progressive and inclusive human resource policies and practices and minority employee representation and recruitment are

deliberate and conspicuous, it may or may not be deliberate, but nonetheless conspicuous, when organizations refuse or fail to adopt those policies and practices.

An organization's refusal or failure to act in a certain way or adopt certain policies also sends signals to their managers about what they value (Bangerter, Roulin, & König, 2012). In other words, managers also infer what an organization values through the signals sent by an organization's inaction. These signals are likely most noticeable when other organizations, especially competitors, have made it standard to adopt certain progressive and inclusive policies and practices and use them as a competitive marketing strategy (Chattopadhyay, Glick, & Huber, 2001). As such, it can be expected that some managers may infer that racial minorities may not be welcomed in an organization when racial minorities are not appropriately represented in the organization and their organization does not promote or engage in similar pro-diversity policies, practices, and activities. As a result, an organization's diversity climate may function similarly to justifications because they offer information about what an organization values and supports and shapes employees' perceptions (Avery & McKay, 2006; Thomas & Wise, 1999; Turban & Greening, 1997; Turban, 2001). An organization with a positive diversity climate may stimulate hiring of racial minorities whereas a negative diversity climate may engender discriminating against racial minorities. Such a finding would have important theoretical and practical implications as it would highlight how seemingly innocuous or unrelated activities (e.g. one company's decision to recruit at HBCUs whereas their competitor does not) can influence a manager's personnel selection decisions. Based on the above argument, I hypothesize the following:

H8a: Diversity climate will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H8b: The positive relationship between diversity climate and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people than for HMR people.

Hiring Context and Personnel Selection

Indeed, scholars have been critical of research that has not adequately addressed or simply avoided the implications of context (Brief et al., 2005; Johns, 2006). Johns defines context as the “situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behavior as well as functional relationships between variables” (p. 386). Context can have main or interactional effects on organizational phenomena (Johns, 2006). In regard to this study, just as the diversity climate can provide a particular context, knowledge of the hiring situation and circumstances surrounding it might provide an influential context for managers. Certainly, hiring decisions are made in hiring contexts where managers will likely have information surrounding the idiosyncrasies of the hiring situation. For example, hiring managers are likely to know why they are hiring for a position, who previously held the position, and why the person no longer holds the position. Did the person previously holding the position receive a promotion, quit, or was fired? Is the position open because the company is growing and thus it is a new position? Managers are likely to know the answers to these questions.

Research on stereotypes and racial profiling highlights numerous examples of racial minorities being judged or perceived negatively when a person or few people representative of their group have engaged, thought to have engaged, or have been associated with a particular negative act or shortcoming (Duckitt, 1992; Goff et al., 2008; Jones, 1997; Lepore & Brown, 1997). For example, when Moss and Tilly (2001) asked managers about their Black employees’ work performance, they often generalized to the entire racial group. One manager of a Michigan utility plant stated, “I think that for whatever reason, a higher percentage of minority employees

are not dependable and do not, performancewise, make it sometimes. I think it gets right back to the family or lack of family, and the support or lack of support, or expectations that single parent or double parents place on their kids” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 85-86). In several other interviews, managers across the United States made general statements that they felt, Black workers were “lazy,” and “not as dependable” and felt that “their job is not important to them” and Black workers had a “I don’t care attitude” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 102-103). A manager in a Boston public agency stated, “You have people right now who are afraid to hire black males, because they think there is a certain level of violence associated with black males. Some employers don’t even do business with us because they realize the office is in [a primarily black neighborhood]” (Moss & Tilly, 2001, p. 107).

Similarly, the underrepresentation of racial minorities and women in certain fields such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics lead some people to perceive that Black people and women as less capable of succeeding in or performing jobs in those areas (Clark, Wegener, Briñol, & Petty, 2009; Kay et al., 2009; Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Believing that the status quo is legitimate and that there must be a logical, fair reason why a situation is the way it is can strongly influence even low prejudiced people to endorse and adopt negative stereotypes of racial minorities in certain contexts (Jost, Pelham, & Carvallo, 2002; Stapel & Noordewier, 2011). Therefore, in situations where a racial minority has been fired from a position because of unsatisfactory performance, people may be more skeptical of hiring a racial minority to replace the fired worker. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H9a: Hiring information will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H9b: The negative relationship between hiring information and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

Mediational Process of Stereotype Activation/Application

In the previous sections, I outlined how justifications, diversity climate, and hiring contexts will relate to the evaluation and selection of Black and White applicants and for whom those relationships will be the strongest. In the following sections, I will explain the mediating processes through which justifications, diversity climate, and hiring contexts influence peoples' decision to discriminate. This presents an important theoretical contribution because most research in the area reports evidence of discriminatory outcomes, but few studies have examined and tested the mediational process. In turn, I describe the psychological processes of stereotype activation/application and casuistry, the two mediation processes that I hypothesize to link these relationships. I propose that the first psychological process that influences these relationships is stereotype activation and application.

Because stereotype activation is a cognitive process, scholars can only directly capture it using computer imaging software. Whereas stereotype application is a behavioral process which allows scholars to more readily analyze respondents' behavior using a variety of research designs and techniques. For example, in their study, Bargh and colleagues (1996) revealed that study participants walked considerably more slowly than did participants in the control condition as they left their experiment which primed stereotypes of elderly people using words like "Florida" and "gray." These results highlight that stereotype activation can affect behavior and oftentimes the effect on behavior is unconscious. It is likely that the participants in the "elderly" stereotype condition did not notice that they walked more slowly leaving the experiment or that an "elderly" stereotype was even primed. This example also highlights that scholars have measured stereotype application by observing how respondents behave to manipulated stimuli although they acknowledge that stereotype activation is a precursor to stereotype application.

As mentioned earlier, even though everyone (regardless of level of prejudice) does not act upon stereotypes, people are generally aware of those that are assigned to different racial groups (Devine, 1989; Lepore & Brown, 1997). Likewise, all stereotype activation and application does not result in negative behavior. For example, Dijksterhuis and van Knippenberg (1998) found that priming the stereotype of professors or the trait, intelligent, increased respondents' performance on a general knowledge measure and indicated that priming effects can last as long as 15 minutes. Nonetheless, stereotype activation will lead to stereotype application most often when people's personal beliefs or attitudes align with the stereotypes (Devine, 1989). The more stereotypes are internalized and believed to be prototypical of a group, the more likely the stereotypes will lead people to have prejudicial attitudes (Allport, 1954; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Kunda & Spencer, 2003).

Because I have also hypothesized moderated relationships, I will clarify the type of mediated moderated relationship I am hypothesizing. As all three moderators in this study are individual differences variables—modern racism, submissiveness to authority, and agreeableness—I hypothesize that they will only serve as first stage moderators. That is, the moderating effects will occur at the first stage of the indirect effect between the three independent variables (justifications, diversity climate, hiring context) and the dependent variable (selection) (Edwards & Lambert, 2007). This type of model is known as a first stage mediation moderation model. Edwards and Lambert noted that a mediation moderation model is one in which “an interaction between an independent variable and moderator variable affects a mediator variable that in turn affects an outcome variable” (p. 7). Based on evidence from the research on stereotype activation and application, I posit that justifications, diversity climate, and the hiring context lead people to discriminate in personnel situations because they trigger

stereotypes that may also interact with people's personal beliefs and attitudes. Therefore, I hypothesize the following:

H10: Stereotype activation and application mediates the relationship between a) explicit justifications, b) implicit justifications, and b) organizational contexts (diversity climate and hiring context) and the selection of job candidates.

Mediational Process of Casuistry

Casuistry has been studied in the fields of ethics, law, and social psychology. Norton et al. (2004) define casuistry as “specious reasoning in the service of justifying questionable behavior” (p. 817). The “questionable behavior” arises out of the decisions that people make. Norton and colleagues explained that people face a number of different pressures when they make decisions. These pressures can be both internal and external. In the case of personnel selection, an internal pressure could be one's personal belief of fairness and an external pressure could be perceptions of coworkers' and superiors' reactions to your hiring decision. In this case, it is clear to see that personnel selection decisions can be questionable to different people for different reasons. As such, casuistry may be used to justify and rationalize the decision to oneself and to others in order to project an image of objectivity (Norton et al., 2004; Pyszczynski & Greenberg, 1987). Additionally, because the pressure to appear objective can be enormous, Norton et al. found that the process of casuistry is also a psychological process wherein decision makers actually perceive criteria differently when it is paired with social identity information. This suggests that the process is not entirely a post-decision justification, but also a psychological distortion in the encoding of information. In many selection decisions, it may be politically incorrect or illegal to use social identity information to deny a person a job (Norton et al., 2004). Therefore, even though a person may take social identity information into

account when making a decision, he or she likely will claim that the decision was based on whatever objective criterion best supports his or her decision (e.g. education, work experience, etc.). Not surprisingly, race is a salient social identity that people quickly recognize and categorize (Lepore & Brown, 1997). However, when people consciously try to avoid race when it is obviously salient, they actually use more cognitive resources that can reduce their performance on a task, reduce their control over their behavior, and lead them to be more susceptible to act on stereotypes (Apfelbaum, Sommers, & Norton, 2008; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Similar to stereotype activation, casuistry is a psychological process and like stereotype application, it is captured retrospectively by examining one's behavior. In this case of my dissertation, a test of casuistry is an examination of the person's decision and the justification for his or her decision.

In a series of experiments testing this phenomenon, Norton and colleague (2004) found considerable support for the notion that people engage in casuistry. In one study, they created a scenario wherein undergraduate students had to choose between a man and a woman to fill the job of a manager for a construction company. In one condition, the male candidate had superior education and inferior work experience qualifications to the female candidate and in another condition, the male had inferior education and superior work experience qualifications to the female candidate. As expected, the authors found that participants significantly chose the male candidate over the female candidate more often yet claimed that they made their decision on the objective criteria (e.g. the specific criterion in the condition that advantaged the male candidate). Therefore, when the male had superior education, the respondents reported that education was the most important criterion for the job and that is why they selected the male candidate most often, yet when the male candidate had superior work experience, respondents in that condition

reported that work experience was the most important criterion for the job. The researchers repeated the study using an Affirmative Action college admission scenario and found the same casuistry process. Participants overwhelmingly selected a Black student over a White student for college admission based on whichever criterion (GPA, test score, etc.) favored the Black student in their condition. In another study, the authors posited that a solution to casuistry would be to have participants be accountable for their decisions by being told beforehand that they would have to explain their selection decision to another person. As expected, respondents still picked the Black student over the White student more often, but surprisingly did so more often when they were in the accountability condition. It turns out that accountability did not attenuate the effects of casuistry, but rather increased the effects. Finally, in another attempt to attenuate the effects of casuistry, the authors had participants identify in writing which criteria were most important (i.e. rank order criteria) prior to their receiving any scenario with social identity information and then after they made their selection decisions, the authors had them re-rank which criteria they felt were most important. Similar to accountability, asking participants to pre-rank qualification did not attenuate the effects of casuistry as participants still favored the Black student over the White student more often. Interestingly, however, respondents reported that GPA was the most important qualification in both pre-and post-rankings although that consistency in ranking importance was not enough to mitigate the effects of how people take into account social identity information in decision-making situations. Taken together, the results of these studies suggest that casuistry is a robust psychological phenomenon and finding effective solutions to attenuate the effect may prove to be challenging for researchers.

Similar to the above first stage mediation moderation argument with stereotype activation/application, I posit the same first stage mediation moderation relationship with

casuistry. However, because stereotype activation/application is the cognitive process that can be instantly triggered and casuistry is the cognitive process that occurs during the decision phase, I posit that stereotype activation/application is the first mediator and casuistry is the second mediator in the model. Based on the reasoning outlined above, I hypothesize the following:

H11: Casuistry mediates the relationship between stereotype activation and application and selection of job candidates (a: justifications; b: diversity climate; c: hiring context).

Summary of Theoretical Contributions

This dissertation attempts to make a number of theoretical contributions. First, I attempt to extend the theory of modern racism by establishing that non-authority figures' (i.e. coworkers and customers) can influence managers to adopt their personnel selection preferences. Subsequently, their preferences may act like explicit justifications that free managers to act on their biases when selecting personnel. Second, I present an argument that explains how implicit justifications can also function like explicit justifications which may lead to similar discriminatory behavior. Third, I extend the theory of modern racism by establishing that HMR people may actually favor Black job applicants when jobs or job duties are congruent with stereotypes of Black Americans. Fourth, I extend the theory of modern racism by examining situations in which LMR people are more likely to discriminate in personnel situation despite their low levels of prejudice. This is more likely to occur when people are submissive to authority figures and higher in agreeableness. Fifth, I build theory by explaining how an organization's diversity climate and hiring context can send signals to managers and influence personnel selection decisions. Sixth, I build theory to describe the mediational processes that link justifications, diversity climate, and hiring context to discrimination. The two mediational processes I identify are stereotype activation/application and casuistry. Finally, in the synthesis

of these theoretical contributions, I present a more complete theory of discrimination which I call discrimination process theory.

Summary of Hypotheses

H1a: Implicit leader justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H1b: The negative relationship between implicit leader justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H2a: Explicit co-worker justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H2b: The negative relationship between explicit co-worker justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H3a: Explicit customer justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H3b: The negative relationship between explicit customer justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H4a: Implicit customer justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H4b: The negative relationship between implicit customer justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H5a: The negative relationship between justifications to disfavor Black applicants and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for LMR people who are lower in submissiveness to authority.

H5b: The negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for HMR people who are lower is submissiveness to authority.

H6a: The negative relationship between justifications to disfavor Black applicants and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for LMR people who are lower is agreeableness.

H6b: The negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for HMR people who are lower is agreeableness.

H7a: Black stereotype-congruent justifications will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H7b: The positive relationship between Black stereotype-congruent justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H8a: Diversity climate will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H8b: The positive relationship between diversity climate and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people than for HMR people.

H9a: Hiring information will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

H9b: The negative relationship between hiring information and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people.

H10: Stereotype activation and application mediates the relationship between a) explicit justifications, b) implicit justifications and c) organizational contexts (diversity climate and hiring context) and the selection of job candidates.

H11: Casuistry mediates the relationship between stereotype activation and application and selection of job candidates (a: justifications; b: diversity climate; c: hiring context).

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Overview of Research Design

Approval from the human subjects committee was obtained prior to collecting all data. All participants in my dissertation either granted their consent by signing a consent form (pilot study) or by clicking agree on the consent page of the Qualtrics surveys. My hypotheses were tested in a laboratory setting using a randomized scenario (e.g. in-basket exercises) and survey methodology. Participants first filled out online Qualtrics surveys then signed up for a time and date to come to a lab to complete the in-basket exercises which included the scenario manipulations and superfluous activities unrelated to the dissertation. Scenarios were manipulated such that participants received information presented to them by different organizational actors (e.g. CEO, coworker, client or control) or were given information about a particular organizational context (e.g. positive/negative diversity climate, past worker performance, or control) after which, they had to select whom they would hire and then evaluate their hiree's qualifications for the job of a mid-level marketing manager.

Pilot Study

I conducted a pilot study before data were collected for my primary studies. The pilot study was conducted to obtain usable résumés and to serve as a baseline measure for the résumé rankings. I requested and collected résumés from working adults and students. Résumés of the working adults were collected via email from participants of the November PhD Project conference and from upper level management undergraduate students of a southeastern university. In total, 42 résumés were collected. Participants were asked to remove all identifying information (e.g. name, address, phone number, etc.) from their résumés before

sending and all 42 complied. Because the dissertation study position was for a mid-level marketing manager, I selected ten résumés that had skills pertaining to marketing positions. I edited those ten résumés using some of the original information regarding skills and experience and added information for the purpose of my dissertation. In the end, all résumés only had 1) a letter to identify the applicant (A-J), 2) education information, 3) summary of qualifications, and 4) years of experience. The race and sex of the applicants were omitted from the pilot study résumés. Adapting similar procedures used by previous researchers, I manipulated the résumés such that five were more qualified for the job, and subsequently ranked 1 through 5 while the remaining five had inferior qualifications, thus ranked 6 through 10 (Brief et al., 2000; Norton et al., 2004). Therefore, my baseline résumé rankings were as followed (1 = Best and 10 = Worst): 1. A, 2. B, 3. D, 4. E, 5. J, 6. G, 7. F, 8. C, 9. I, 10. H.

Twenty upper level management students who did not participate in the résumé collection phase were asked to rank the ten applicants (1 = Best to 10 = Worst) for the position of a mid-level marketing manager and assess their qualifications for the job using a 1 (Very Qualified) to 10 (Very Unqualified) scale. Résumés were randomized and placed in a folder with the instruction sheet and placed in two professors' mailboxes who agreed to allow their students to participate in the study in exchange for extra credit (see Appendix I). The professors returned the completed folders to my mailbox within a week. Participants filled out their rankings outside of the classroom environment. Only an email address was asked of the participants so that their participation could be documented toward extra credit.

Pilot Study Results

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the rankings for the résumés. Lower mean rankings indicate résumés that were ranked better qualified (e.g. lower, 1, 2, etc.) and higher mean rankings indicate résumés that were ranked worse qualified (e.g. higher, 9, 10, etc.).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Résumé Ranking

Résumés	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
A	1	8	2.80	1.91
B	1	2	1.15	.37
C	5	10	6.60	1.60
D	2	8	3.35	1.12
E	2	8	4.70	1.78
F	5	10	8.10	1.25
G	4	10	6.50	1.53
H	4	10	8.60	1.98
I	2	10	7.85	2.54
J	2	8	5.35	1.76

$N = 20$

Participants ranked the résumés as followed: 1. B, 2. A, 3. D, 4. E, 5. J, 6. G, 7. C, 8. I, 9. F, 10.

H. The top 5 résumé rankings matched the baseline rankings with one minor exception. In contrast with the baseline rankings, participants ranked résumé B as 1 and A as 2 whereas B was ranked 2 and A was ranked 1 in the baseline rankings. This deviation does not negatively affect the study because the A and B résumés alternate qualifications (e.g. work experience and education) for the casuistry test. The bottom 5 résumés ranking matched the baseline rankings with three exceptions. In contrast with the baseline rankings, participants ranked résumé C as 7, I as 8, and F as 9 whereas F was ranked 7, C was ranked 8, and I was ranked 9 in the baseline rankings (see Table 2). This deviation does not negatively affect the study because the bottom five ranking résumés should not be selected in any significant number.

Table 2

Résumé Rankings

Baseline Résumé Rankings	Participant Résumé Rankings
1. A	1. B
2. B	2. A
3. D	3. D
4. E	4. E
5. J	5. J
6. G	6. G
7. F	7. C
8. C	8. I
9. I	9. F
10. H	10. H

$N = 20$

A dependent paired-samples t -test was conducted to test whether the mean rankings of the top 5 and bottom 5 résumé rankings differed statistically. On average, participants ranked the top 5 résumé rankings ($M = 3.47, SE = .520$) lower than the bottom 5 résumé rankings ($M = 7.53, SE = .520$). This difference was statistically significant $t(19) = -17.45, p < .001$. Likewise, a dependent paired-samples t -test was conducted to test whether the mean qualifications of the top 5 and bottom 5 résumés differed statistically. On average, participants ranked the qualifications of the top 5 résumés ($M = 3.19, SE = .755$) lower than the bottom 5 résumés rankings ($M = 6.42, SE = 1.31$). The difference was statistically significant $t(19) = -13.42, p < .001$. These findings suggest that the qualifications on the résumés were appropriately manipulated to serve as baseline measures to use in the primary studies.

Procedure and Sample

I made arrangements with professors of upper level business students (e.g. juniors and seniors) of a large southeastern university to survey their students in exchange for extra credit.

The professors provided me only the email addresses of their students ($N = 829$) so that the students could participate in the study. Data were collected via a Qualtrics survey link for phase 1 beginning on September 4, 2012. The Qualtrics link remained active for exactly one week. Phase 1 consisted of the independent variables and demographic information. The Phase 1 participant sample was 60.9% male ($N = 484$) and 38.7% female ($N = 308$). Two participants did not indicate their sex. The Phase 1 participant sample was 83.5% White/Caucasian ($N = 664$), 7.3% Black/African-American ($N = 58$), 5.8% Asian ($N = 46$), 1.1% Hispanic ($N = 9$), 0.8% Native American ($N = 6$), and 1.5% Other ($N = 12$). A N of 707 (88.9%) of the Phase 1 participants had at least part-time work experience. Only two participants had some missing data on the modern racism scale. I substituted their missing data with the mean of the scale (i.e. scale-mean imputation). The total Phase 1 participant sample size was 795. Phase 1 response rate was 95.9% of those who were invited to participate in the studies.

The Phase 2 participant sample was 59.9% male ($N = 427$) and 39.7% female ($N = 283$). Three participants did not indicate their sex. The Phase 2 participant sample was 83.5% White/Caucasian ($N = 595$), 6.6% Black/African-American ($N = 47$), 6.3% Asian ($N = 45$), 1.3% Hispanic ($N = 9$), 0.7% Native American ($N = 5$), and 1.7% Other ($N = 12$). A total of 636 (89.2%) of the Phase 2 participants had at least part-time work experience. There were no missing data on the stereotypical beliefs scale. The total Phase 2 participant sample size was 713. This represents an 89.7% response rate from Phase 1.

Phase 3 was divided into three studies. The explicit conditions were tested in study 1, the implicit conditions were tested in study 2, and the organizational context conditions were tested in study 3. The meditational hypotheses were tested in each of the studies. In order to participate in any of the laboratory studies, participants had to have first participated in Phase 1

and Phase 2. As such, only matched data were used for hypothesis testing. The explicit conditions participant sample was 54.5% male ($N = 108$) and 45.5% female ($N = 90$). The explicit conditions participant sample was 82.3% White/Caucasian ($N = 163$), 9.6% Black/African-American ($N = 19$), 4.5% Asian ($N = 9$), 0.01% Hispanic ($N = 1$), and 3% Other ($N = 6$). A total of 181 (91.4%) of the explicit conditions participants had at least part-time work experience. The total explicit conditions participant sample size was 198.

The implicit conditions participant sample was 63.9% male ($N = 140$) and 36.1% female ($N = 79$). The implicit conditions participant sample was 81.7% White/Caucasian ($N = 179$), 6.3% Black/African-American ($N = 14$), 7.7% Asian ($N = 17$), 2.7% Hispanic ($N = 6$), 0.01% Native American ($N = 1$), and .10% Other ($N = 2$). A total of 194 (88.6%) of the implicit conditions participants had at least part-time work experience. The total implicit conditions participant sample size was 219.

The organizational context conditions participant sample was 57.4% male ($N = 144$) and 41.8% female ($N = 105$). The organizational context participant sample was 84.5% White/Caucasian ($N = 212$), 5.6% Black/African-American ($N = 14$), 6.4% Asian ($N = 16$), 0.01% Hispanic ($N = 2$), 0.02% Native American ($N = 4$), and 0.01% Other ($N = 3$). A total of 220 (87.6%) of the organizational context conditions participants had at least part-time work experience. The total organizational context participant sample size was 251.

Taken together, the total participant sample of the three laboratory studies was 668. This represents an 84% response rate from Phase 1 and a 93.6% response rate from Phase 2 (80.6% response rate for all who were invited to participate).

Three of the top five résumés were randomly selected to be Black male job applicants and the remaining seven applicants were all White male job applicants. Sex of the applicants did

not vary to avoid any confounding due to gender biases and the distribution of race among the applicants was deliberate to approximate what would be expected in the general population (Brief et al., 2000). Importantly, the résumés were manipulated such that the top two ranking applicants were Black and White. In one condition, the Black applicant was higher in education and lower in work experience than the top White applicant (condition B) and in the other condition (condition A) the top White applicant was higher in education but lower in work experience than the top Black job applicant. In short, in the A condition, the top Black applicant had more work experience while the top White applicant had more formal education. In the B condition, the top Black applicant had more formal education while the top White applicant had more work experience. This counterbalancing was necessary to test for casuistry as I expected respondents to choose their desired candidate and indicate the reason they chose that candidate based on whichever objective criterion favored their selection (Norton et al., 2006, 2004). Résumés were randomly placed with the other in-basket exercises and survey instructions in folders and handed to participants in the lab. Respondents in each condition reviewed one of the two sets of ten résumés. A hired proctor (White male), who was unaffiliated with the study and unaware of the study's hypotheses, conducted each laboratory session. The hired proctor did not personally know any of the participants in the study.

Measures

Unless otherwise noted, responses to all measures used in this study were assessed on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Items were coded such that high scores indicate high levels of the construct of interest. All the measures used in this study can be found in the Appendices.

Phase 1

Data were collected via a Qualtrics survey link for Phase 1 beginning on September 4, 2012. The survey link remained active for exactly one week. Phase 1 consisted of independent variables.

Modern Racism

Seven-items were used to assess modern racism (McConahay, 1983, 1986). The modern racism scale asks respondents to report their feelings towards Blacks. Sample items include, “It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America” and “Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.” Reliability analyses indicate that the Cronbach’s alpha for the scale would be improved if the following item was excluded, “The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around,” so I excluded this item from the scale variable. The Cronbach’s alpha of the resulting six-item modern racism scale was .79 (original Cronbach’s alpha .74). Following the procedures used by Brief and colleagues (2000), the modern racism items were interspersed between 37 socially relevant filler items in order to mitigate socially desirable responses and backlash against any particular social identity group, particularly Black Americans. Example filler items were, “The government is spending too much money to find a cure for HIV” and “The right of women to choose abortion should be protected.” These filler items were not analyzed as part of the study.

Ten items were used to assess submissiveness to authority (Dezoort & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1997). The submissiveness to authority scale asks respondents to report their opinions about employees’ obedience to superiors at work. Sample items include, “Employees should do what the boss tells them, even when they can’t see the reason for it” and “Going against a boss’s wishes at work can be justified.” The Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .73.

Nine items from the Big Five Inventory Personality Scale (BFI) were used to assess agreeableness (John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991; John, Naumann, & Soto, 2008). The BFI asks respondents to report their opinions of their own personality traits. Sample agreeableness items include, “Is helpful and unselfish with others” and “Likes to cooperate with others.” The Cronbach’s alpha for this scale was .76.

Phase 2

Data were collected via a Qualtrics survey link for phase 2 beginning on September 17, 2012. The survey link remained active for exactly one week. Phase 2 consisted of the mediator variable.

Three items were used to assess stereotypic beliefs of racial minorities (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007). The stereotypic beliefs scale asks respondents to report their opinions about who is better suited for a job. A sample item is, “It’s a fact that White Americans are better suited for some jobs than are racial minorities.” Reliability analyses indicated that the Cronbach’s alpha for the scale would be improved if the following item were excluded, “Sometimes it’s the objective thing to do to hire a White American rather than a racial minority” so I excluded this item from the scale variable. The Cronbach’s alpha of the resulting two-item stereotypic beliefs scale was .85 (original Cronbach’s alpha .76).

Phase 3

Data were collected via a Qualtrics survey link for phase 3 beginning on October 2, 2012. Participants came to a laboratory on their designated date to complete in-basket exercises and complete the remaining surveys. Participants assigned to the explicit condition (Study 1) went to the lab on either October 2 or October 9, 2012. Participants assigned to the implicit condition (Study 2) went to the lab on October 18, October 19, or October 23, 2012. Participants assigned

to the organizational context condition (Study 3) went to the lab on November 6, November 9, or November 15, 2012. In this manner, at least three weeks were between the administration of Phase 1 and Phase 3 explicit condition, at least five weeks were between the administration of Phase 1 and Phase 3 implicit condition, and at least eight weeks were between the administration of Phase 1 and Phase 3 organizational context condition. Phase 3 consisted of the dependent variables.

Three items were used to assess stereotypic beliefs of racial minorities (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007). These were the same items that were used in Phase 2. The same item from Phase 2 was deleted. The Cronbach's alpha of the resulting two-item stereotypic beliefs scale was .88 (original Cronbach's alpha .75) for those in the explicit condition, .87 (original Cronbach's alpha .78) for those in the implicit condition, and .84 (original Cronbach's alpha .75) for those in the organizational context condition.

An open-ended text question was used to assess participants' applicant selection. The question asked participants, "After reading the résumés, company information, and job requirements, which candidate do you choose for the Mid-Level Marketing Manager position?" Participants had to enter a letter (A-J) to indicate their chosen applicant. The Qualtrics links were threaded such that after participants entered a résumé letter (e.g. applicant), that letter was automatically entered into all of the questions regarding that applicant such that participants were sure to answer questions regarding that specific applicant they chose.

An open-ended text question was used to assess participants' justifications for applicant selection. The question asked participants, "Now briefly describe why you chose this applicant over other applicants."

Manipulation Checks

Two items were included in each of the lab studies to ensure that participants fully read the pertinent company information. Based on whichever condition they were in, participants had to correctly answer the following two questions, “From the instruction sheet in your folder, who is presenting the company information to you?” and “What racial preference of the applicant was indicated in the company information?” in order to be included in the study analyses. The response options for the first question were: Not stated, CEO, Coworker, and Client. The response options for the second question were White American, Black American, and no preference stated.

In-Basket Exercises

Each of the three studies (study 1, explicit conditions; study 2, implicit conditions; and study 3, organizational context condition) contained the same in-basket exercises. The instructions and the in-basket exercises are listed below. The in-basket exercises appeared randomly. The control condition only consisted of the in-basket exercises and the following instructions.

Instructions: You will be asked to make several important personnel decisions. Your decisions will greatly influence subsequent personnel decisions. As such, please make these decisions to the best of your ability as you would if you were a manager for this company.

(In-basket Exercise 1)

Company Information: Each year, this company donates a total of \$60,000 to 3 charities. This year the following organizations have solicited support: Please select 3 of the

charities and indicate how much financial support to give each charity. Your total support of the 3 charities cannot exceed \$60,000.

Charities: The Susan B. Komen Race for the Cure Breast Cancer Foundation, Habitat for Humanity, ASK Childhood Cancer Foundation, Boys Scouts of America, the Smithsonian Museum, and The Red Cross.

(In-basket Exercise 2)

Company Information: A yearly company picnic is held for the employees' families to boost employee morale. Please select the best entertainment for children who attend the company picnic.

Clown

Magician

Mini-Carnival

Pool

(In-basket Exercise 3)

Company Information: To reward the top performers and to motivate other employees to perform better, the company gives away a grand prize at the end of the year. Please select which would be the best grand prize to increase employee morale.

All-expense 5-day paid trip to Cancun, Mexico.

2 weeks additional for paid vacation

\$15,000 Cash Bonus (taxes will be taken out)

(In-basket Exercise 4)

Company information: The company has just hired a new chief finance officer (CFO). The CFO does have another job option, and the company does not know how much the competitor is offering, but the company really wants to hire this CFO. The company has a budget of \$300,000 for CFO salary, but the company would prefer not to max this budget out. Therefore, the acceptable salary range is \$250,000 to \$300,000. How much should the company offer the CFO?

\$ _____

(In-basket Exercise 5)

Company Information: Based on the Generally Accepted Accounting Practices (GAAP), the company can record gains and losses either at the end of the current quarter or the beginning of the next quarter. This quarter, the company has a gain of \$500,000, but next quarter the company projects a loss of \$150,000. If the company records the gain in the current quarter, the company will meet stock expectations. If the company records the gain in the next quarter, the company won't have a loss. In which quarter should the company record the gain?

___ Current Quarter

___ Next Quarter

(In-basket Exercise 6: Studies 1, 2, and 3)

Company Information: (Following the procedures of Brief and colleagues, 2000). Please review the following 10 résumés for the current managerial openings of a mid-level

marketing manager. Please select the best applicant by indicating the Résumé letter of your choice.

The control condition remained the same in each of the three studies.

(Control)

Company Information: Please review the following 10 résumés for the current managerial opening. Please select the best applicant.

Study 1 (Explicit Leader Justification)

Company Information: A message from the CEO: “In the past, we have kept our [marketing] teams as homogeneous as possible. We feel that similar people will have similar goals and ideas. Importantly, the particular team to which [the new marketing representative] will be assigned currently includes no minority group members. Our organization attempts to match the characteristics of our representatives with the characteristics of the population to which they will be assigned. The particular territory to which your selected representative will be assigned contains relatively few minority group members. Therefore, in this particular situation, I feel that it is important that you do not hire anyone that is a member of a minority group.”

(Explicit Co-Worker Justification)

Company Information: Coworkers’ Feedback: Coworkers have expressed that they work better with people like themselves and therefore, prefer to work with other White Americans. Therefore, they prefer that the new hire not be a minority. The coworkers shared that they rely on each other to get their work done, spend a lot of time together at

work and outside of work, and have to communicate frequently with each other so excellent verbal, writing, and interpersonal skills are extremely important.

(Explicit Customer Justification)

Company Information: Clients' Feedback: Clients have expressed that they prefer employees of the company to be White Americans. This is likely because they are really busy and have to spend a lot of time requesting and gathering information about the company's products and placing orders. The clients communicate verbally and in writing with the employees frequently and in the past they have had trouble with minorities.

Study 2 (Implicit Leader Justification)

Company Information: A Message from the CEO: "We feel that similar people will have similar goals and ideas. Our organization attempts to match the characteristics of our representatives with the characteristics of the population to which they will be assigned. The company markets exclusive, upscale products to an affluent clientele. The clients have reported that they are very satisfied with the high level of professionalism and expediency that the company's employees display, that they can easily relate with the employees, they are appreciative of the generous amount of attention that the employees pay them and toward their accounts, and really enjoy their frequent interactions with the employees. Because of who they are the clients admit that they expect superior service."

(Implicit Customer Justification: White Stereotype Condition)

Company Information: The company markets exclusive, upscale products to an affluent clientele. The clients have reported that they are very satisfied with the high level of professionalism and expediency that the company's employees display, that they can

easily relate with the employees, they are appreciative of the generous amount of attention that the employees pay them and toward their accounts, and really enjoy their frequent interactions with the employees. Because of who they are the clients admit that they expect superior service.

(Implicit Customer Justification: Black Stereotype Condition)

Company Information: The company markets very affordable and economical products to a modest and low-income urban clientele. Customer satisfaction information indicates that customers are often very unsatisfied because they have had many issues with the product which has resulted in a high return rate of the product. Often times, it becomes a bit challenging to handle customers' disapproval and behavior when exchanges or refunds are necessary.

Study 3 (Positive Diversity Climate)

Company Information: The company is consistently ranked Top 10 for “Best Company for Diversity.” This achievement was recognized in DiversityInc. magazine which praised the company for their employee identity groups, progressive and inclusive HR practices and policies that included quarterly diversity and inclusivity trainings, minority leadership mentoring programs, domestic partner benefits, and great maternal/paternal leave plans. The company has a Chief Diversity Officer who sits on the top management team and a large representation of women and racial minorities in leadership positions throughout the company. The company has had great success mentoring, retaining, and promoting women and racial minorities.

(Negative Diversity Climate)

Company Information: The company is a very productive company with standard HR policies and practices such as job training, health benefits, and tuition reimbursement programs. However, very few women and racial minorities are employed within leadership positions in the company, which is why the company feels that diversity and inclusivity training and employee identity groups are not needed. The company has a maternal leave plan, but does not offer domestic partner benefits. The company has struggled with mentoring, retaining, and promoting women and racial minorities.

(Black Firing Context)

Company Information: The last 3 of 5 employees who have worked in these positions were African-American. Two were male and 1 was female. They were fired after a few months in the positions because their performance was just not up to par and at times they came late to work. They had some trouble interacting with a few coworkers and clients and had some trouble completing clients' orders in a timely manner. Some clients described them as unprofessional.

(White Firing Context)

Company Information: The last 3 of 5 employees who have worked in these positions were White. Two were male and 1 was female. They were fired after a few months in the positions because their performance was just not up to par and at times they came late to work. They had some trouble interacting with a few coworkers and clients and had some trouble completing clients' orders in a timely manner. Some clients described them as unprofessional.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Analytic Strategy

I used SPSS statistical software package version 18 in conjunction with Dr. Andrew Hayes' PROCESS computational software program (Hayes, 2012; IBM PASW Statistics 18, 2009) to run binary logistic regressions using maximum-likelihood estimation to test the main effect and interaction hypotheses (e.g. Hypotheses 1-10). PROCESS is a robust statistical program that allows researchers to test a variety of simple and complex models that provide estimates for main, direct, indirect, and conditional effects using a bootstrapping-based path analytic approach advocated by leading methodologists (Edwards & Lambert, 2007; Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Logistic regression is an appropriate analytical method to use when one seeks to test a dichotomous outcome variable and maximum-likelihood estimation attempts to select coefficients that make the observed values most likely to have occurred (J. Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003; Field, 2005). Unlike multiple regression, logistic regression is sufficiently robust to handle violating assumptions of linearity with dichotomous outcomes (Wanberg, Watt, & Rumsey, 1996). The dichotomous outcome operationalized in this dissertation was whether a Black applicant was chosen for a hypothetical open mid-level marketing manager position. Along these lines, the logistic regression results predict the probability and odds that Black applicants will be chosen for the open job. Correlations and logistic regression results are presented independently such that they are explained with the corresponding study in which those hypotheses were tested. In other words, although the hypotheses' number vary and overlap, the results of the hypotheses will be presented in the following order to match the study in which the data were collected: explicit study conditions, implicit study conditions,

organizational contexts study conditions, and mediators. As a result, the hypotheses' numbers will not be reported in ascending order, but rather in the order of their respective studies (e.g. explicit study: H2, H3, H5, and H6 will be reported first).

The mediation hypotheses correspond with hypotheses across all studies (e.g. Hypotheses 10 and 11). For that reason, they are presented together at the end of the results section.

The mediators in this study, stereotype activation/application and casuistry are internal psychological processes. As a result, researchers can not test the mediators using standard quantitative procedures commonly used to test mediation (e.g. Baron & Kenny method, SEM, etc.). This situation is actually common in the area of social psychology. Instead, researchers facing this situation test for mediation adequately theorizing the process, designing the study, and measuring behavior. In fact, researchers have found that when a scale measurement is possible, researchers can measure it at the end of the study or after the manipulation when theory does not suggest or there is no logical reason why the reverse relationship should be expected (Goff et al., 2008; Keller & Dauenheimer, 2003).

The stereotype literature has strong theory explaining the process of stereotyping and stereotype threat. For example, a researcher can manipulate the stereotype threat condition (independent variable), once in the threat condition and asked to complete a task, the stereotype is activated (mediator), once activated the participant behavior is changed in some way (stereotype application). The stereotype application is the observed behavior that can be measured, but it really precedes the actual outcome that the researcher measures. Nonetheless, if outcomes are consistent with the theory and condition, then evidence of mediation is supported. I presented an example of this in chapter 2. The researchers primed an elderly stereotype with a manipulation in the stereotype condition, had participants work on a task, and then measured

their walking speed as they left the laboratory (Bargh et al., 1996). They found that participants in the elderly stereotype condition walked more slowly leaving the lab than participants in the control condition. A stimulus (independent variables) was presented to the participants that activated (mediator) the elderly stereotype in the participants' unconsciousness, which was applied in their walking behavior. The dependent variable was walking time measured in seconds. In this case, it is clear that stereotype manipulation cannot have any effect if it is not first activated (whether consciously or unconsciously) and applied (whether consciously or unconsciously). In this case, there is no reason to think that someone's walking speed at the end of the study caused an earlier stereotype application, then activation, and then the manipulation. In my studies, I have decided to test stereotypic beliefs during the online survey administration, test them right after the in-basket exercise, and have used a stereotype incongruent-congruent condition to test for mediation in this study's design.

Norton and colleagues (Norton et al., 2006, 2004) have used an alternating education and experience on matched-résumés design and an open-ended question at the end of the study to test for casuistry. I have applied that same design to the studies in my dissertation and follow this procedure to test for mediation of the casuistry hypothesis.

Measurement Model

Before testing my hypotheses, I first examined the discriminant properties of my measures with confirmatory factor analysis (using Lisrel 8.80). Specifically, I first examined a four-factor model allowing items to load on their respective scales: modern racism, submissiveness to authority, agreeableness, and stereotypical beliefs. I compared this four-factor model with plausible alternative nested models, including a two-factor model, single-factor model, and an independence model. In the two-factor model, modern racism and stereotypic

beliefs were allowed to load on one factor and agreeableness and submissiveness to authority were allowed to load on the other factor. Overall, these results indicate that the hypothesized four-factor model provides substantially improved fit over the nested alternative models, with a significant change in chi-square values and improvements in each of the other indices (see Table 3).

My theorized four-factor measurement model provided acceptable fit based on established criteria (Bentler & Bonnet, 1980). The comparative fit index was .89, the goodness-of-fit index was .88, the root-mean-square error of approximation was .07, and the normed fit index was .86. The standardized loadings of all items on their specified construct scales were significant at the .01 level, suggesting that the scales have convergent validity (Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

Table 3
Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Nested Models

Model	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	GFI	CFI	RMSEA	NFI
4-factor	1,606.32	371	4.330			.88	.89	.07	.86
2-factor	3,810.85	376	10.135	2,204.53***	5	.75	.74	.11	.71
1-factor	5,500.03	377	14.589	3,893.71***	6	.68	.65	.13	.63
Independence	9,850.67	406	24.263	8,244.35***	35				

Note: N=793. Change in chi-square is relative to the 4-factor model. GFI=goodness-of-fit index; CFI=comparative fit index; RMSEA=root mean square error of approximation; NFI=normed fit index; ***p <.001.

As can be seen in Table 4, the scale variables were normally distributed with their skewness and kurtosis values falling within acceptable ranges (± 1.5). Also, multicollinearity is not a concern within the data as all variance inflation factor scores are well below the suggested cutoff value of 10 (Field, 2005). Unless otherwise noted, all coefficients are presented in their unstandardized form.

Table 4

Normal Distribution and Collinearity Statistics

Variable	Variance	N	Skewness		Kurtosis		Collinearity Statistics	
			Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error	Tolerance	VIF
Modern Racism	11.28	795	.132	.087	.170	.173	.808	1.24
Stereotypical Ex	1.02	198	.775	.173	-.399	.344	.704	1.42
Stereotypical P2	.97	795	.313	.087	-.402	.173	.716	1.40
Agreeableness	.24	795	-.279	.087	.245	.173	.974	1.33
Submissiveness	.20	795	.223	.087	.020	.173	.986	1.01
Stereotypical Im	.91	219	.807	.164	-.186	.327	1.00	1.00
Stereotypical OC	.81	251	.891	.154	.321	.306	1.00	1.00

Note. Submissiveness = Submissiveness to Authority. Stereotypical Ex = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during the Explicit Study. Stereotypical P2 = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during Phase 2. Stereotypical Im = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during Implicit Study. Stereotypical OC = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during Organizational Context Study. VIF = Variance Inflation Factor

Study 1 Explicit Conditions

Table 5 shows the point-biserial and zero-order correlations, means, and standard deviations of the predictor, mediator, moderator, and dependent variables examined in the explicit conditions study. Listwise deletion was used to ensure that descriptive statistics are only calculated on the participants who were assigned to the explicit conditions. As the table reports, modern racism was negatively related to the selection of Black applicants in this study. Likewise, the stereotypical beliefs variables were negatively related to the selection of Black applicants.

Table 5. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Race	0.40	0.49	1								
2. Leader	0.30	0.46	-0.02	1							
3. Customer	0.28	0.45	-0.05	-0.41***	1						
4. Coworker	0.27	0.44	0.07	-0.40***	-0.38***	1					
5. Agreeableness	3.81	0.49	0.05	-0.00	0.09	-0.09	1				
6. Submissiveness	3.41	0.47	-0.05	0.08	0.08	-0.05	0.08	1			
7. Stereotypical Ex	1.91	1.01	-0.31***	-0.10	0.12*	0.04	-0.10	-0.01	1		
8. Modern Racism	15.21	3.20	-0.12	-0.17**	-0.03	0.22***	-0.33***	-0.10	0.38***	1	
9. Stereotypical P2	2.26	0.94	-0.27***	-0.04	-0.00	0.06	-0.14*	-0.07	0.50***	0.36***	1

Note. $N = 198$. Race = Race of applicant chosen; 0 = White, 1 = Black. Submissiveness = Submissiveness to Authority. Stereotypical Ex = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during the Explicit Study. Stereotypical P2 = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during Phase 2. 0 = Control, 1 = Condition.
*($p < .05$); **($p < .01$); ***($p < .001$).

Manipulation Check

Two items were included in the lab study to ensure that participants fully read the pertinent company information. Participants had to correctly answer the following two questions, “From the instruction sheet in your folder, who is presenting the company information to you?” and “What racial preference of the applicant was indicated in the company information?” in order to be included in the study analyses. The response options for the first question were: Not stated, CEO, Coworker, and Client. The response options for the second question were White American, Black American, and no preference stated. Participants in the control condition should have responded with “not stated” and “no preference stated” to the two questions. Participants in the leader condition should have responded with “CEO” and “White American” to the two questions. Participants in the Coworker condition should have responded with “Coworker” and “White American” to the two questions. Participants in the Customer condition should have responded with “Client” and “White American” to the two questions. Ten participants (5.1%) were excluded from the study’s analyses for answering the manipulation check incorrectly.

Tests of Hypotheses

The first goal of my dissertation was to determine whether there was a relationship between my manipulated study conditions and the subsequent selection of Black job applicants. In the explicit study conditions, participants (except those in the control condition) were explicitly presented information from different organizational actors that informed them that White job applicants were preferred for the position. Participants in the control condition did not

receive any information from any organizational actor concerning hiring preferences, but rather were presented simple instruction on completing the study. Participants in the leader condition received information presented from the CEO of the company. Participants in the coworker condition received information presented from coworkers with whom the new hire would work. Participants in the customer condition received information presented as feedback from clientele of the company. Three dummy codes were created such that each manipulated condition was labeled as 1 and the control condition was labeled as 0 and served as the baseline condition. A race dummy variable was created to control for any possible effects due to similar race of the participant and the operationalization of the outcome variable. Results are only discussed for hypothesized relationships; however, the tables present results from all tested relationships. For example, a leader condition was included in this study to serve as a replication of the Brief et al. (2000) study. Because this was intended to be a replication, I did not explicitly include a leader hypothesis in my dissertation.

Hypothesis 2a predicted that explicit coworker justifications to disfavor Black job applicants would be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. The coworker dummy coded variable was entered as the independent variable of the binary logistic regression model with the leader, customer, and race dummy variables entered as covariates. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 6, which includes the logistic regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient ($\text{Exp}(B)$, also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the lack of a

statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 6, coworker justifications was not related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = .279$, $p = ns$, $\text{Exp}(B) = .757$). Therefore, hypothesis 2a was not supported. The $\text{Exp}(B)$ value shows the change in odds resulting from a unit change in the predictor (Field, 2005). Odds that are greater than 1 suggest that as the predictor increases, the likelihood of the hypothesized event increases and odds that are less than 1 suggest that as the predictor increases, the odds of the hypothesized event decreases (Field, 2005). These results suggest that participants in the coworker condition were 1.32 times (i.e. $1/.757$) less likely to select Black job applicants than those in the control condition.

Table 6
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Z</i>	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Leader	-.413	.494	-.835	1	.159	1.511	.574	3.977
Coworker	.279	.496	.562	1	.575	.757	.286	2.001
Customer	-.427	.486	.879	1	.379	1.533	.591	3.974
Modern Racism	.137	.137	.995	1	.319	1.147	.876	1.501
Race	-1.261	.552	-2.285	1	.022*	3.527	1.196	10.403
LDRxMR	-.225	.167	-1.349	1	.177	.799	.576	1.107
CWRxMR	-.434	.183	-2.381	1	.017*	.648	.453	.926
CUSxMR	-.088	.163	-.541	1	.588	.916	.666	1.259
Constant	.932	.661	1.409	1	.159	.049		
Conditional Effect of X on Y at values of the moderator								
Modern Racism	Effect	<i>SE</i>	<i>Z</i>	Sig.	95% C.I. for Significance			
					Lower	Upper		
	-3.586	1.836	.827	2.220	.026*	.215	3.458	
	-2.586	1.402	.690	2.032	.042*	.050	2.754	
	-.5860	.533	.509	1.047	.295	-.465	1.531	
	1.414	-.336	.555	-.604	.546	-1.425	.753	
	3.414	-1.205	.790	-1.524	.127	-2.754	.344	

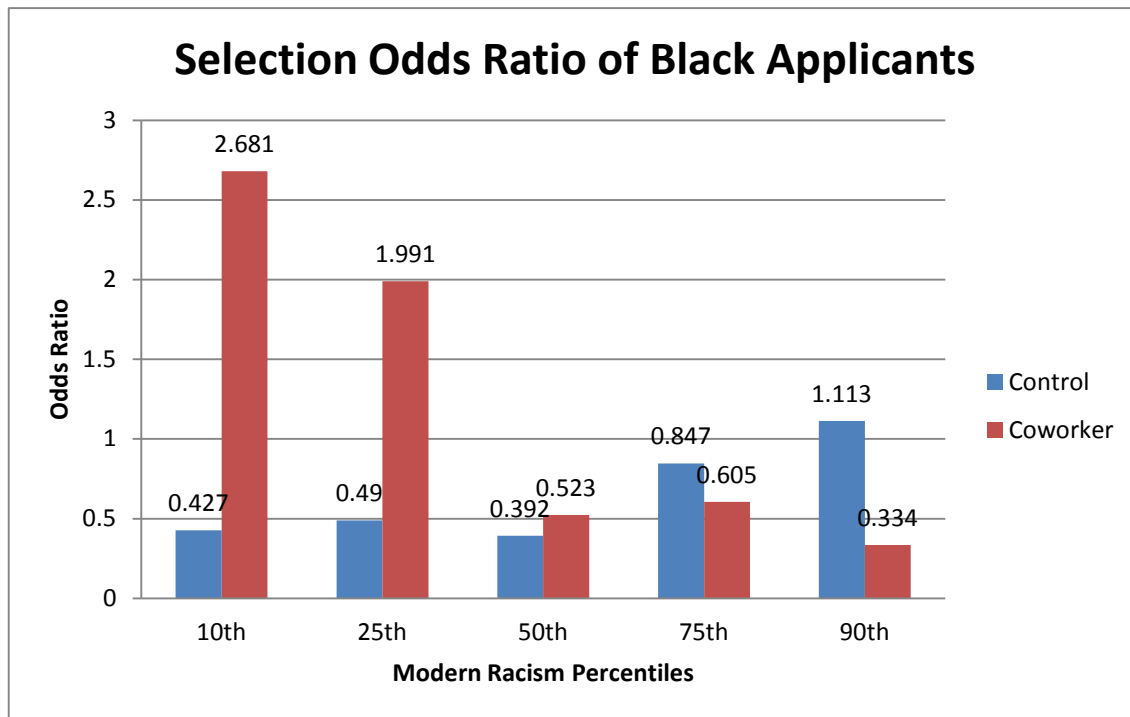
Note. $N = 198$. CI = confidence interval. * $p < .05$. LDRxMR = Leader x Modern Racism. CWRxMR = Coworker x Modern Racism. CUSxMR = Customer x Modern Racism. A race dummy variable was created as a control (0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black). Conditional Effects presented for the Coworker x Modern Racism Interaction. Values for Modern Racism are presented at the 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, and 90th percentiles respectively.

Hypothesis 3a predicted that explicit customer justifications to disfavor Black job applicants would be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this hypothesis using the same analytical method as the previous hypothesis (e.g. binary logistic regression). As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 6, customer justification was not related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.427$, $p = ns$, $\text{Exp}(B) = 1.533$). Therefore, hypothesis 3a was not supported. Participants in the customer condition were 1.53 times more likely to select Black job applicants than those in the control condition.

The second goal of my dissertation was to determine whether there was a moderated relationship between my manipulated study conditions, participants' modern racism, and the subsequent selection of Black job applicants. The interaction hypotheses represent the main extension to the theory of modern racism as the theory suggests that modern racists (those who score high on the modern racism scale) will not discriminate unless they have a justification to do so that frees them to act on their beliefs yet still allows them to maintain a non-racist self concept (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986). The modern racism variable was added with the three dummy code variables into the logistic regression model. The race dummy variable was entered as a covariate. Following the procedures outlined by Cohen et al. (2003), I centered the modern racism variable before creating 3 interaction variables that consisted of the product of the centered modern racism variable and the three dummy coded variables and entered them into the model.

Hypothesis 2b predicted that the negative relationship between explicit coworker justification and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. In other words, modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they have a coworker justification than when such a justification is absent. As can be seen from the statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 6, coworker justifications and modern racism was negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.434, p < .05, \text{Exp}(B) = .648$). Given the overall significant interaction, I investigated the conditional effects (i.e. simple slopes) of the explicit coworker justification on the selection of Black job applicants at values of modern racism equal to the 10th, 25th, 50th, 75th, and 90th percentiles of the distribution in my sample (See Table 6). These analyses revealed that modern racism was statistically significant at the 10th and 25th percentiles but was not significant at the 50th, 75th, and 90th percentiles. Plotting the conditional effects against the odds ratios and probabilities further assists with the interpretation of the results of the conditional effects (See Figure 2). The corresponding probabilities for the control condition are .299, .329, .392, .459, and .527 respectively. The corresponding probabilities for the coworker condition are .728, .666, .523, .337, and .250 respectively. Unexpectedly, LMR people chose to select Black job applicants at a significantly higher rate than those in the control group when they were presented with an explicit coworker justification to choose a White applicant.

Figure 2



As Figure 2 shows, despite the lack of statistically significant results at the 50th, 75th, and 90th percentiles, the trend of the selection of Black job applicants is in line with my hypothesis that HMR people will choose fewer Black job applicants when presented with a coworker justification. Therefore, I decided to probe the interaction further. Some researchers have called for and developed additional methods to probe interaction effects (Bauer & Curran, 2005; Hayes & Matthes, 2009; P. O. Johnson & Neyman, 1936). One such method is called the Johnson-Neyman technique (P. O. Johnson & Neyman, 1936). This technique is favored because it avoids the need for researchers to arbitrarily define “low,” “moderate,” and “high” levels of their moderator of interest. Instead, the technique identifies values across the moderator where the interaction effect is and is not statistically significant. The Johnson-Neyman technique revealed that modern racism was statistically significant at values equal to or less than -2.33 and equal to

or higher than 6.13. The negative value refers to LMR people whereas the positive value refers to HMR people. These results suggest that had my sample had a distribution that included an effect equal to or greater than 6.13, then the conditional effect for HMR people would have also been statistically significant. Therefore, hypothesis 2b was partially supported.

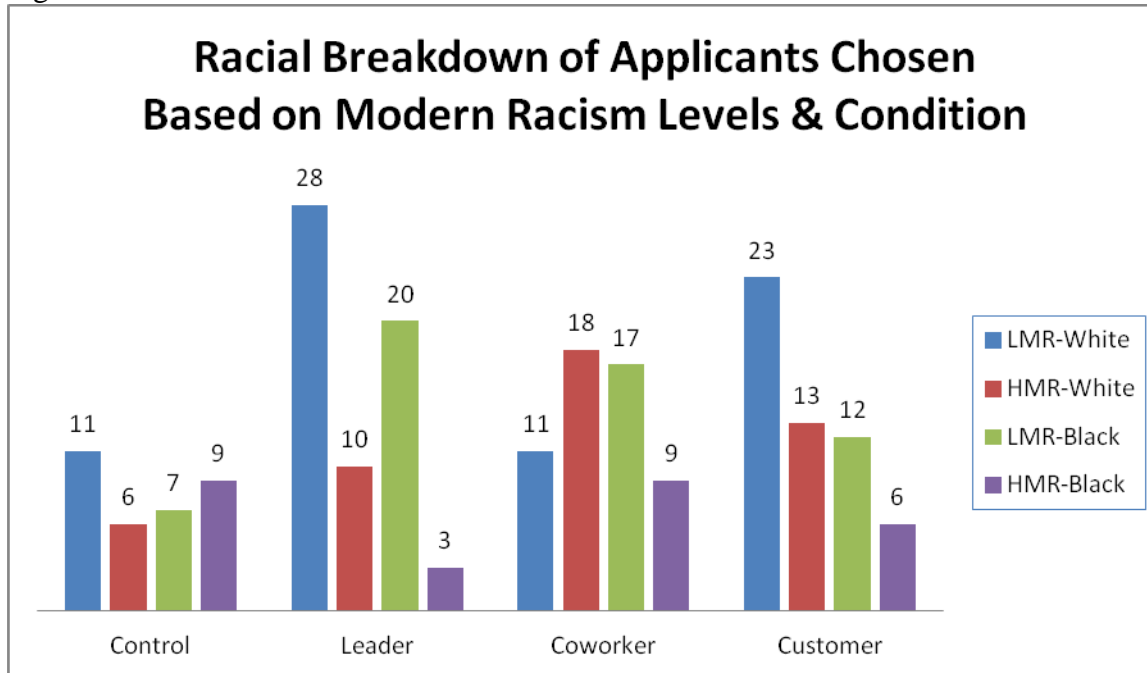
As an exploratory measure and for informational purposes, a median split was conducted to separate participants who were high and low on modern racism defined at the median (Mean = 15.59, Median = 16.00). Table 7 and Figure 3 highlights the racial breakdown of applicants chosen based on participants' modern racism levels and the study condition in which they participated. As can be seen from Table 7 and Figure 3, Black applicants were less likely to be chosen in each study condition except the control condition albeit their selection rate only reached statistically significant levels in the coworker condition. Table 8 highlights the racial breakdown of applicants chosen overall based on modern racism levels.

Table 7
Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Based on Modern Racism Levels and Condition

Condition	Race	Modern Racism		Total
		Low	High	
Control-A	White Count	7	4	11
	Black Count	2	1	3
	Total Count	9	5	14
Control-B	White Count	4	2	6
	Black Count	5	4	9
	Total Count	9	6	15
Leader-A	White Count	13	6	19
	Black Count	8	1	9
	Total Count	21	7	28
Leader-B	White Count	15	3	18
	Black Count	12	2	14
	Total Count	27	5	32
Coworker-A	White Count	6	8	14
	Black Count	8	5	13
	Total Count	14	13	27
Coworker-B	White Count	5	10	15
	Black Count	9	4	13

	Total Count	14	14	28
Customer-A	White Count	11	7	18
	Black Count	7	3	10
	Total Count	18	10	28
Customer-B	White Count	12	6	18
	Black Count	5	3	8
	Total Count	17	9	26

Figure 3



Note. HMR = High Modern Racism. LMR = Low Modern Racism.

Table 8

Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Overall Based on Modern Racism Levels

Race		Modern Racism		Total
		Low	High	
White	Count	73	46	119
	% within Race	61.3%	38.7%	100.0%
	% of Total	36.9%	23.2%	60.1%
Black	Count	56	23	79
	% within Race	70.9%	29.1%	100.0%
	% of Total	28.3%	11.6%	39.9%
Total	Count	129	69	198
	% within Race	65.2%	34.8%	100.0%
	% of Total	65.2%	34.8%	100.0%

Hypothesis 3b predicted that the negative relationship between explicit customer justification and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. In other words, modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they have an explicit customer justification than when such a justification is absent. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 6, customer justifications and modern racism were not related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.087, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = .916$). Therefore, hypothesis 3b was not supported.

As can be seen from Table 9, overall, the model correctly classified 64.6% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying White job applicants (84.9%) over Black job applicants (34.2%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was White, then one would be correct nearly 65% of the time. Table 10 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The Hosmer and Lemeshow test and -2LL are goodness-of-fit statistics; a significant Hosmer and Lemeshow statistic indicates that the data fit the model well and large values of the -2LL indicate that the model poorly fits the data (Field, 2005). The Cox and Snell R square and the Nagelkerke R square, whose values can be between 0 and 1, are interpreted similarly to the R square value in multiple regression (Field, 2005; Nagelkerke, 1991). The Nagelkerke R square is preferred over the Cox and Snell R square because the latter never reaches its theoretical maximum value of one; the Nagelkerke R square overcomes this limitation (Field, 2005). The results of this calculation indicate that the overall model explains 11.0% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 9

Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	101	18	84.9
Black	52	24	34.2
Overall Percentage			64.6

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 10

Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	2.134	7	.952	.081	249.562	.110

The third goal of my dissertation was to determine whether there was a three-way moderated relationship between my manipulated study conditions, participants' modern racism, either submissiveness to authority or agreeableness, and the subsequent selection of Black job applicants. These three-way interaction hypotheses represent another extension to the theory of modern racism (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986). The modern racism variable was added with the three dummy coded condition variables, followed by the two-way and three-way interaction variables, into the logistic regression model. A race dummy coded variable was added as a covariate. Following the procedures outlined by Cohen et al. (2003), I centered the modern racism, submissiveness to authority, and agreeableness variables before creating 3 interaction variables that consisted of the product of the centered modern racism variable, the three dummy coded variables, and depending on the hypothesis, either the submissiveness to authority or the agreeableness variable.

Hypothesis 5a and 5b predicted that the negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for LMR people and HMR people who

are higher in submissiveness to authority than for LMR and HMR people who are lower in submissiveness to authority respectively. In other words, low and high modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they were higher in submissiveness to authority than their respective counterparts because they were more prone to follow the directions of others without question. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in any condition shown in Table 11, explicit justifications, modern racism, and submissiveness to authority were not related to the selection of Black job applicants. Therefore, hypothesis 5a and 5b were not supported.

Table 11
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism and Submissiveness to Authority on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	B	SE	Z	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Race	-1.199	.581	-2.126	1	.034*	4.349	1.369	13.817
Leader	-.567	.530	-1.062	1	.288	1.892	.656	5.453
Customer	-.624	.535	-1.196	1	.232	1.951	.681	5.588
Coworker	-.058	.527	-.112	1	.912	.958	.335	2.742
Modern Racism	-.085	.068	-1.291	1	.197	1.100	.806	1.501
Submissiveness	3.743	1.976	1.923	1	.055*	46.695	.930	2,343.884
LDRxMR	-.016	.120	-.134	1	.117	.826	.572	1.195
CWRxMR	-.304	.148	-2.048	1	.041*	.663	.442	.994
CUSxMR	.160	.160	1.340	1	.181	.936	.650	1.348
LDRxSA	-3.291	2.098	-1.569	1	.117	.037	.001	2.328
CWRxSA	-4.120	2.077	-1.983	1	.047*	.016	.000	.981
CUSxSA	-5.464	2.120	-2.578	1	.010**	.004	.000	.275
MRxSA	-1.100	.731	-1.505	1	.132	.399	.092	1.730
LDRxMRxSA	1.297	.753	1.805	1	.071 [†]	3.293	.709	15.299
CWRxMRxSA	1.245	.747	1.700	1	.089 [†]	3.226	.677	15.370
CUSxMRxSA	1.047	.756	1.372	1	.170	2.383	.516	11.008
Constant	1.187	.707	1.679	1	.093 [†]	.000		

Note. N = 198. CI = confidence interval. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. [†] $p < .10$. Submissiveness = Submissiveness to Authority. LDR = Leader, CWR = Coworker, CUS = Customer, MR = Modern Racism, SA = Submissiveness to Authority.

As can be seen from Table 12, overall, the model correctly classified 65.7% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying White job applicants (83.2%) over Black job applicants (39.2%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was White, then one would be correct nearly 66% of the time. Table 13 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The Nagelkerke R square results indicate that this overall model explains 16.0% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 12
Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	99	20	83.2
Black	48	31	39.2
Overall Percentage			65.7

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 13
Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	6.918	8	.545	.118	241.502	.160

Hypothesis 6a and 6b predicted that the negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for LMR people and HMR people who were higher in agreeableness than for LMR and HMR people who were lower in agreeableness respectively. In other words, low and high modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they were higher in agreeableness than their respective counterparts because they were also more prone to follow the directions of others without question. As can be seen

from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in any condition shown in Table 14, explicit justifications, modern racism, and agreeableness interaction variables were not related to the selection of Black job applicants. Therefore, hypothesis 6a and 6b were not supported.

Table 14
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism and Agreeableness on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	B	SE	Z	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Race	-1.022	.556	-1.837	1	.066 [†]	.2724	.890	8.333
Leader	-.220	.500	-.440	1	.660	1.704	.596	4.875
Customer	-.720	.519	-1.388	1	.165	2.633	.886	7.825
Coworker	.299	.526	.568	1	.570	.816	.288	2.316
Modern Racism	.043	.678	.642	1	.521	1.152	.861	1.540
Agreeableness	.539	.600	.898	1	.369	.689	.081	5.858
CWRxMR	-.340	.145	-2.341	1	.019*	.646	.440	.948
LDRxMR	-.091	.125	-.721	1	.471	.782	.546	1.121
CUSxMR	.278	.131	2.123	1	.034*	1.022	.710	1.471
MRxA	.519	.438	1.190	1	.234	1.743	.732	4.152
LDRxA	.249	.892	-.633	1	.527	.885	.064	12.298
CWRxA	.993	.935	-.729	1	.466	1.257	.097	16.271
CUSxA	2.269	.519	-1.388	1	.244	6.375	.410	99.145
CWRxMRxA	-.3440	.496	-.518	1	.605	.732	.267	2.009
LDRxMRxA	-.450	.488	-.524	1	.600	.624	.226	1.723
CUSxMRxA	-.798	.445	-1.624	1	.104 [†]	.435	.173	1.093
Constant	.675	.683	1.139	1	.255	.106		

Note. N = 198. CI = confidence interval. * $p < .05$. [†] $p < .10$. LDR = Leader. CWR = Coworker. CUS = Customer. A = Agreeableness. MR = Modern Racism. A race dummy variable was created as a control (0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black).

As can be seen from Table 15, overall, the model correctly classified 65.7% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying White job applicants (84.0%) over Black job applicants (38.0%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was White, then one would be correct nearly 66% of the time. Table 16

presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The Nagelkerke R square results indicate that this model explains 14.4% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants. Table 17 shows the racial breakdown of applicants chosen based on their modern racism and agreeableness levels and experimental condition. Table 18 shows the racial breakdown of applicants chosen overall based on modern racism and agreeableness levels.

Table 15
Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	100	19	84.0
Black	49	30	38.0
Overall Percentage			65.7

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 16
Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	6.569	8	.584	.107	244.024	.144

Table 17
Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Based on Modern Racism and Agreeableness Levels and Condition

Condition	Race	Agreeableness		Total
		Low	High	
Control-A-LMR	White Count	2	5	7
	Black Count	2	0	2
Control-A-HMR	White Count	4	0	4
	Black Count	1	0	1
	Total Count	9	5	14
Control-B-LMR	White Count	1	3	4
	Black Count	2	3	5

Control-B-HMR	White Count	0	2	2
	Black Count	3	1	4
	Total Count	6	9	15
Leader-A-LMR	White Count	5	8	13
	Black Count	5	3	8
Leader-A-HMR	White Count	6	0	6
	Black Count	1	0	1
	Total Count	17	11	28
Leader-B-LMR	White Count	5	10	15
	Black Count	7	5	12
Leader-B-HMR	White Count	3	0	3
	Black Count	2	0	2
	Total Count	17	15	32
CWR-A-LMR	White Count	3	3	6
	Black Count	3	5	8
CWR-A-HMR	White Count	6	2	8
	Black Count	1	4	5
	Total Count	13	14	27
CWR-B-LMR	White Count	2	3	5
	Black Count	4	5	9
CWR-B-HMR	White Count	8	2	10
	Black Count	4	0	4
	Total Count	18	10	28
CUS-A-LMR	White Count	4	7	11
	Black Count	0	7	7
CUS-A-HMR	White Count	3	4	7
	Black Count	1	2	3
	Total Count	8	20	28
CUS-B-LMR	White Count	5	7	12
	Black Count	2	3	5
CUS-B-HMR	White Count	4	2	6
	Black Count	1	2	3
	Total Count	12	14	26

Note. HMR = High Modern Racism. LMR = Low Modern Racism. CWR = Coworker. CUS = Customer.

Table 18
Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Overall Based on Modern Racism and Agreeableness Levels

Race	Modern Racism	Total
------	---------------	-------

		Low	High	
White-LA	Count	27	34	61
Black-LA	Count	25	14	39
White-HA	Count	46	12	58
Black-HA	Count	31	9	40
Total		129	69	198

Note. LA = Low Agreeableness. HA = High Agreeableness.

Study 2 Implicit Conditions

Table 19 shows the point-biserial and zero-order correlations, means, and standard deviations of the predictor, mediator, moderator, and dependent variables examined in the implicit conditions study. Listwise deletion was used to ensure that descriptive statistics were only calculated on the participants who were assigned to the implicit conditions. As the table reports, modern racism was positively related to stereotypical beliefs but negatively related to agreeableness. Additionally, agreeableness was positively related to the selection of Black job applicants and submissiveness to authority. Agreeableness was negatively related to stereotypical beliefs. Unlike in the explicit conditions study, the stereotypical beliefs variables were not related to the selection of Black applicants.

Table 19. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Agreeableness	3.77	0.49	1								
2. Stereotypical P2	2.41	0.98	-0.09	1							
3. Submissiveness	3.36	0.46	0.12*	0.06	1						
4. Stereotypical Im	1.91	0.96	-0.18**	0.61***	0.02	1					
5. Modern Racism	15.81	3.52	-0.16**	0.55***	0.09	0.46***	1				
6. Customer-Blk	0.31	0.46	0.10	0.03	0.01	0.10	-0.05	1			
7. Customer-Wh	0.29	0.45	-0.02	-0.00	0.03	-0.12*	-0.05	-0.43***	1		
8. Leader	0.28	0.45	-0.06	-0.02	-0.04	0.05	0.04	-0.41***	-0.39***	1	
9. Race	0.53	0.50	0.12*	0.00	0.01	-0.07	-0.04	-0.01	-0.05	-0.01	1

Note. $N = 218$. Race = Race of applicant chosen; 0 = White, 1 = Black. Submissiveness = Submissiveness to Authority. Stereotypical Im = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during the implicit Study. Stereotypical P2 = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during Phase 2. Customer-Blk = Customer Black Stereotype Condition. Customer-Wh = Customer White Stereotype Condition. 0 = Control, 1 = Condition. *($p < .05$); **($p < .01$); ***($p < .001$).

Manipulation Check

Two items were included in the lab study to ensure that participants fully read the pertinent company information. Participants had to correctly answer the following two questions, “From the instruction sheet in your folder, who is presenting the company information to you?” and “What racial preference of the applicant was indicated in the company information?” in order to be included in the study analyses. The response options for the first question were: Not stated, CEO, Coworker, and Client. The response options for the second question were White American, Black American, and no preference stated. Participants in the control condition should have responded with “not stated” and “no preference stated” to the two questions. Participants in the leader condition should have responded with “CEO” and “no preference stated” to the two questions. Participants in the customer conditions should have responded with “client” and “no preference stated” to the two questions. Seven participants were excluded from the study’s analyses for answering the manipulation check incorrectly.

Tests of Hypotheses

The main goal of this study was to determine whether implicit justifications could influence people in their selection of job applicants. The implicit justifications were posited to work on a subliminal level by sending signals through different words being more closely associated with different races of people, and as such, may influence people differently. In the implicit study conditions, participants (except those in the control condition) were presented information from either a CEO or customer perspective. Participants were not explicitly informed of the preferred race of the job applicant, but rather the manipulations informed participants of the type of products the new hire would sell and customers with whom the new hire would serve. Participants in the control condition did not receive any information from any

organizational actor concerning hiring preferences, but rather were presented simple instruction on completing the study. Participants in the leader condition received information presented from the CEO of the company. Participants in the customer White stereotype prime condition received information presented from a customer perspective with code words that were congruent with White stereotypes. Participants in the customer Black stereotype prime condition received information presented from a customer perspective with code words that were congruent with Black stereotypes. Three dummy coded variables were created such that each manipulated condition was labeled as 1 and the control condition was labeled as 0 and served as the baseline condition. A race dummy coded variable was entered as a covariate such that participant race was coded as 0 = Black and 1 = Non-Black.

Hypothesis 1a predicted that implicit leader justifications to disfavor Black job applicants would be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. The leader dummy coded variable was entered as the independent variable of the binary logistic regression model with the customer-White, customer-Black, and race dummy variables entered as covariates. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 20, which includes the logistic regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient ($\text{Exp}(B)$, also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 20, implicit leader justifications were not related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.157, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = .855$). Therefore, hypothesis 1a was not supported. These results suggest that participants in

the leader condition were 1.17 times (1/.855) less likely to select Black job applicants than those in the control condition.

Table 20
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	B	SE	Z	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
CUS-Blk	-.432	.477	-.906	1	.365	1.540	.605	3.923
CUS-Wh	-.558	.480	-1.163	1	.245	1.747	.682	4.473
Leader	-.415	.486	-.854	1	.393	1.515	.584	3.927
Modern Racism	.069	.117	.594	1	.552	1.072	.853	1.347
Race	-.097	.610	-.160	1	.873	.907	.275	2.996
CWxMR	-.093	.133	-.704	1	.482	.911	.702	1.181
CBxMR	-.069	.140	-.496	1	.621	.933	.710	1.227
LDRxMR	-.157	.136	-1.156	1	.248	.855	.655	1.116
Constant	.615	.678	.906	1	.365	.154		

Note. N = 219. CI = confidence interval. CUS-Blk = Customer Black. CUS-Wh = Customer White LDRxMR = Leader x Modern Racism. CBxMR = Customer Black x Modern Racism. CWxMR = Customer White x Modern Racism. Race dummy variable (0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black).

Hypothesis 1b predicted that the negative relationship between implicit leader justification and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. In other words, modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they had a leader justification than when such a justification was absent. The leader x modern racism variable was entered as the independent variable and the other three dummy coded variables were entered as covariates in the logistic regression model. Following the procedures outlined by Cohen et al. (2003), I centered the modern racism variable before creating 3 interaction variables that consisted of the product of the centered modern racism variable and the three dummy coded variables. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the

test statistic in Table 20, implicit leader justification x modern racism was not statistically significantly related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.157, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = .855$). Therefore, hypothesis 1b was not supported.

Hypothesis 4a predicted that implicit customer justifications to disfavor Black job applicants would be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this hypothesis using the same analytical method as the previous hypotheses (e.g. binary logistic regression). As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 20, customer (White) justification was not related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = .558, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = 1.747$). Therefore, hypothesis 4a was not supported.

Hypothesis 4b predicted that the negative relationship between implicit customer justification and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. In other words, modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they have a customer justification than when such a justification is absent. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 20, the customer (White) justification x modern racism interaction was not statistically significantly related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.093, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = .911$). Therefore, hypothesis 4b was not supported.

In contrast to the previous hypotheses, I posited that there would be some situations wherein Black job applicants would be favored over White applicants for jobs. I posited that this situation is most likely to occur when the job is perceived to be related to Black clientele. Hypothesis 7a predicted that implicit Black stereotype-congruent customer justifications to favor Black job applicants would be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this hypothesis using the same analytical method as the previous hypothesis (e.g. binary logistic

regression). As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 20, Black stereotype-congruent customer justifications were not statistically significantly related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.069, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = .933$). Therefore, hypothesis 7b was not supported.

Table 21 and Figure 4 highlight the racial breakdown of applicants chosen based on participants' modern racism levels and the study condition in which they participated. As can be seen from Table 21 and Figure 4, Black applicants were slightly more likely to be chosen in the control and the implicit leader condition whereas White applicants were slightly more likely to be chosen in the implicit customer conditions. Interestingly, consistent with my hypotheses, participants who were high in modern racism selected more White job applicants in the implicit White stereotype-congruent customer justification condition but selected more Black job applicants in the implicit Black stereotype-congruent customer justification condition albeit their selection rate never reached statistically significant levels in any of the experimental conditions (see Figure 4). Table 22 highlights the racial breakdown of applicants chosen overall based on modern racism levels.

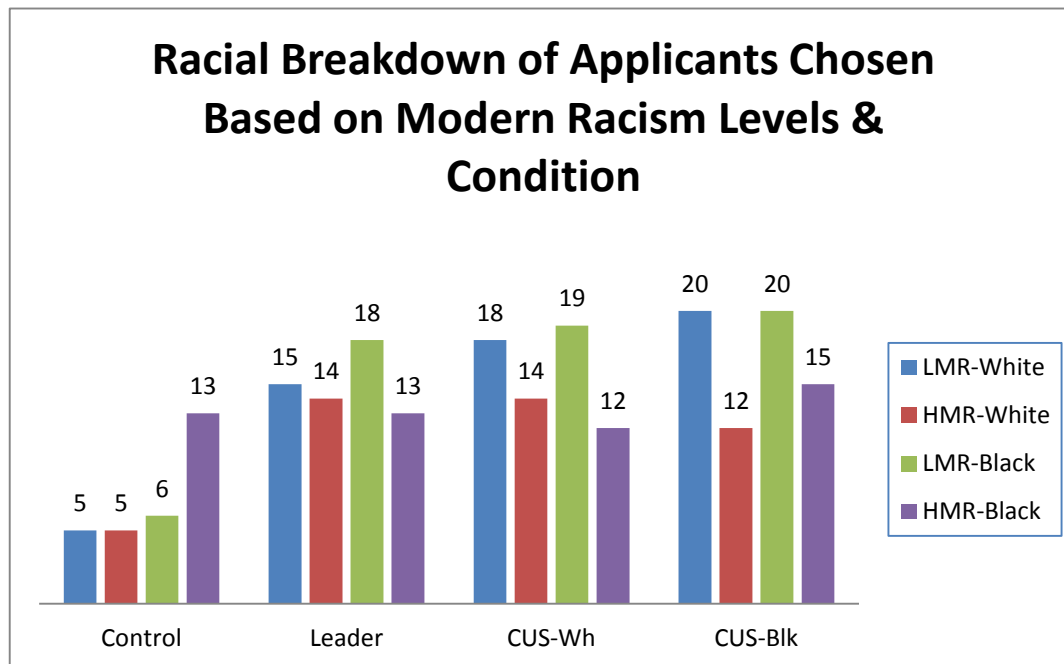
Table 21
Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Based on Modern Racism Levels and Condition

Condition	Race	Modern Racism		Total
		Low	High	
Control-A	White Count	3	4	7
	Black Count	1	6	7
	Total Count	4	10	14
Control-B	White Count	2	1	3
	Black Count	5	7	12
	Total Count	7	8	15
Leader-A	White Count	8	9	17
	Black Count	10	3	13
	Total Count	18	12	30
Leader-B	White Count	7	5	12
	Black Count	8	10	18

	Total Count	15	15	30
CUS-Wh-A	White Count	13	8	21
	Black Count	5	5	10
	Total Count	18	13	31
CUS-Wh-B	White Count	5	6	11
	Black Count	14	7	21
	Total Count	19	13	32
CUS-Blk-A	White Count	15	8	23
	Black Count	7	4	11
	Total Count	22	12	34
CUS-Blk-B	White Count	5	4	9
	Black Count	13	11	24
	Total Count	18	15	33

Note. CUS-Wh = Customer White. CUS-Blk = Customer Black.

Figure 4



Note. HMR = High Modern Racism. LMR = Low Modern Racism.

Table 22

Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Overall Based on Modern Racism Levels

Race		Modern Racism		Total
		Low	High	
White	Count	58	45	103
	% within Race	56.3%	43.7%	100.0%
	% of Total	26.5%	20.5%	47.0%
Black	Count	63	53	116
	% within Race	54.3%	45.7%	100.0%

	% of Total	28.8%	24.2%	53.0%
Total	Count	121	98	219
	% within Race	55.3%	44.7%	100.0%
	% of Total	55.3%	44.7%	100.0%

As can be seen from Table 23, overall, the model correctly classified 53.2% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success classifying Black job applicants (68.7%) than White job applicants (35.9%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was Black, then one would be correct 53% of the time. Table 24 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The Nagelkerke R square results indicate that this model explains 2.4% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 23
Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	37	66	35.9
Black	36	79	68.7
Overall Percentage			53.2

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 24
Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	7.741	8	.459	.018	297.600	.024

Similar to the Study 1, I sought to determine whether there was a three-way moderated relationship between my manipulated study conditions, participants' modern racism, either submissiveness to authority or agreeableness, and the subsequent selection of Black job applicants. These three-way interaction hypotheses represent another extension to the theory of

modern racism (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986). Following the procedures outlined by Cohen et al. (2003), I centered the modern racism, submissiveness to authority, and agreeableness variables before creating the respective 2-way and 3-way interaction variables that consisted of the product of the centered modern racism variable, the three dummy coded condition variables, and depending on the hypothesis, either the submissiveness to authority or the agreeableness variable. The interaction variables were included in a hierarchical manner in their respective models.

Hypothesis 5a and 5b predicted that the negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for LMR people and HMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for LMR and HMR people who are lower in submissiveness to authority respectively. In other words, low and high modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they are higher in submissiveness to authority than their respective counterparts because they are more prone to follow the directions of others without question. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in any condition in Table 25, implicit justifications x modern racism x submissiveness to authority were not related to the selection of Black job applicants. Therefore, hypothesis 5a and 5b were not supported.

Table 25

Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism and Submissiveness to Authority on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	B	SE	Z	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Customer-Blk	-.484	.495	-.977	1	.329	1.622	.615	4.281
Customer-Wh	-.632	.499	-1.268	1	.205	1.881	.708	4.999
Leader	-.542	.511	-1.060	1	.289	1.719	.631	4.680
Modern Racism	.048	.125	.386	1	.670	1.049	.822	1.339
Race	-.092	.659	-.139	1	.889	.912	.251	3.318
Submissiveness	.401	.839	.478	1	.633	1.493	.289	7.726
MRxCUSW	-.070	.142	.643	1	.622	.933	.707	1.231
MRxCUSB	-.066	.149	-.443	1	.658	.936	.699	1.254
MRxLDR	.042	.148	-1.147	1	.252	.844	.631	1.128
MRxSA	-.074	.221	-.336	1	.737	.929	.603	1.431
LDRxSA	.042	.042	.038	1	.970	1.042	.124	8.785
CUSBxSA	.023	1.016	.023	1	.982	1.023	.140	7.494
CUSWxSA	-.801	.990	-.809	1	.419	.449	.065	3.125
MRxLDRxSA	.456	.304	-1.147	1	.134	1.578	.869	2.865
MRxCUSWxSA	.157	.244	.643	1	.520	1.170	.726	1.885
MRxCUSBxSA	-.128	.309	-.415	1	.678	.880	.481	1.611
Constant	.664	.748	.888	1	.375	.045		

Note. N = 219. CI = confidence interval. Submissiveness = Submissiveness to Authority. Customer-Blk = Customer Black. Customer-Wh = Customer White. LDR = Leader. MR = Modern Racism. SA = Submissiveness to Authority. CUSW = Customer White. CUSB = Customer Black. Race dummy variable, 0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black.

As can be seen from Table 26, overall, the model correctly classified 55.0% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying Black job applicants (62.6%) over White job applicants (46.6%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was Black, then one would be correct 55% of the time. Table 27 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary. The Nagelkerke R square results indicate that this model explains 6.3% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 26

Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	48	55	46.6
Black	43	72	62.6
Overall Percentage			55.0

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 27

Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	9.886	8	.273	.047	291.066	.063

Hypothesis 6a and 6b predicted that the negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for LMR people and HMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for LMR and HMR people who are lower in agreeableness respectively. In other words, low and high modern racists would select fewer Black job applicants when they are higher in agreeableness than their respective counterparts because they are also more prone to follow the directions of others without question. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in any condition in Table 28, implicit justifications x modern racism x agreeableness were not related to the selection of Black job applicants. Therefore, hypothesis 6a and 6b were not supported.

Table 28

Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism and Agreeableness on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	B	SE	Z	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Customer-Blk	-.561	.496	-1.130	1	.258	1.752	.662	4.635
Customer-Wh	-.642	.497	-1.292	1	.196	1.900	.718	5.028
Leader	-.491	.504	-.973	1	.330	1.634	.608	4.391
Agreeableness	-.133	.936	-.142	1	.887	.876	.140	5.478
Modern Racism	.074	.121	.606	1	.544	1.077	.848	1.367
Race	-.208	.629	-.330	1	.741	.812	.237	2.788
MRxCUSW	-.090	.138	-.656	1	.512	.914	.698	1.197
MRxCUSB	-.051	.147	-.346	1	.729	.950	.712	1.268
MRxLDR	-.150	.142	-1.057	1	.290	.861	.652	1.137
MRxA	.205	.257	.797	1	.426	1.228	.741	2.033
LDRxA	.637	1.123	.567	1	.571	1.891	.209	17.072
CUSBxA	.818	1.067	.767	1	.443	2.267	.280	18.341
CUSWxA	.565	1.082	.522	1	.602	1.760	.211	14.675
MRxCUSBxA	-.234	.299	-.782	1	.434	.791	.440	1.422
MRxCUSWxA	-.271	.285	-.949	1	.343	.763	.436	1.334
MRxLDRxA	-.257	.298	-.864	1	.388	.773	.432	1.386
Constant	.791	.714	1.108	1	.268	.211		

Note. N = 219. CI = confidence interval. Customer-Blk = Customer Black. Customer-Wh = Customer White. LDR = Leader. MR = Modern Racism. A = Agreeableness. CUSB = Customer Black. CUSW = Customer White. Race dummy variable, 0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black.

As can be seen from Table 29, overall, the model correctly classified 55.5% of the job applicants, but had more success with classifying Black job applicants (58.3%) over White job applicants (52.4%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was Black, then one would be correct nearly 56% of the time. Table 30 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary. The Nagelkerke R square results indicate that this model explains 4.9% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 29

Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	54	49	52.4
Black	48	67	58.3
Overall Percentage			55.5

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 30

Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	10.815	8	.212	.038	293.408	.049

Finally, an additional question was added to this study to examine the degree to which participants may have been sensitive to the stereotype-congruent signals within the experimental scenarios, but perhaps either still chose an applicant based on their professional assessments or based on their desire to respond in what they perceived to be a more socially acceptable manner. At the end of the study, participants answered the following question: “Regardless of who you chose to hire, which race of applicant seem to fit best from the company information presented?” Participants could either choose White American or Black American. As can be seen in Table 31, regardless of who participants chose to hire, they perceived that a White job applicant best fit the job based on the company information presented in every experimental condition. A Pearson chi-square test ($\chi^2(3) = 7.567, p = .06$) revealed that the overall number of applicants chosen in the four conditions approached statistical significance. A statistically significant result indicates that the number of applicants across the conditions were significantly different. Consistent with my hypotheses on stereotype congruency, the number of people who perceived a Black job applicant best fit the White stereotype congruency condition was considerably lower than those

who perceived a White job applicant best fit the position. In contrast, in the Black stereotype-congruent condition, the number of participants who felt a Black job applicant best fit the job increased to the point where White and Black job applicants were almost viewed as equally best fitting the position, with only three more participants perceiving that a White job applicant was still a better fit for the open job position. Although not definitive, this suggests that the theory may have predictive validity but participants may have engaged in self-presentational tactics while completing the in-basket exercises.

Table 31
Perceived Best Fit Based on Applicant Race

Condition	Race		Total
	White	Black	
Control	17	11	28
Leader	45	15	60
Customer-White	41	20	61
Customer-Black	35	32	67
Total	138	78	216

Study 3 Organizational Contexts Study

Table 32 shows the point-biserial and zero-order correlations, means, and standard deviations of the predictor, mediator, moderator, and dependent variables examined in the organizational contexts conditions study. Listwise deletion was used to ensure that descriptive statistics are only calculated on the participants who were assigned to the organizational context conditions. As the table reports, modern racism was positively related to stereotypical beliefs but negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. In contrast, the positive diversity climate condition was positively related to the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 32. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

Variable	Mean	Std Dev	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Race	0.53	0.50	1							
2. Stereotypical P2	2.36	0.99	-0.15**	1						
3. Modern Racism	15.34	3.26	-0.14*	0.49***	1					
4. Stereotypical OC	1.85	0.90	-0.23***	0.52***	0.38***	1				
5. White-Fire	0.19	0.39	-0.05	0.06	0.11*	0.04	1			
6. Black-Fire	0.20	0.40	-0.14*	0.06	0.02	0.08	-0.25***	1		
7. Diversity Climate-Negative	0.20	0.40	0.07	-0.12*	-0.10	-0.12*	-0.24***	-0.25***	1	
8. Diversity Climate-Positive	0.21	0.41	0.15**	0.05	-0.02	0.00	-0.25***	-0.26***	-0.25***	1

Note. $N = 251$. Race = Race of applicant chosen; 0 = White, 1 = Black. Stereotypical OC = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during the organizational contexts Study. Stereotypical P2 = Stereotypical Beliefs assessed during Phase 2. 0 = Control, 1 = Condition. *($p < .05$); **($p < .01$); ***($p < .001$).

Manipulation Check

Two items were included in the lab study to ensure that participants fully read the pertinent company information. Participants had to correctly answer the following two questions, “From the instruction sheet in your folder, who is presenting the company information to you?” and “What racial preference of the applicant was indicated in the company information?” in order to be included in the study analyses. The response options for the first question were: Not stated, CEO, Coworker, and Client. The response options for the second question were White American, Black American, and no preference stated. Participants in all conditions—the control, the fired Black employees condition, the fired White employees condition, positive diversity climate condition, and negative diversity climate condition—should have responded with “not stated” and “no preference stated” to the two questions. All participants answered the manipulation check correctly.

Tests of Hypotheses

The main goal of this study was to determine whether different organizational contexts could influence people in their selection of job applicants. The fired Black employees condition posited that when previous Black employees were fired from the same job for poor performance

there would be a spillover effect such that people will be more hesitant to hire Black job applicants as replacements in that position. The fired White employees condition was not hypothesized in the dissertation but rather included to serve as a comparison to the fired Black employees condition. This condition presented the same information as the fired Black condition except the race of the fired employees was changed to White. The positive diversity climate condition posited that Black job applicants would be selected more often and the negative diversity climate condition posited that Black job applicants would be selected less often. Participants in the control condition did not receive any information with any organizational context, but rather were presented simple instruction on completing the study. Unlike the previous two studies, because of the polar nature of the variables of interest in this study, contrast (effects) coding was employed. Four contrast codes were created such that the fired Black condition was contrasted with the control condition and the fired White condition. The positive diversity climate condition was contrasted with the control condition and the negative diversity climate condition. As such, the fired Black and positive diversity climates conditions were my focal groups and were coded as +1 and their respective contrasts were coded as -1. A zero was given to variables that were not entered into contrast.

Hypothesis 8a predicted that (positive) diversity climate will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. All four contrast coded variables were entered into the binary logistic regression model with a race dummy coded variable entered as a covariate. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 33, which includes the logistic

regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient (Exp(B), also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 33, positive diversity climate was positively related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = .821, p < .01, \text{Exp}(B) = 2.272$). These results suggest that participants in the positive climate condition were 2.27 times more likely to select Black job applicants than those in the control condition. Therefore, hypothesis 8a was supported.

Table 33
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Manipulated Condition and Modern Racism on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>Z</i>	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Race	-.486	.681	-.714	1	.475	.615	.162	2.336
FB2C	-.690	.324	-2.131	1	.033*	.501	.266	.946
FB2FW	.139	.269	.518	1	.605	1.149	.679	1.946
P2C	.821	.326	2.518	1	.012**	2.272	1.199	4.304
P2NDC	-.266	.269	-.990	1	.322	.767	.453	1.298
Modern Racism	-.081	.044	-1.831	1	.067 [†]	.922	.845	1.006
MRxP2N	-.002	.080	-.022	1	.982	.998	.854	1.167
MRxP2C	-.020	.104	-.188	1	.851	.981	.799	1.203
MRxFB2FW	.083	.086	.957	1	.339	1.086	.917	1.286
MRxFB2C	.025	.105	.235	1	.815	1.025	.834	1.260
Constant	.602	.666	.903	1	.367	6.463		

Note. $N = 251$. CI = confidence interval. ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$. [†] $p < .10$. FB2C = Fire black (+1) to Control Contrast (-1) FB2FW = Fire Black (+1) to Fire White Contrast (-1). P2C = Positive Diversity Climate (+1) to Control Contrast (-1). P2NDC = Positive Diversity Climate (+1) to Negative Diversity Climate Contrast (-1). MRxP2N = Modern Racism. Race dummy variable, 0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black.

Hypothesis 8b predicted that the positive relationship between diversity climate and the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for LMR people than for HMR people. In other words, HMR people would select fewer Black job applicants than LMR people. As can be

seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 33, the positive diversity climate x modern racism condition variable was not statistically significantly related to the selection of Black job applicants. Therefore, 8b was not supported. Table 34 and Figure 5 shows the racial breakdown of the applicants chosen based on modern racism levels and condition and Table 35 shows the racial breakdown of applicants chosen overall based on modern racism levels.

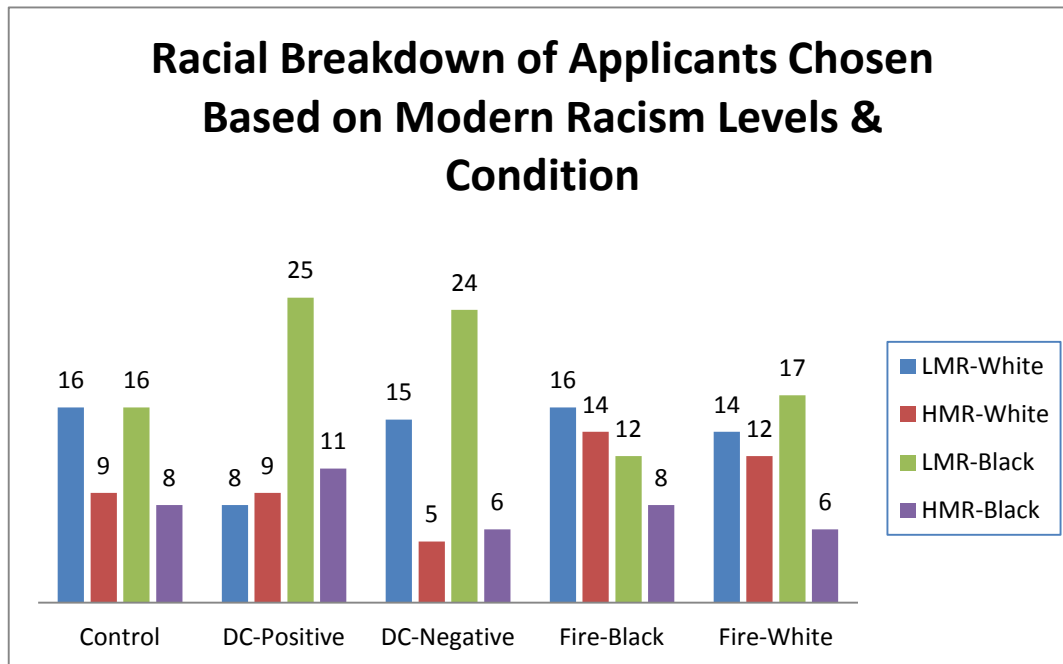
Table 34
Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Based on Modern Racism Levels and Condition

Condition	Race	Modern Racism		Total
		Low	High	
Control-A	White Count	14	3	17
	Black Count	3	5	8
	Total Count	17	8	25
Control-B	White Count	2	6	8
	Black Count	13	3	16
	Total Count	15	9	24
DC-Positive-A	White Count	4	6	10
	Black Count	9	7	16
	Total Count	13	13	26
DC-Positive-B	White Count	4	3	7
	Black Count	16	4	20
	Total Count	20	7	27
DC-Negative-A	White Count	8	5	13
	Black Count	10	1	11
	Total Count	18	6	24
DC-Negative-B	White Count	7	0	7
	Black Count	14	5	19
	Total Count	21	5	26
Fire-Black-A	White Count	10	8	18
	Black Count	4	3	7
	Total Count	14	11	25
Fire-Black-B	White Count	6	6	12
	Black Count	8	5	13
	Total Count	14	11	25
Fire-White-A	White Count	10	8	18
	Black Count	5	2	7
	Total Count	15	10	25
Fire-White-B	White Count	4	4	8
	Black Count	12	4	16

Total Count	16	8	24
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Note. DC = Diversity Climate

Figure 5



Note. HMR = High Modern Racism. LMR = Low Modern Racism. DC = Diversity Climate.

Table 35

Racial Breakdown of Applicants Chosen Overall Based on Modern Racism Levels

Race		Modern Racism		Total
		Low	High	
White	Count	69	49	118
	% within Race	58.5%	41.5%	100.0%
	% of Total	27.5%	19.5%	47.0%
Black	Count	94	39	133
	% within Race	70.7%	29.3%	100.0%
	% of Total	37.5%	15.5%	53.0%
Total	Count	163	88	251
	% within Race	64.9%	35.1%	100.0%
	% of Total	64.9%	35.1%	100.0%

Hypothesis 9a predicted that hiring information that informed participants that Black employees who held the job previously were fired for poor performance would be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job

applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 33, which includes the logistic regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient (Exp(B), also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 33, Black firing information was negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.690, p < .05, \text{Exp}(B) = .501$). These results suggest that participants in the fire-Black hiring information condition were 2.00 (i.e. $1/.501$) times less likely to select Black job applicants than those in the control condition. Therefore, hypothesis 9a was supported.

Hypothesis 9b predicted that the negative relationship of firing information of past Black employees on the selection of Black job applicants would be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. In other words, those who are high in modern racism would select fewer Black job applicants than those who are low in modern racism. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in the fire-Black condition in Table 33, firing information x modern racism was not related to the selection of Black job applicants. Therefore, 9b was not supported. Table 34 and Figure 5 shows the racial breakdown of the applicants chosen based on modern racism levels and condition and Table 35 shows the racial breakdown of applicants chosen overall based on modern racism levels.

As can be seen from Table 36, overall, the model correctly classified 62.1% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying Black job applicants (69.9%) over White job applicants (53.0%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was Black, then one would be correct 62% of the time. Table 37 presents the

results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The Nagelkerke R Square results indicate that this model explains 8.8% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 36
Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	61	54	53.0
Black	40	93	69.9
Overall Percentage			62.1

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 37
Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R-Ssquare	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	9.062	8	.337	.066	325.523	.088

Mediation Hypotheses

Stereotype Activation/Application

Hypothesis 10a predicted that stereotype activation and application would mediate the relationship between explicit justifications and the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. The Phase 2 stereotypic beliefs variable was entered as the independent variable in the first step and the explicit conditions stereotypic beliefs variable was entered as the mediator in the second step of the binary logistic regression model. A race dummy coded variable entered as a covariate. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 38, which includes the

logistic regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient (Exp(B), also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 38, stereotype activation/application mediated the relationship between explicit justifications and the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.657, p < .01, \text{Exp}(B) = .519$). Therefore, hypothesis 10a was supported. The total effect of stereotypic beliefs on the selection of Black job applicants was statistically significant ($B = -.279, p < .01$), however the direct effect of stereotypic beliefs on the selection of Black job applicants was not statistically significant ($B = -.090, p = ns$). A bootstrap sample analysis ($N = 1,000$) revealed that the 95% confidence interval for the size of the indirect effect excluded zero, and as such, was statistically significant ($B = -.214, p < .01, \text{Boot CI} = -.3811, -.0984$).

Table 38
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Stereotypical Beliefs on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	B	SE	t/Z	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Step 1								
Stereotypic P2	.3256	.0344	9.461	1	.000***	.757	.626	.915
Race	.3313	.2013	1.646	1	.102	2.068	.746	5.736
Constant	.6953	.1911	3.639	1	.000***	1.239		
Step 2								
Stereotypic P2	-.090	.113	-.799	1	.424	.914	.733	1.139
Stereotypic Ex	-.657	.214	-3.063	1	.002**	.519	.341	.789
Race	-.527	.527	-1.000	1	.317	1.694	.603	4.758
Constant	1.434	.531	2.700	1	.007**	2.476		

Note. $N = 193$. CI = confidence interval. *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. Stereotypic P2 = Stereotypic Beliefs Phase 2. Stereotypic Ex = Stereotypic Beliefs Explicit. A t -test is the test

statistic in step 1 and a Z- test is the test statistic in step 2. A race dummy variable was created as a control (0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black).

As can be seen from Table 39, overall, the model correctly classified 62.7% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying White job applicants (70.3%) over Black job applicants (50.7%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was White, then one would be correct nearly 63% of the time. Table 40 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The model explains 16.0% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 39
Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	83	35	70.3
Black	37	38	50.7
Overall Percentage			62.7

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 40
Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	6.961	7	.433	.118	233.724	.160

Hypothesis 10b predicted that stereotype activation and application would mediate the relationship between implicit justifications and the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. The Phase 2 stereotypic beliefs variable was entered in the first step and the implicit conditions stereotypic

beliefs variable was entered as a mediator in the second step of the binary logistic regression model. A race dummy coded variable was entered as a covariate. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 41, which includes the logistic regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient (Exp(B), also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the lack of a statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 41, stereotype activation/application did not mediate the relationship between implicit justifications and the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.059, p = ns, \text{Exp}(B) = .943$). Therefore, hypothesis 10b was not supported. The total effect ($B = -.056, p = ns$) and direct effect ($B = -.036, p < ns$) of stereotypic beliefs on the selection of Black job applicants were not statistically significant. A bootstrap sample analysis ($N = 1,000$) revealed that the 95% confidence interval for the size of the indirect effect included zero, and as such, was not statistically significant ($B = -.021, p = ns, \text{Boot CI} = -.2465, .1755$).

Table 41
Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Stereotypic Beliefs on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t/Z</i>	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Step 1								
Stereotypical P2	.347	.031	11.057	1	.000***	.945	.800	1.118
Race	.351	.224	1.571	1	.118	.804	.349	3.897
Constant	.577	.217	2.655	1	.009**	1.304		
Step 2								
Stereotypical P2	-.036	.108	-.330	1	.741	.965	.782	1.192
Stereotypical Im	-.059	.188	-.314	1	.753	.943	.652	1.363
Race	-.132	.619	-.214	1	.831	1.141	.339	3.843
Constant	.453	.609	.743	1	.457	1.377		

Note. $N = 212$. CI = confidence interval. Stereotypical P2 = Stereotypical Beliefs Phase 2. Stereotypical Im = Stereotypical Beliefs Implicit. A t -test is the test statistic in step 1 and a Z -test is the test statistic in step 2. A race dummy variable was created as a control (0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black).

As can be seen from Table 42, overall, the model correctly classified 54.2% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying Black job applicants (86.6%) over White job applicants (18.0%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was Black, then one would be correct 54% of the time. Table 43 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The model explains a negligible amount of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 42

Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	18	82	18.0
Black	15	97	86.6
Overall Percentage			54.2

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 43

Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	7.717	8	.462	.003	292.531	.004

Hypothesis 10c predicted that stereotype activation and application would mediate the relationship between organizational contexts and the selection of Black job applicants. I tested this using binary logistic regression as the outcome variable is dichotomous. The outcome variable, the selection of Black job applicants, was coded such that a 0 was recorded when White applicants were chosen and a 1 was recorded when Black applicants were chosen. The Phase 2

stereotypic beliefs variable was entered as the independent variable in the first step and the organizational contexts conditions stereotypic beliefs variable was entered as a mediator in the second step of the binary logistic regression. A race dummy coded variable was entered as a covariate. The results of the binary logistic regression models are presented in Table 44, which includes the logistic regression coefficients, their corresponding standard errors, and their exponentiation of the beta coefficient (Exp(B), also known as odds ratio) among other information. As can be seen from the statistically significant value of the test statistic in Table 44, stereotype activation/application mediated the relationship between organizational contexts and the selection of Black job applicants ($B = -.575, p < .01, \text{Exp}(B) = .563$). Therefore, hypothesis 10c was supported. The total ($B = -.1183, p = ns$) and direct ($B = .0541, p = ns$) effect of stereotypic beliefs on the selection of Black job applicants were not statistically significant. However, a bootstrap sample analysis ($N = 1,000$) revealed that the 95% confidence interval for the size of the indirect effect excluded zero, and as such, was statistically significant ($B = -.1764, p < .01, \text{Boot CI} = -.3172, -.0537$).

Table 44

Estimated Coefficients of Logistic Regression of Stereotypic Beliefs on the Selection of Black Job Applicants

Model Predictor	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t/Z</i>	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% C.I. for Exp(B)	
							Lower	Upper
Step 1								
Stereotypic P2	.307	.031	10.022	1	.000***	.888	.755	1.046
Race	.378	.217	1.735	1	.084	1.195	.367	3.885
Constant	.634	.209	3.032	1	.002**	1.542		
Step 2								
Stereotypic P2	.054	.102	.529	1	.597	1.056	.864	1.290
Stereotypic OC	-.575	.187	-3.074	1	.002**	.563	.390	.812
Race	.044	.607	.072	1	.942	.957	.291	3.145
Constant	.980	.591	1.66	1	.098	2.784		

Note. $N = 244$. CI = confidence interval. *** $p < .001$. ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. Stereotypic P2 = Stereotypic Beliefs Phase 2. Stereotypic OC = Stereotypic Beliefs Organizational Contexts. A t -test is the test statistic in step 1 and a Z -test is the test statistic in step 2. A race dummy variable was created as a control (0 = Black, 1 = Non-Black).

As can be seen from Table 45, overall, the model correctly classified 61.1% of the job applicants, but had considerably more success with classifying Black job applicants (75.2%) over White job applicants (45.2%). These results suggest that if one predicted that every job applicant who was hired was White, then one would be correct 61% of the time. Table 46 presents the results of the Hosmer and Lemeshow test and the model summary statistics. The model explains 6.7% of the variance in the selection of Black job applicants.

Table 45

Classification Table of Observed and Predicted Values by Race

Observed Race	Predicted Race		
	White	Black	Percentage Correct
White	52	63	45.2
Black	32	97	75.2
Overall Percentage			61.1

Note. The cut value is .500.

Table 46

Model Summary and Goodness-of-Fit Statistics

Hosmer and Lemeshow Test	Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Cox & Snell R Square	-2 Log Likelihood	Nagelkerke R Square
	4.415	7	.731	.050	324.847	.067

Casuietry

Hypotheses 11a, 11b, and 11c predicted that casuistry would mediate the relationship between stereotype activation and application and the selection of job applicants. Following the procedures of Norton and colleagues (2004), I included an open-ended question to test for casuistry in each of the studies. After participants chose their top ranked applicant, they were able to write in their reasons for choosing that applicant. Participants did not know before they chose their top ranked applicant that they would have to give a reason for choosing that applicant. I coded the participants' responses using the following categories: work experience, education, scenario prompt, both education and work experience, and other. As explained in the methods section, the top candidates alternated between having either higher education (e.g. an MBA) or more work experience (e.g. more years of work experience) as well as race (e.g. White or Black). In the A condition, the top Black applicant had more work experience (i.e. the top White applicant had the MBA). In the B condition, the top Black applicant had more formal education, an MBA (i.e. the top White applicant had more work experience). If participants

answered in the manner hypothesized, then a chi-square analysis could have been done on their response categories (Norton et al., 2004). Similar to Norton and colleagues (2004), I expected participants to state whatever reason that would confirm their choice of applicant. For example, if participants wanted to select a Black applicant and they were in the A condition, then they would state that higher work experience was the reason they chose that applicant. However, if participants wanted to select a Black applicant and they were in the B condition, then they would state that higher formal education was the reason they chose that applicant. In contrast, if participants wanted to select a White applicant and they were in the A condition, then they would state that higher formal education was the reason they chose that applicant. However, if participants wanted to select a White applicant and they were in the B condition, then they would state that higher work experience was the reason they chose that applicant.

Study 1 Explicit Justifications Conditions

The first step in testing for casuistry was to code the reasons that participants gave for selecting their applicant. After I coded the reasons that participants wrote, I asked a PhD student who is unaffiliated with the study to also code the responses using the same category legend. After I explained the coding scheme, we coded three cases together for practice and I answered any questions that came up. The external coder and I had an 87.8% agreement rating (174/198). On the 24 cases that we did not agree on, we talked about the cases explaining our logic for our coding and agreed that 20 of the 24 should have been coded as I originally coded them and I changed 4 of the 24 to reflect the coding scheme of the external coder. As such, we ended with 100% agreement on the coding scheme. Unexpectedly, most participants (107) chose both education and work experience as their reason for choosing their applicant (see Table 47). Only two participants chose education and 66 participants chose work experience. Seventeen

participants chose a reason we coded as “other.” For example, a participant may have written they chose the applicant because he had “great qualifications.” Since this reason was vague, it was coded as “other.” Therefore, Hypothesis 11a could not be properly tested for this study.

Similar to Brief et al. (2000), I expected few participants would state that the explicit justification (i.e. experimental manipulation) as the reason they chose their applicant. As can be seen in Table 47, only six participants actually stated that they chose their applicant based on the explicit justification scenario. In five of the six cases, the participants followed the explicit justification and chose a White applicant whereas on one occasion, despite the explicit justification to choose a White applicant, a participant chose a Black applicant. This outcome suggests that although many participants were influenced by the experimental manipulations, most were reluctant to admit it if they were even aware of it. Table 48 highlights some original examples that participants wrote in each of the representative categories.

Table 47
Coding Counts for Reasons Participants Listed for Selecting Applicants

Condition	Reason					Total	
	Work Experience	Education	Scenario Prompt	Both Education & Work Experience	Other		
Control-A	White Count	3	0	0	6	2	11
	Black Count	3	0	0	0	0	3
	Total Count	6	0	0	6	2	14
Control-B	White Count	2	0	0	3	1	6
	Black Count	0	0	0	8	1	9
	Total Count	2	0	0	11	2	15
Leader-A	White Count	5	1	1	10	2	19
	Black Count	5	0	0	2	2	9
	Total Count	10	1	1	12	4	28
Leader-B	White Count	7	0	1	10	0	18
	Black Count	3	1	0	10	0	14
	Total Count	10	1	1	20	0	32

Coworker-A White Count	4	0	1	8	1	14
Black Count	9	0	0	3	1	13
Total Count	13	0	1	11	2	27
Coworker-B White Count	2	0	1	8	0	11
Black Count	6	0	1	10	0	17
Total Count	8	0	2	18	0	28
Customer-A White Count	4	0	1	13	2	20
Black Count	2	0	0	5	1	8
Total Count	6	0	1	18	3	28
Customer-B White Count	3	0	0	7	3	13
Black Count	8	0	0	4	1	13
Total Count	11	0	0	11	4	26
Total	66	2	6	107	17	198

Table 48

Examples of Participants' Reasons for Selecting Applicants

Work Experience:

He has 7 years of experience as Project Marketing Manager. (Customer Condition)

The gentleman has a work history of 9 years and he meets the requirements of what the company is looking for in an employee. (Coworker Condition)

I chose this candidate because he seems to be the best qualified. He has 5 years of experience and has come into contact with many different individuals. (Leader Condition)

The candidate has a good amount of experience even though his major was not what I was looking for. His summary was impressive with the amount of marketing tactics he has used over his years of working. (Control Condition)

Education:

He had a Master's degree, which gave him an edge over other applicants. He has less experience than others, but the extra degree makes up for this. Hiring a white person with fewer qualifications may result in a lawsuit, and it is in the company's best interest to avoid this. Candidate A was more than qualified for the position. (Leader Condition)

He met the qualifications, and he also had the preferred masters degree. (Leader Condition)

Both Education and Work Experience:

I reviewed his degree, his current job, and his work experience. His sounded the closest to what was requested. His listed duties were some of the closest to what was being looked for. (Coworker Condition)

Applicant A has a higher level of education as well as a relatively work experience than most of the other applicants. Applicant A has experience in a marketing management position. The combination of these assets provides him with an advantage over the other applicants. (Leader Condition)

Had a masters degree, concentrated in marketing, good amount of experience, has worked in the areas that the company is asking for. (Customer Condition)

He has completed his MBA. He has 7 years of experience. He has shown the ability to be in charge of important projects. (Control Condition)

Scenario Prompt:

I was trying to decide between the applicant A and B, and both of them less experience than the company's preference. Also, the CEO did not want to hire the minorities, therefore, I thought the applicant A was the better choice. (Leader Condition)

Other

As a CPA, this applicant has shown his wide array of knowledge, as well as his ability to perform under pressure. (Control Condition)

After reviewing the other applicants they seemed the most suited for the job. (Customer Condition)

Additionally, similar to Norton et al. (2004) and Brief et al. (2000), I expected that few participants would actually mention race or allude to race within their reasons for choosing their applicants. Following the same coding procedures, an external coder and I coded the responses to determine whether participants mentioned or alluded to race in their reasons. The external coder and I had an 86.3% (171/198) agreement rating. On the 27 cases that we did not agree on, we talked about the cases explaining our logic for our coding and agreed that 25 of the 27 should have been coded as I originally coded them and I changed 2 of the 27 to reflect the coding

scheme of the external coder. As such, we ended with 100% agreement on the coding scheme. As can be seen in Table 49, only 47 participants (25%) mentioned or alluded to race in their reasons. This outcome suggests that although race was salient to many participants, most were reluctant to mention race at all. Table 50 highlights some original examples that participants wrote when they mentioned race.

Table 49
Frequency of Whether Race Was Mentioned in Reasons in Explicit Conditions

Condition	Reason		Total
	Race Mentioned	Race Not Mentioned	
Control	0	29	29
Leader	11	42	53
Coworker	19	32	51
Customer	17	36	53
Total	47	139	186

Table 50
Examples of Participants' Mentions of Race in their Reasons

<p>Race Mentioned:</p> <p>He had a Master's degree, which gave him an edge over other applicants. He has less experience than others, but the extra degree makes up for this. Hiring a white person with fewer qualifications may result in a lawsuit, and it is in the company's best interest to avoid this. Candidate A was more than qualified for the position. (Leader Condition)</p> <p>I was trying to decide between the applicant A and B, and both of them less experience than the company's preference. Also, the CEO did not want to hire the minorities, therefore, I thought the applicant A was the better choice. (Leader Condition)</p> <p>While the co-workers preferred to work with a White American, it is illegal to not consider an applicant based on the color of their skin. After looking through the resumes, candidate A was most qualified for the position of Mid-Level Marketing Manager Position. (Coworker Condition)</p> <p>Regardless of what the client wants, if I hire discriminatorily then I am liable legally. The most qualified candidate happens to be black. (Customer Condition)</p>

White, masters degree, experience in marketing. (Leader Condition)

White, Over 5 years of work experience, Master of Business Administration, concentrating in Marketing, and the last job title he had was a project marketing manager. (Customer Condition)

J - white male, Marketing Degree, more than minimum work experience, related work - Top selection. (Customer Condition)

First, I would be personally offended by the idea of not hiring any new minorities. The applicants really come down to A and B. Both have degrees in marketing and have the most experience in the marketing field. However, A's qualifications hit the mark entirely, meeting both required and preferred qualifications as well as previous experience directly related to the job. I would have hired A without looking at race, but now I'd hire him and dare the CEO to say anything. (Leader Condition)

He is a white American, and bachelor's Degree, 9 years experience in marketing analyst. (Coworker Condition)

Study 2 Implicit Justifications Conditions

The first step in testing for casuistry was to code the reasons that participants gave for selecting their applicant. After I coded the reasons that participants wrote, I asked a PhD student who is unaffiliated with the study to also code the responses using the same category legend. After I explained the coding scheme, we coded three cases together for practice and I answered any questions that came up. The external coder and I had a 94.5% agreement rating (206/218). On the 14 cases that we did not agree on, we talked about the cases explaining our logic for our coding and agreed that 10 of the 14 should have been coded as I originally coded them and I changed 4 of the 14 to reflect the coding scheme of the external coder. As such, we ended with 100% agreement on the coding scheme. Unexpectedly, most participants (151) chose both education and work experience as their reason for choosing their applicant (see Table 51). Only four participants chose education and 59 participants chose work experience. Four participants chose a reason we coded as “other.” For example, a participant may have written they chose the applicant because he had “great qualifications.” Since this reason was vague, it was coded as

“other.” Therefore, Hypothesis 11b could not be properly tested for this study. Table 52 highlights some original examples that participants wrote in each of the representative categories.

Table 51
Coding Counts for Reasons Participants Listed for Selecting Applicants

Condition	Reason				Total	
	Work Experience	Education	Both Education & Work Experience	Other		
Control-A	White Count	0	0	7	0	7
	Black Count	3	0	4	0	7
	Total Count	3	0	11	0	14
Control-B	White Count	1	0	1	1	3
	Black Count	3	1	8	0	12
	Total Count	4	1	9	1	15
Leader-A	White Count	3	2	12	0	17
	Black Count	5	0	8	0	13
	Total Count	8	2	20	0	30
Leader-B	White Count	10	0	1	1	12
	Black Count	2	0	16	0	18
	Total Count	12	0	17	1	30
CUS-Wh-A	White Count	5	0	16	0	21
	Black Count	4	0	6	0	10
	Total Count	9	0	22	0	31
CUS-Wh-B	White Count	5	0	5	1	11
	Black Count	1	0	20	0	21
	Total Count	6	0	25	1	32
CUS-Blk-A	White Count	4	1	18	0	23
	Black Count	8	0	3	0	11
	Total Count	12	1	21	0	34
CUS-Blk-B	White Count	2	0	6	1	9
	Black Count	3	0	20	0	23
	Total Count	5	0	26	1	32
Total		59	4	151	4	218

Note. CUS-Wh = Customer-White. CUS-Blk = Customer Black.

Table 52

Examples of Participants' Reasons for Selecting Applicants

<p>Work Experience:</p> <p>He has 6 years experience in strategizing and online marketing analytics. (Control Condition)</p> <p>He has 9 years experience, the most out of any candidate. He previously held a marketing position. (Customer-Black Condition)</p> <p>Better experience with marketing, shows initiative in learning marketing in many fields, even with less experience. (Customer-White Condition)</p> <p>9 years of experience, marketing analyst. (Leader Condition)</p>
<p>Education:</p> <p>The qualifications of his last job were most like the qualifications of the new position. Also holds a master's degree. (Control Condition)</p> <p>Because he graduated with a Management Degree. (Leader Condition)</p>
<p>Both Education and Work Experience:</p> <p>Great amount of work experience and also has a masters degree. (Customer-White Condition)</p> <p>Had a masters in business administration with his concentration in marketing. Also he had significant work experience in the field which included managing others. (Control Condition)</p> <p>7 years experience, met all required qualifications, masters degree, was a previous project marketing manager, Purdue University grad. (Customer-Black Condition)</p> <p>He has a masters in Marketing and 7 years work experience as a Project Marketing Manager. (Leader Condition)</p>
<p>Other</p> <p>This applicant met all of the required qualifications along with having great relationship building skills which is important to the CEO of the company. (Leader)</p> <p>Resume seems to fit criteria. (Customer-White Condition)</p>

Additionally, similar to Norton et al. (2004) and Brief et al. (2000), I expected that few participants would actually mention race or allude to race within their reasons for choosing their applicants. Following the same coding procedures, an external coder and I coded the responses to determine whether participants mentioned or alluded to race in their reasons. The external

coder and I had a 100% (218/218) agreement rating. As can be seen in Table 53, only 2 participants (0.9%) mentioned or alluded to race in their reasons. This outcome suggests that if race was salient to the participants, most were reluctant to mention race at all. Table 54 highlights the two original examples that participants wrote when they mentioned race.

Table 53
Frequency of Whether Race Was Mentioned in Reasons in Implicit Conditions

Condition	Reason		Total
	Race Mentioned	Race Not Mentioned	
Control	0	28	28
Leader	0	60	60
Customer-White	0	63	63
Customer-Black	2	64	66
Total	2	215	217

Table 54
Examples of Participants' Mentions of Race in their Reasons

<p>Race Mentioned:</p> <p>He offers experience as well as diversity in the work place which can benefit the company for a few different reasons. His experience speaks for itself, with 9 years in the field. (Customer-Black Condition)</p> <p>For starters, he is the only applicant with a Master's degree, which shows his dedication and commitment to completing a task. Secondly, he is the only applicant that has actually held the position of a Marketing Manager. He also has quite substantial experience in similar tasks to that of which we will require him. Also, as a inferior but slightly influential factor, he is black, which in most cases would make him more "in tap" with the "urban" community. (Customer-Black Condition)</p>

Study 3 Organizational Contexts Conditions

The first step in testing for casuistry was to code the reasons that participants gave for selecting their applicant. After I coded the reasons that participants wrote, I asked a PhD student who is unaffiliated with the study to also code the responses using the same category legend.

After I explained the coding scheme, we coded three cases together for practice and I answered

any questions that came up. The external coder and I had a 91.2% agreement rating (229/251). On the 22 cases that we did not agree on, we talked about the cases explaining our logic for our coding and agreed that 9 of the 22 should have been coded as I originally coded them and I changed 13 of the 22 to reflect the coding scheme of the external coder. As such, we ended with 100% agreement on the coding scheme. Unexpectedly, most participants (146) chose both education and work experience as their reason for choosing their applicant (see Table 55). Only three participants chose education and 91 participants chose work experience. Eleven participants chose a reason we coded as “other.” For example, a participant may have written they chose the applicant because he had “great qualifications.” Since this reason was vague, it was coded as “other.” Therefore, Hypothesis 11c could not be properly tested for this study. Table 56 highlights some original examples that participants wrote in each of the representative categories.

Table 55
Coding Counts for Reasons Participants Listed for Selecting Applicants

Condition	Reason				Total	
	Work Experience	Education	Both Education & Work Experience	Other		
Control-A	White Count	4	0	13	0	17
	Black Count	5	1	2	0	8
	Total Count	9	1	15	0	25
Control-B	White Count	3	0	4	1	8
	Black Count	4	0	12	0	16
	Total Count	7	0	16	1	24
Fire-Wh-A	White Count	6	0	11	1	18
	Black Count	6	0	1	0	7
	Total Count	12	0	12	1	25
Fire-Wh-B	White Count	5	0	3	0	8
	Black Count	8	0	8	0	16
	Total Count	13	0	11	0	24
Fire-Blk-A	White Count	7	2	9	0	18

	Black Count	4	0	3	0	7
	Total Count	11	2	12	0	25
Fire-Blk-B	White Count	6	0	5	1	12
	Black Count	1	0	11	1	13
	Total Count	7	0	16	2	25
DC-Pos.-A	White Count	2	0	8	0	10
	Black Count	8	0	6	2	16
	Total Count	10	0	14	2	26
DC-Pos.-B	White Count	2	0	4	1	7
	Black Count	6	0	14	0	20
	Total Count	8	0	18	1	27
DC-Neg.-A	White Count	5	0	4	1	10
	Black Count	2	0	14	3	19
	Total Count	7	0	18	4	29
DC-Neg.-B	White Count	4	0	3	0	7
	Black Count	3	0	16	0	19
	Total Count	7	0	19	0	26
Total		91	3	146	11	251

Note. Fire-Wh = Fire-White. Fire-Blk = Fire-Black. DC-Pos. = Diversity Climate-Positive. DC-Neg. = Diversity Climate-Negative.

Table 56

Examples of Participants' Reasons for Selecting Applicants

Work Experience:

He/she has the most job experience in the field which is 7 years as marketing manager, and the other candidates doesn't have experience in either manager position or less years of experience than this person. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)

This applicant met the required qualifications and also had experience in the duties required for the job including: formulating, directing, and coordinating marketing activities. (Control Condition)

This applicant has the most experience out of all others. (9 years) (Positive Diversity Climate Condition)

He has the most experience out of the candidates (9 years). He also has a concentration in Marketing, and although he does not have a Master's degree, he has much experience analyzing market data. He is also skilled in working with collaborative teams, which is a very valuable asset, since he will be working with the advertising and marketing managers as well as the promotional sales staff. (Fire-White Condition)

I chose this applicant because he was well qualified for the position with 6 years of experience

<p>and his last job title being a project manager. He was able to coordinate internally and externally as well as review and analyze risks with external vendors. (Fire-Black Condition)</p>
<p>Education:</p> <p>Master of Business Administration, concentration in Marketing. (Fire-Black Condition)</p> <p>This particular applicant had every qualification and more. Also, Purdue is a very good school to graduate from. (Fire-Black Condition)</p> <p>This applicant fully satisfies all the requirements of the job and concentrated on job-related major. (Control)</p>
<p>Both Education and Work Experience:</p> <p>He has a marketing degree and the most experience of all the applicants. (Control Condition)</p> <p>He has the most experience out of all candidates and his specialization in education and at his prior job related more to the applying position. (Positive Diversity Climate Condition)</p> <p>A has 7 years of working experience with his last job being a project marketing manager which is what our company is looking to hire. He also has a masters with a concentration in marketing. (Fire-White Condition)</p> <p>He has a concentration in Management and 6 years experience. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)</p> <p>I chose A because even though he did not have 11 years of experience he was second with 7 years. He also has a Masters in Business Administration with concentration on marketing. He also has worked in managing projects and marketing and had to meet functional specifications. (Fire-Black Condition)</p>
<p>Other</p> <p>Smart. (Control)</p> <p>This applicant met all requirements and demonstrated solid teamwork skills that appear to be necessary for the job. (Hire-Black Condition)</p> <p>I honestly thought his resume was the most impressive. There were quite a few qualified applicants, but this one stood out the most to me. (Positive Diversity Climate Condition)</p>

Additionally, similar to Norton et al. (2004) and Brief et al. (2000), I expected that few participants would actually mention race or allude to race within their reasons for choosing their applicants. Following the same coding procedures, an external coder and I coded the responses to determine whether participants mentioned or alluded to race in their reasons. The external coder and I had a 100% (251/251) agreement rating. As can be seen in Table 57, only 17

participants (6.7%) mentioned or alluded to race in their reasons. This outcome suggests that if race was salient to the participants, most were reluctant to mention race at all. Table 58 highlights some original examples that participants wrote when they mentioned race.

Table 57
Frequency of Whether Race Was Mentioned in Reasons in Implicit Conditions

Condition	Reason		Total
	Race Mentioned	Race Not Mentioned	
Control	1	49	50
Fire-White	0	49	49
Fire-Black	1	49	50
Positive Diversity Climate	5	47	52
Negative Diversity Climate	9	41	50
Total	17	234	251

Table 58
Examples of Participants' Mentions of Race in their Reasons

<p>Race Mentioned:</p> <p>I chose this applicant because it met the qualifications for this job title before I looked at the race/sex. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)</p> <p>Completed his undergrad and masters at Purdue University. 7 Years working experience He is black and the company is known for having diversity. (Positive Diversity Climate Condition)</p> <p>He is African American, He has a Master in Business Administration and a concentration in Marketing. He also has 7 years of experience. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)</p> <p>He is a white male with the most job experience. He is familiar with marketing as well. (Control Condition)</p> <p>Even though he is African American, he has had 7 years of experience as a Project Marketing Manager and also is the only candidate with his Masters. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)</p> <p>There were 3 applicants that I narrowed my choice down to. A, B, and H. I liked the 9 years of work experience that B had and the description of his Marketing experience sounded good for the job. I also liked H because of his marketing experience and especially for his merchandiser experience because the company said they were looking for someone who could "develop pricing strategies, balance firm</p>

objectives and customer satisfaction." I chose A because not only did he have 7 years of work experience as a project marketing manager which I thought was great but he also had a masters degree. Although the company made a hint that they would prefer a White American, I think that is absurd and they need to be professional. In 2012 race should not be a factor. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)

7 yr experience as marketing manager, Masters in Business Admin, minority. (Positive Diversity Climate Condition)

This candidate is a white male with a bachelor of science with a concentration in marketing which is what they asked for. He has over the experience required and his job descriptions met the best qualifications to what they were looking for. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)

Since the company had the history that not really focus on diversity culture, therefore candidate C is the possible candidate for them to hire. Although he is not a mater degree, his 5 years experience strength his work ability. (Negative Diversity Climate Condition)

No matter If he is white or black, he is the most qualified resume that was here for me to look over. He meets the criteria better than any others. (Fire-Black Condition)

Summary of Hypotheses Results

H1a: Implicit leader justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Not Supported.**

H1b: The negative relationship between implicit leader justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. **Not Supported.**

H2a: Explicit co-worker justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Not Supported.**

H2b: The negative relationship between explicit co-worker justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. **Partially Supported.**

H3a: Explicit customer justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Not Supported.**

H3b: The negative relationship between explicit customer justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. **Not Supported.**

H4a: Implicit customer justifications to disfavor Black applicants will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Not Supported.**

H4b: The negative relationship between implicit customer justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. **Not Supported.**

H5a: The negative relationship between justifications to disfavor Black applicants and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for LMR people who are lower is submissiveness to authority. **Not Supported.**

H5b: The negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people who are higher in submissiveness to authority than for HMR people who are lower is submissiveness to authority. **Not Supported.**

H6a: The negative relationship between justifications to disfavor Black applicants and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for LMR people who are lower is agreeableness. **Not Supported.**

H6b: The negative relationship between justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people who are higher in agreeableness than for HMR people who are lower is agreeableness. **Not Supported.**

H7a: Black stereotype-congruent justifications will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Not Supported.**

H7b: The positive relationship between Black stereotype-congruent justifications and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. **Not Supported.**

H8a: Diversity climate will be positively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Supported.**

H8b: The positive relationship between diversity climate and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for LMR people than for HMR people. **Not Supported.**

H9a: Hiring information will be negatively related to the selection of Black job applicants. **Supported.**

H9b: The negative relationship between hiring information and the selection of Black applicants will be stronger for HMR people than for LMR people. **Not Supported.**

H10: Stereotype activation and application mediates the relationship between a) justifications, b) diversity climate, and c) hiring context and the selection of job candidates. **Partially Supported.**

H11: Casuistry mediates the relationship between stereotype activation and application and selection of job candidates. **Could Not Be Tested.**

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter I will discuss the results of this dissertation, the theoretical and managerial implications of the results, some limitations of this dissertation, and some suggestions for future research. First, the objectives of this dissertation and the research questions studied will be explained. Second, the results of this dissertation will be discussed. Then, the theoretical and managerial implications of these results will be discussed. Finally, the limitations of this dissertation will be reviewed, followed by presenting some areas of future research.

This dissertation sought to answer what types of justifications, individual difference variables, organizational actors, and organizational contexts could influence people to discriminate in personnel selection situations. As such, this dissertation attempted to make a number of theoretical contributions. First, I attempted to extend the theory of modern racism by establishing that non-authority figures (i.e. coworkers and customers) can influence people to adopt their real or perceived personnel selection preferences. Subsequently, their preferences may act like explicit justifications that free managers to act on their biases when selecting personnel. Second, I presented an argument that explains how implicit justifications can also function like explicit justifications that may lead to similar discriminatory behavior. Third, I attempted to extend the theory of modern racism by establishing that HMR people may actually favor Black job applicants when jobs or job duties are congruent with stereotypes of Black Americans. Fourth, I attempted to extend the theory of modern racism by examining situations in which LMR people are more likely to discriminate in personnel situation despite their low levels of prejudice. I posited that this was more likely to occur when people were submissive to authority figures and higher in agreeableness. Fifth, I attempted to build theory to explain how

an organization's diversity climate and hiring context can send signals to managers that influence personnel selection decisions. Sixth, I attempted to build theory to describe the meditational processes that link justifications and organizational contexts to discrimination. The two meditational processes I identified were stereotype activation/application and casuistry. Finally, in the synthesis of these theoretical contributions, I endeavored to present a more complete theory of discrimination which I call discrimination process theory.

Using a survey and experimental scenario study design, I attempted to test 11 principal study hypotheses in this dissertation. As a result of the convolution of reasons participants gave for selecting their job applicants during the open-ended questions that were used to test for casuistry, I was only able to properly test 10 principal study hypotheses in this dissertation. Prior to this study, it was shown that explicit leader justifications that came from a perceived legitimate leader could influence people to discriminate in personnel selection situations (Brief et al., 2000). Along these lines, whether other organizational actors, other types of justifications, and other organizational contexts could influence others to discriminate received little to no attention in the management literature. The controlled experimental environment within which these relationships were tested offered a better opportunity to test for causality between my predictors and outcome variable, and as such, a stronger test of the new theory I proposed.

Explicit Justifications on Personnel Selection

In this study, I found that explicit coworker justifications did influence people to select fewer Black job applicants, but an unexpected finding also emerged. When presented with an explicit coworker justification, LMR people selected Black job applicants significantly more often than those in the control group. This finding suggests that in response to an explicit coworker justification preferring a White job applicant, LMR people instead advocated in

support of Black job applicants by selecting them more often. This advocacy could stem from their more egalitarian viewpoints and a sense of “correcting” their perceived injustice. Interestingly, this advocacy only occurred in response to explicit coworker justifications and not in the explicit leader and explicit customer justifications conditions. This may have occurred because LMR people may view explicit leader and customer justifications as more legitimate than explicit coworker justifications. Future research should investigate this proposition further. In an organizational context increasingly characterized by flatter organizations and more diverse and self-managed teams (Homan et al., 2008; Lawler et al., 1995), this is an important finding. Previous scholars (Brief et al., 2000; Petersen & Dietz, 2008; Umphress et al., 2008) examined situations in which “top-down” directives influenced people to discriminate, but this finding suggests that “bottom-up” directives also need to be examined and monitored. In fact, research on power and political skill has established that some people who do not hold legitimate positions of authority can still have substantial amounts of power and influence in organizations (Ferris et al., 2007; Pfeffer, 1994, 2010). As organizations and managers become more concerned with perceived fit (Cable & Judge, 1996, 1997; Kristof-Brown et al., 2005) among employees, it may be wise to examine how racial preferences of coworkers may affect managerial decision-making in personnel selection.

Despite researchers’ findings that some organizations do attempt to match their employees’ race with their clientele’s race (Avery et al., 2012; Ely & Thomas, 2001), I did not find that explicit justifications from customers influenced people to discriminate against Black job applicants. Similar to Petersen and Dietz (2008), I could not replicate Brief and colleagues’ (2000) findings that an explicit leader justification would influence people to discriminate against Black job applicants. Additionally, none of the three-way interactions examining the

effects of modern racism and submissiveness to authority and modern racism and agreeableness were significant. However, many scholars have noted the difficulty and challenges in obtaining statistically significant interaction effects even when an interaction is actually present (Aguinis, 1995, 2002; Rogers, 2002). In fact, the customer, modern racism, and agreeableness interaction variable approached statistical significance, which suggests that the theory may be sound but to be certain, future research in the area is necessary. Moreover, it is important to note, that the overall selection of White and Black job applicants was in the direction hypothesized, that is, overall, people chose more White job applicants than Black job applicants in the explicit conditions. Specifically, HMR people selected fewer Black job applicants than their counterparts in each experimental condition except the control condition. Taken together, this suggests that there may not have been enough participants with varying levels of the individual differences variables in the different conditions. Interestingly, LMR people also selected fewer Black job applicants than they did White job applicants in every condition except the coworker condition which suggests that modern racism is a far more complex phenomenon than old-fashioned racism.

Implicit Justifications on Personnel Selection

This study attempted to test some of the greatest extensions of the theory of modern racism to date (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986). Although explicit justifications occur, they are more easily recognized and more easily corrected, and therefore, may be evoked less often than implicit justifications. In this regard, implicit justifications can be more pernicious because they are hypothesized to influence people's decision making in personnel selection, but they are less overt in a racial element than explicit justifications, thus making it harder to recognize and challenge. Additionally, this study attempted to determine if HMR people would

actually prefer Black job applicants over White job applicants when the open position is described in a Black-stereotype congruent manner. As such, I expected that more Black job applicants would be systematically selected in this study than in the explicit conditions study.

Unfortunately, none of the main effects, interaction, and three-way interaction hypotheses were statistically significant in the implicit conditions study. As such, I was unable to determine whether implicit justifications from leaders and coworkers could influence people to discriminate in personnel selection. Likewise, I am unable to determine whether stereotype congruency can affect personnel selection and whether submissiveness to authority and agreeableness interact with modern racism and implicit justifications to influence personnel selection. However, the leader x modern racism x submissiveness to authority interaction variable did approach significance.

The exploratory perceived fit variable highlighted some interesting findings. Although I expected more Black job applicants to be selected in this study because of the Black stereotype-congruent condition, I still expected the selection of Black job applicants to follow the same pattern they did in study 1 for the other conditions. The lack of any significant findings in the implicit justifications conditions do not allow me to make that claim. However, when I asked participants to disregard who they selected to hire and just think about what race they thought would be the best fit for the job based on the company information, the results were more in line with what I expected and hypothesized. Specifically, in each condition—the control, the leader, the White stereotype-congruent, and the Black-stereotype congruent—participants responded that they believed that a White job applicant was the perceived best fit for the job. However, in the Black stereotype-congruent condition, participants only narrowly chose White job applicants over Black job applicants whereas in the other conditions, the participants said that White job

applicants were a better fit over Black job applicants by double digit margins. This suggests that participants did pick up stereotype congruency cues in the conditions but perhaps they either self-corrected before they made their hiring choice or they consciously made more socially desirable hiring choices.

Organizational Contexts on Personnel Selection

Moving from justifications, this study attempted to determine whether organizational contexts can influence people to discriminate in personnel selection. Similar to implicit justifications, I hypothesized that the organizational contexts (i.e. diversity climate and firing information) would send signals to participants that would influence their personnel selection decisions. I expected that Black job applicants would be selected more often when information suggested that the organization had a positive diversity climate and less often when information suggested that Black employees who held the position were fired for poor performance and that modern racism would interact with diversity climate and hiring information to produce differential effects for HMR and LMR people.

Although, my interaction hypotheses were not statistically significant, both main effect hypotheses for positive diversity climate and Black firing information were statistically significant in the organizational context conditions study. As such, I was able to determine that positive diversity climate could influence people to favor Black job applicants and Black firing information could influence people to disfavor Black job applicants in personnel selection. Interestingly, in each of their respective comparisons, LMR and HMR people chose more Black job applicants than White job applicants whether the diversity climate information was positive or negative. Perhaps, in the positive diversity climate condition, signals were sent that suggested that the organization values diversity and thus wanted people to consider employee diversity

when making personnel selection decisions. Conversely, in the negative diversity climate condition, perhaps signals were sent that the organization was doing a poor job with employee diversity and participants may have believed that hiring more Black job applicants could be a step in the right direction to alleviate the situation. Future research is encouraged to investigate this possibility. In contrast, in the Black job hiring/firing condition (e.g. participants were informed that Black employees previously held the job and were fired for poor performance), LMR and HMR participants chose to hire more White job applicants as replacements, but in the condition where information was presented that White employees that previously held the job and were fired for poor performance, only LMR participants decided to hire more Black job applicants as replacements. Despite the information that White employees were fired for poor performance, there was not a stereotype “spill over” effect as was seen in the Black hiring/firing condition as HMR participants still decided to hire more White job applicants as replacements which is in line with what I hypothesized.

Stereotype Activation/Application

Although Brief and colleagues (2000) and McConahay (1986) made meaningful contributions to the theory of modern racism, scant research examines the actual mediation process that takes place in personnel selection situations. In other words, what are the psychological processes that people go through when they receive these justifications and cues and make their personnel selection decisions? I posited that stereotype activation/application would be the first psychological process that people go through as they receive information on justifications and organizational contexts and make personnel selection decisions. My results supported this proposition in my explicit justifications and organizational contexts conditions but I did not receive support for this proposition in my implicit justifications condition. Research on

stereotype activation/application confirms that these processes are quick psychological processes that can occur consciously and unconsciously (Devine, 1989; Fiske & Lee, 2008; Kunda & Spencer, 2003; Lepore & Brown, 1997) and additional research confirms that people can self-correct post activation or avoid stereotyping and acting on prejudice if they are motivated to do so (Devine, 1989; Plant & Devine, 1998). It could be the case that participants in the implicit condition self-corrected or they responded in a more socially desirable manner.

Casuietry

Casuietry is specious reasoning used to justify questionable decisions or behavior (Norton et al., 2004). I posited that casuietry, another psychological process, would be the second mediator to explain the relationship between justifications and organizational contexts and personnel selection. Since stereotype activation/application is a quick psychological process and casuietry involves searching for reasons to support one's decision, it is logical to presume that casuietry is a slower psychological process that may occur after stereotype activation/application. In other words, stereotype activation/application may trigger someone to make a decision, thus leading them to engage in casuietry to find innocuous reasons to justify the decisions that are made. I used the same procedures as Norton and colleagues (2004) to test for casuietry by alternating the qualifications and race of my top two job applicants and providing participants an open-ended question to explain why they made the selection they did. Unexpectedly, most participants in all conditions chose both work experience and education, my two manipulated casuietry variables, therefore, leaving me unable to properly test for casuietry.

Theoretical and Managerial Implications

Of the six theoretical contributions that I sought to make with this dissertation, I was only able to make three main theoretical contributions. The first theoretical contribution details how

organizational actors other than supervisors, namely coworkers, can also influence people to discriminate in personnel selection. This contribution is particularly important because it opens the dialogue for researchers to consider how perceived fit and power can flow from a bottom-up process to affect managerial decision making and not just from a top-down process. The second theoretical contribution details one of the psychological processes that people may go through when they make personnel selection decisions. Previous research on discrimination (Brief et al., 2000; McConahay, 1986; Petersen & Dietz, 2008) elucidates why and when discrimination occurs, but scant research pays attention to the psychological processes that people go through when they make discriminatory decisions. This contribution is offered when I identified that stereotype activation/application influences personnel selection decisions in at least explicit and organizational context conditions. This contribution is important because it identifies an avenue in which researchers can begin to address mechanisms that may interrupt or facilitate the stereotype activation and application processes. Certainly, the theory of modern racism (McConahay, 1986) discusses stereotypes. However, this discussion ends with the negative thoughts and beliefs that one may have of a group of people that fuel their discrimination. This is a static way to look at stereotype activation and application whereas it is best examined as a dynamic process. A dynamic process explains how a stigmatized “other” can be favored, thus not discriminated against, in situations when there is stereotype congruency (Carton & Rosette, 2011; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Yet, the thoughts and beliefs behind these seemingly favorable actions may be born from the same stereotypes. The third contribution is offered when I identified that organizational contexts can influence people to discriminate. This is an important context because this pattern of discrimination was both favorable and unfavorable to Black job

applicants depending on the organizational context. Likewise, this favorability and unfavorability were found independent of modern racism.

The first managerial implication from this research echoes the implications of similar research in the area that suggests managers need to remain vigilant in combating racial discrimination. This research points out how easily directives can free people from scrutinizing questionable justifications without even viewing them as inherently racist. Second, this research points out how managers need to be aware of how vulnerable they may be to the persuasions of coworkers, including their subordinates. This contribution extends the role coworkers may have in organizational discrimination from mere perpetrators (Ensher, Grant-Vallone, & Donaldson, 2001) or bystanders to sources of vicarious bias or advocacy. Managers may need to scrutinize their coworkers' and subordinates' preferences by having them identify why they believe certain candidates will be a better fit over others on their work teams. This level of scrutiny may be warranted considering the research on casuistry (Norton et al., 2006, 2004) suggests that regardless of whether people admit it, when social identity information is available, that information is generally either consciously or unconsciously factored into people's decision making. Managers can encourage open dialogue around social identities such that people may become more knowledgeable of their own personal biases and perhaps may be able to learn self-correction methods or effective interaction scripts by hearing the strategies and testimonies of others who have been successful in managing or eradicating stereotypical or prejudicial views within their work environments (Avery et al., 2009). Finally, managers can scrutinize the reasons behind the opportunities they afford all their employees. Is there a pattern where certain employees seem to be paired with certain clientele? Although, managers may view such pairing as efficient and responding to perceived (or real) market demands (Avery et al., 2012; Ely &

Thomas, 2001; Moss & Tilly, 2001), this type of racial matching may cause problems in the long run. Notwithstanding the legal issues that may surface with race matching, employee morale may suffer, team conflict may ensue, and valuable professional development and training may be overlooked for all employees in the organization. For example, developing expertise to serve African-American or Hispanic markets and clients should not be limited to African-American and Hispanic employees. These are valuable skills that may be transferrable across a number of functional areas that can assist in one's career and if White employees are excluded from these markets and clients, they could miss valuable professional development opportunities.

Limitations

Like all studies, this dissertation has its limitations. The first limitation is the use of undergraduate business students. The goal of this dissertation was to determine how justifications can influence managers to discriminate in personnel selection. Since the population of interest is managers, it would have been preferable to survey practicing managers. However, considering the sporadic and private nature of hiring employees, identifying a sufficient number of managers who would be willing to participate in such a study who are hiring a sufficient number of employees within the same position across different organizations may prove intractable, if not impossible. As such, considering a goal of this dissertation was to develop and test a new theory, emphasis was placed on the causal relationship of my variables of interest and whether this relationship is plausible and can be explained in a predictable manner. For this reason, experiments are favored for their potential to have superior internal validity (Schwab, 2005). In fact, researchers have long defended the use of experimental studies to create and test theories and emphasized that criticisms such as the lack of external validity are themselves empirical questions (Berkowitz & Donnerstein, 1982; Postman, 1955).

The second limitation to this dissertation is fidelity concerns that are present in many laboratory studies. Like many laboratory studies, my study participants did not fear or expect any outcomes based on their decisions. In an actual hiring situation, managers have to live with their hiring decisions. If a hiring decision is legally challenged, a manager's reputation and career may be in jeopardy. Additionally, oftentimes, the people managers hire may work closely with them, so more attention may be given to hiring decisions to facilitate more productive and efficient working relationships. Admittedly, this may be the same situation that also facilitates discriminatory hiring. In any event, the lack of having to live with one's hiring decision may reduce the attention to detail and care that managers may take when making personnel selection decisions.

A final limitation to this dissertation is the static nature of the applicant pool presented in the studies. In a real hiring situation, applicants have the opportunity to "sell" themselves to employers. Some people do this better than others. In this study, although résumés came from working adults, and therefore, there was some elasticity in the qualifications, there was no opportunity for the "applicants" to advocate on their own behalf in an interview situation. As such, other idiosyncrasies that creep into real hiring situations are not present. For example, an applicant who may not have been the top candidate on paper may impress interviewers so much with his or her interview skills and answers that he or she is offered the job. Likewise, a person who is the top applicant on paper may commit a faux pas during an interview that sinks his or her chances of obtaining the job. Finally, this dissertation cannot take into account the fact that the person who ultimately ends up in a job may not have been the top candidate for the job. For example, the top candidate(s) may turn down job offers in favor of others such that it is possible that the second, third, fourth, or later applicants may end up with the job offer.

Notwithstanding these limitations, I believe this dissertation offers theoretical and managerial implications that are significant and practical for scholars and practitioners.

Future Directions

Despite the lack of statistically significant results for most of the studies' hypotheses, this dissertation provides promising avenues for future research. First, I suggest that these studies are replicated such that the samples can be combined to increase the power. Provided that a sufficient number of participants who have varying levels of the individual variables of interest are recruited, a replication may answer whether a Type II error has occurred in this dissertation. Likewise, because the casuistry hypotheses could not be tested properly in this dissertation, it is suggested that instead of allowing participants to answer an open-ended question, researchers should force participants to choose only one of the manipulated choices such that participants' single main reason can be documented and evaluated. Second, the fact that participants may engage in socially desirable responding in studies—especially those that may be perceived as controversial—is frequently a concern in research (Fisher, 1993). Therefore, it is suggested that future research use indirect measures to measure modern racism. Implicit association tests have been used to indirectly measure a number of different attitudes related to social identities and other social events and have received very respectable levels of reliability and predictive validity (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). Third, as theorized, discrimination process theory only focuses on individual decision making. However, hiring sometimes occur in a group setting. In other words, several people interact with each other and come to a decision together on whom to hire. This context presents a fruitful area for theory development on how modern racism may play out in a group setting. How many LMR people are needed in a group to “over turn” an HMR person's hiring choice? Will HMR people

attempt to engage in any influencing tactics to “win over” people who may be LMR? Regardless of the number of LMR or HMR people in a group, will status and power determine whose hiring choice will prevail? These are just a few research questions in which theory around group decision making may be a fruitful area of investigation. Fourth, researchers can begin to examine methods to attenuate decision making biases. Are there ways to mitigate casuistry? Additionally, researchers may attempt to investigate more methods to test for casuistry than the one that was employed by Norton and colleagues (2004) and in this dissertation. How can the effects of the organizational environment or past employee information be interrupted such that spill over or conditioning effects do not influence decision making? Fifth, researchers can examine other social identities in which a modern form of discrimination may exist (e.g. sex, sexual orientation, disability, weight, religion, etc.).

Managerial decision making regarding employees/applicants of different social identities occurs in a number of personnel contexts other than personnel selection. Future research can address these other personnel contexts. How does modern racism affect mentoring relationships or who are assigned certain mentors? How does modern racism affect negative reinforcement and punishment in organizations? Although similar to hiring, promotions pose a slightly different context because the employee was already given entry into the organization. However, that does not mean that biases may not develop or acted upon post hiring. Researchers can examine how modern racism may affect promotion decisions within organizations. Finally, researchers can examine how modern racism may affect how people respond to employee-generated ideas and solutions to organizational problems.

Conclusion

This dissertation sought to develop and test a new, more complete theory of discrimination called discrimination process theory. Although, I was unable to definitively test and establish this new theory, preliminary results suggest that this may be a promising theory that explains in a more complete manner how discriminatory personnel selection decisions may occur within organizations. Considering the organizational and individual threats that are inherent in discriminatory decision making, as well as the individual and societal consequences of such actions, continued research in this area has the potential to make a lasting impact on people's lives, organizations, and societies.

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Appendix A

Scale Items

Modern Racism Scale with filler items (McConahay, Hardee, & Batts, 1986)

Instructions: On the pages that follow are a number of opinion statements about public issues, politics, and your beliefs about the world in general. You will agree with some, disagree with some, and have no opinion about others. Please use the following scale to indicate your degree of agreement with each item. Please be open and honest in your answers.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly <u>Disagree</u>	Somewhat <u>Disagree</u>	Neither <u>Disagree</u> nor Agree	Somewhat Agree	Strongly Agree

- _____ 1. The government is spending too much money to find a cure for AIDS.
- _____ 2. Homosexuals should not be allowed to serve in the military.
- _____ 3. Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.
- _____ 4. Doctors who perform abortions should have their licenses revoked.
- _____ 5. White police officers often treat minority suspects differently than they do white suspects.
- _____ 6. Blacks have had more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have had.
- _____ 7. Homosexuals should not be stigmatized for their sexual behavior.
- _____ 8. People with AIDS should be isolated from the rest of the population.
- _____ 9. Over the past few years, the government and news media have not been showing more concern about the treatment of women than is warranted by women's actual experiences.
- _____ 10. The right of women to choose abortion should be protected.
- _____ 11. White people have more economic resources than they deserve.
- _____ 12. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.

- _____ 13. Because they never have abortions, men have no place in the abortion debate.
- _____ 14. Gays and lesbians should be prohibited from making public demonstrations.
- _____ 15. Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.
- _____ 16. AIDS is not a consequence of sexual preference.
- _____ 17. The media tends to present only the "white-side" of issues.
- _____ 18. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.
- _____ 19. Distributing free condoms to prevent AIDS is the right thing to do.
- _____ 20. We are wasting public funds protecting abortion clinics from anti-abortion demonstrators.
- _____ 21. It is easy to understand the anger of women's groups in this country.
- _____ 22. Homosexuality degrades the moral standards of society.
- _____ 23. Schools with mostly white students get better resources than schools with mostly minority students.
- _____ 24. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.
- _____ 25. Making abortion illegal would only cause population problems.
- _____ 26. Gays should not be allowed to display affection in public.
- _____ 27. Women often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination.
- _____ 28. An AIDS test should be mandatory for those applying for marriage licenses.
- _____ 29. There should be more elected officials who are sensitive to minority concerns.
- _____ 30. Over the past few years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
- _____ 31. Men and women with AIDS should be kept out of the workplace.
- _____ 32. Homosexuals should be allowed to marry if they wish.
- _____ 33. It is not rare to see a woman treated in a sexist manner on television.

- _____ 34. Abortion is not an acceptable means of birth control.
- _____ 35. Students should not be allowed to pray around flagpoles at school.
- _____ 36. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
- _____ 37. Women should be made to inform their husbands (or significant other) prior to getting an abortion.
- _____ 38. Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children if they wish.
- _____ 39. It is easy to understand why women's groups are still concerned about the societal limitations of women's opportunities.
- _____ 40. People with AIDS have a special condition that deserves special treatment.
- _____ 41. Children should be allowed to bring Bibles to school and read them whenever they desire.
- _____ 42. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
- _____ 43. On the average, people in our society treat husbands and wives about equally.
- _____ 44. The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around.

Modern Racist Items:

- *1. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.
2. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
3. The streets are not safe these days without a policeman around.
4. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
5. Over the past few years blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
6. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.
7. Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States

*Reverse-scored Item

Appendix B

Stereotypical Beliefs Scale Items (Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007)

Instructions: Select the response that best indicates your level of agreement.
1=strongly disagree to 5=strongly agree

1. Sometimes it's the objective thing to do to hire a White American rather than a racial minority.
2. It's a fact that White Americans are better suited for some jobs than are racial minorities.
3. It's a fact that White Americans are better suited for the job of manager than are racial minorities.

Appendix C

Submissiveness to Authority Scales Items (Dezoort & Roskos-Ewoldsen, 1997)

Instructions: The following statements ask your opinions about relationships with superiors at work. Please read each item carefully. Select a response to indicate the degree that you agree or disagree with the particular item.

1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree)

I. Employees should do what the boss tells them, even when they can't see the reason for it.

* 2. An employee should not follow those directions at work that seem unreasonable.

3. At work, an employee has a duty to go with the wishes of the boss.

* 4. Going against a boss's wishes at work can be justified. 5. There is no place for rebellion against the wishes of superiors in a work organization.

* 6. Workers should not worry about being disciplined for failing to follow orders.

7. Obedience to superiors at work is desirable. 8.

* 9. If the boss tells you to do something, you'd better do it.

In many cases, employees are better off not following their bosses' wishes.

* 10. The threat of getting in trouble at work for going against a superior is often worth it.

*Reverse-scored Item

Appendix D

Agreeableness Scale Items (BFI Personality Scale) (John, O. P., Donahue, E. M., & Kentle, R. L. 1991).

How I am in general

Instructions: Here are a number of characteristics that may or may not apply to you. For example, do you agree that you are someone who *likes to spend time with others*? Please write a number next to each statement to indicate the extent to which **you agree or disagree with that statement.**

1	2	3	4	5
Disagree Strongly	Disagree a little	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree a little	Agree strongly

I am someone who...

- *1. Tends to find fault with others.
- 2. Is helpful and unselfish with others.
- *3. Starts quarrels with others.
- 4. Has a forgiving nature.
- 5. Is generally trusting.
- *6. Can be cold and aloof.
- 7. Is considerate and kind to almost everyone.
- *8. Is sometimes rude to others.
- 9. Likes to cooperate with others.

*Reverse-scored Item

Appendix E

PROCTOR CONTRACT

I, _____ agree to serve as proctor for the dissertation studies of Oscar Holmes IV, Ph.D. Candidate at the Culverhouse College of Commerce and Business Administration at The University of Alabama. My duties will include ensuring the secure distribution and collection of all lab materials and maintaining a uniform lab survey administration such that all lab participants will undergo the same lab experience. Other duties may be assigned as the survey administration progresses. I will make myself available for the following lab dates and times so that I can proctor each of the lab settings.

September 25, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3—Study 1

October 2, 4:30 - 9:30, --Study 1

October 9, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3 –Extra Day

October 18, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3—Study 2

October 19, noon - 5:00, Bruno 4—Study 2

October 23, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3—Study 2

November 6, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3—Study 3

November 9, noon - 5:00, Bruno 4 –Study 3

November 13, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3—Study 3

November 15, 4:30 - 9:30, Bruno 3—Make Up

November 16, noon - 5:00, Bruno 4—Make Up

I agree to work for \$10/hour, work time to be calculated and compensated by established lab times (Up to 50 hours). I recognize that it is extremely important that I be present and on-time for all of the lab administrations. If, by any chance, that I cannot be present for a lab administration, I will let Oscar Holmes IV know via email at oholmesiv@cba.ua.edu AND via phone at 804-874-4662 as earliest as possible.

Proctor

Dissertator

Date

Appendix F

Proctor Script

Please come in, have a seat at a computer, and sign in so that you can access the internet explorer browser. Please do not talk. There should be no talking during the exercises and all exercises should be done individually—in other words, you cannot seek help from others nor should you have to. Each one of you has the ability to competently complete all of the exercises. Please answer all questions honestly. Your answers will be kept completely confidential and will be used for research purposes only. I am only a hired proctor and I do not know anything about this research. I will not see any of your responses and am in no way connected to the researcher or to this research project. When you receive your packet, there will be an internet address link in the instructions. You will need to type that link into the browser. For added security and confidentiality, all responses need to be recorded via the Qualtrics internet link. Please do not record any answers to the exercises on the paper within your folder as they will NOT be coded for responses. They are only available to you to provide you the information needed to make your decisions easier to complete the exercises. The information in your folder is completely random in order. Please answer the questions in the order in which the questions are asked via the Qualtrics link. All exercises will have complete instructions as I am NOT able to answer any questions. If you have any, please just re-read the instructions and do your best to answer the questions. Once you complete all exercises, make sure you submit your answers via the link, close the internet explorer browser, sign-out of the computer, and place all materials back into the folder. Bring the folder back to me, cross your name off of the sign-up sheet, and you may leave quietly. This will conclude your participation in the study. Now, I will hand out the folders and please do not open them until I tell you.

It should only take 20 to 30 minutes to answer all of the questions, however, an hour is blocked off in case you need additional time to complete the exercises. Please raise your hand if you cannot reach the correct internet link and I will come to help you.

(Hand out a folder to each participant. It does not make a difference in which order you hand them out as they are all randomized. Once each participant has a folder, then go back to the script).

Script: You may begin.

Appendix G

June 13, 2012

Office for Research
Institutional Review Board for the
Protection of Human Subjects

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ALABAMA
R E S E A R C H

Oscar Holmes, I.V., M.L.A.
College of Commerce & Business Administration
The University of Alabama
Box 870225

Re: IRB # 12-OR-219, "Personnel Situation Study"

Dear Mr. Holmes:

The University of Alabama Institutional Review Board has granted approval for your proposed research.

Your application has been given expedited approval according to 45 CFR part 46. You have also been granted the requested waivers of informed consent. Approval has been given under expedited review category 7 as outlined below:

(7) Research on individual or group characteristics or behavior (including, but not limited to, research on perception, cognition, motivation, identity, language, communication, cultural beliefs or practices, and social behavior) or research employing survey, interview, oral history, focus group, program evaluation, human factors evaluation, or quality assurance methodologies.

Your application will expire on June 12, 2013. If the study continues beyond that date, you must complete the IRB Renewal Application. If you modify the application, please complete the Modification of an Approved Protocol form. Changes in this study cannot be initiated without IRB approval, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to participants. When the study closes, please complete the Request for Study Closure form.

Should you need to submit any further correspondence regarding this application, please include the assigned IRB application number.

Good luck with your research.

Sincerely,



358 Rose Administration Building
Box 870127
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35487-0127
(205) 348-8461
fax (205) 348-7189
TOLL FREE (877) 820-3066

Carpantato L. Myles, MSM, CIM
Director & Research Compliance Officer
Office for Research Compliance
The University of Alabama

Appendix H

Study Debriefing Statement

Thank you for participating in this research. Your answers in this survey greatly help us in our research program. At the beginning of the study, you were given the general reason for the study. The specific reason for the study is to determine whether people are influenced to discriminate more often when justifications and organizational contexts were used in realistic personnel situations. You were led to believe that you were participating in a real selection decision with real job candidates. However, this was not a real selection decision and the job candidates were not real. You have the right to withdraw your answers from this study. Withdrawing your responses will have no effect on the research credit offered.

I would like to withdraw my answers from this study: (click on yes or no)

Appendix I

Pilot Study Instructions

Instructions: You will be asked to make an important personnel decision. Your decision will greatly influence subsequent personnel decisions. As such, please make these decisions to the best of your ability as you would if you were a manager for a company. Please find enclosed 10 résumés and select from them the applicant who YOU would hire for the advertised job. Please take into account the educational level and work experience represented within the résumés for the job of a **Mid-Level Marketing Manager**.

Next, determine how qualified the person is for the job of the Mid-Level Marketing Manager. Place your ranking number from 1 (**VERY UNQUALIFIED**) to 10 (**VERY QUALIFIED**).

Job Title: Mid-Level Marketing Manager Required Qualifications: Bachelor’s Degree & 3 Years Professional Work Experience. Preferred Qualifications: 11 Years Work Experience. Master’s degree is not required, but it is helpful.

1. Which Letter Résumé do you select to have the job _____?

Next, determine how qualified the person you selected is for the job of the Mid-Level Marketing Manager. Place your ranking number from 1 (**VERY UNQUALIFIED**) to 10 (**VERY QUALIFIED**) and place the number here _____.

Briefly indicate in 1 sentence why you hired this candidate for the job over the other candidates

At times, the first choice turns down a job offer and takes another job. For backup, please rank the next TOP 4 applicants who YOU would hire for the job in case the first choice turns down the offer. Place the letter and rank them in terms of qualification 1=Very Unqualified to 10=Very Qualified

- 2. _____ (Letter & Qualification Rating)**
- 3. _____ (Letter & Qualification Rating)**
- 4. _____ (Letter & Qualification Rating)**
- 5. _____ (Letter & Qualification Rating)**

Please write your email address so that extra credit can be awarded (at the discretion of your instructor)

Once you have completed both your rankings, please put everything back in the folder, seal it, and return it to your instructor.

Appendix J

Condition A Résumés (Black higher work experience)

A:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Purdue University West Lafayette, IN

Master of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2006

Purdue University West Lafayette, IN

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Management Science

Graduated in December 2004

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: XYZ Stationers (USA)

Last Job Title: Project Marketing Manager

7 Years Experience

Project management experience includes responsibility for oversight of offshore service providers, including managing project scope and ensuring accurate completion of agreed-upon deliverables. Marketing analysis experience includes gathering and translation of requirements to functional specifications.

B.

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: Black Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Indiana University Bloomington, IN

Bachelor of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2000

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: BBZ, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Marketing Analyst

9 Years Experience

Marketing analyst experience include being responsible for performing analyses on transactional commercial systems. Business analysis experience includes being responsible for understanding and clarifying business enterprises and establishing functional campaigns. Managed tasks and work items in a fluid and collaborative on/off-shore team environment.

C:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Georgia Southern University Statesboro, GA

Bachelor of Business Administration

Concentration: Accounting

Graduated in 2008

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Acme Broadcasting, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Staff Accountant III

5 Years Experience

Experience includes completing balance sheet account reconciliations, billing and balancing intra-company receivables and payables. Reviewing and analyzing monthly general ledger entries. Completing quarterly and yearly tax and reporting schedules. Coordinating the billing and coding of the in-house production facility and communicating and collaborating with various internal groups and clients.

Certification Certified Public Accountant

D:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Florida International University Miami, FL

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Psychology Minor in Marketing

Graduated in May 2002

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: BGZ Partners, Inc (USA)

6 Years Experience

Last Job Title: Project Manager

Strategize and design online marketing analytics data collection methodologies and business intelligence for major firms. Design, develop, and implement enterprise-level multi-channel tracking

and attribution solutions. Document, and transfer knowledge of enterprise-level tracking deployments to key internal and external stakeholders including development teams, marketing managers, and directors.

E:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

CUNY York College Jamaica, NY

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Business Management

Graduated in May 2004

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Currency Management (USA)

Last Job Title: Project Manager

6 Years Experience

Develop and execute matrices used to analyze off-site ATMs. Develop and execute cost of funds matrices used by department in loss mitigation analysis and vendor services. Coordinate and participate in internal and external audits and peer reviews. Review, analyze and maintain vendor liability ledger and prepare counter party risk analysis of vendors. Obtain data from various sources and utilize computer applications for the assessments. Compile all data and documentations and file them accordingly for future reference.

F:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Long Island University, Brentwood, NY

Bachelor of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in December 2011

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: ZDT, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Advertising Associate

3 Years Experience

Create strategy for DSL, wireless, U-verse, and bundles products including invoicing, forecasting, and analyzing variances. Lead campaign strategy and execution for TV, DRTV, sponsorships, radio, print, public relations, digital, direct mail, social media, and OOH. Create and maintain relationships with partner agencies and vendors

G.

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: Black Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education

Seton Hall University

South Orange, NJ

Bachelors of Science

Concentration: Communications

Graduated in August 2005

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Brady Advertising, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Advertising Associate

4 Years Experience

Led global cross-functional team to develop strategic life plan for product in development
Championed the creation of regional business cases in support of brand strategies and objectives.
Identified, planned, executed and tracked regionalized initiatives that led to an increase in brand market share.

H:

Demographics: Sex: Male

Race: White

Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

The University of Phoenix

Los Angeles, CA

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in August 2010

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: ZIP, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Merchandiser

3 Years Experience

Effectively increased the awareness and public interest in this business's valuable services and philanthropic contributions to the regional community. Met and exceeded the business's goals by creating and executing successful marketing plans, fostering valuable public relations by crafting effective press releases, and maintaining clear lines of communication by updating and maintaining the website.

I:

Demographics: Sex: Male

Race: White

Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Walden University

New York, NY

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2010

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Sesame, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Brand Specialist

2 Years

Experience

Launched and currently manage the day-to-day operations of a high-value branding management program. Implemented a strategic branding focus for top quality products. Used marketing research to enhance customer experience.

J:

Demographics: Sex: Male

Race: Black

Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Case Western Reserve University

Cleveland, OH

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2009

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: E-Z Brand, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Marketing Coordinator

4 Years Experience

Leveraged results-focused leadership and relationship building skills in addition to rich product knowledge to build and sustain new business opportunities. Created strategic brand plans for new agencies located within our region.

Appendix K

Condition B Résumés (Black higher education)

A:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: Black Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Purdue University West Lafayette, IN

Master of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2006

Purdue University West Lafayette, IN

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Management Science

Graduated in December 2004

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: XYZ Stationers (USA)

Last Job Title: Project Marketing Manager

7 Years Experience

Project management experience includes responsibility for oversight of offshore service providers, including managing project scope and ensuring accurate completion of agreed-upon deliverables. Marketing analysis experience includes gathering and translation of requirements to functional specifications.

B.

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Indiana University Bloomington, IN

Bachelor of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2000

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: BBZ, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Marketing Analyst

9 Years Experience

Marketing analyst experience include being responsible for performing analyses on transactional commercial systems. Business analysis experience includes being responsible for understanding and clarifying business enterprises and establishing functional campaigns. Managed tasks and work items in a fluid and collaborative on/off-shore team environment.

C:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Georgia Southern University Statesboro, GA

Bachelor of Business Administration

Concentration: Accounting

Graduated in 2008

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Acme Broadcasting, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Staff Accountant III

5 Years Experience

Experience includes completing balance sheet account reconciliations, billing and balancing intra-company receivables and payables. Reviewing and analyzing monthly general ledger entries. Completing quarterly and yearly tax and reporting schedules. Coordinating the billing and coding of the in-house production facility and communicating and collaborating with various internal groups and clients.

Certification Certified Public Accountant

D:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: Black Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Florida International University Miami, FL

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Psychology Minor in Marketing

Graduated in May 2002

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: BGZ Partners, Inc (USA)

6 Years Experience

Last Job Title: Project Manager

Strategize and design online marketing analytics data collection methodologies and business intelligence for major firms. Design, develop, and implement enterprise-level multi-channel tracking and attribution solutions. Document, and transfer knowledge of enterprise-level tracking

deployments to key internal and external stakeholders including development teams, marketing managers, and directors.

E:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

CUNY York College Jamaica, NY

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Business Management

Graduated in May 2004

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Currency Management (USA)

Last Job Title: Project Manager

6 Years Experience

Develop and execute matrices used to analyze off-site ATMs. Develop and execute cost of funds matrices used by department in loss mitigation analysis and vendor services. Coordinate and participate in internal and external audits and peer reviews. Review, analyze and maintain vendor liability ledger and prepare counter party risk analysis of vendors. Obtain data from various sources and utilize computer applications for the assessments. Compile all data and documentations and file them accordingly for future reference.

F:

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: White Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Long Island University, Brentwood, NY

Bachelor of Business Administration

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in December 2011

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: ZDT, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Advertising Associate

3 Years Experience

Create strategy for DSL, wireless, U-verse, and bundles products including invoicing, forecasting, and analyzing variances. Lead campaign strategy and execution for TV, DRTV, sponsorships, radio, print, public relations, digital, direct mail, social media, and OOH. Create and maintain relationships with partner agencies and vendors

G.

Demographics: Sex: Male Race: Black Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education

Seton Hall University South Orange, NJ

Bachelors of Science

Concentration: Communications

Graduated in August 2005

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Brady Advertising, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Advertising Associate

4 Years Experience

Led global cross-functional team to develop strategic life plan for product in development
Championed the creation of regional business cases in support of brand strategies and objectives.
Identified, planned, executed and tracked regionalized initiatives that led to an increase in brand market share.

H:

Demographics: Sex: Male

Race: White

Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

The University of Phoenix Los Angeles, CA

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in August 2010

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: ZIP, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Merchandiser

3 Years Experience

Effectively increased the awareness and public interest in this business’s valuable services and philanthropic contributions to the regional community. Met and exceeded the business’s goals by creating and executing successful marketing plans, fostering valuable public relations by crafting effective press releases, and maintaining clear lines of communication by updating and maintaining the website.

I:

Demographics: Sex: Male

Race: White

Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Walden University New York, NY

Bachelor of Science
Concentration: Marketing
Graduated in May 2010

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: Sesame, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Brand Specialist

2 Years

Experience

Launched and currently manage the day-to-day operations of a high-value branding management program. Implemented a strategic branding focus for top quality products. Used marketing research to enhance customer experience.

J:

Demographics: Sex: Male

Race: White

Able to Work in U.S.: Yes

Education:

Case Western Reserve University

Cleveland, OH

Bachelor of Science

Concentration: Marketing

Graduated in May 2009

Summary of Qualifications:

Company Name: E-Z Brand, Inc. (USA)

Last Job Title: Marketing Coordinator

4 Years Experience

Leveraged results-focused leadership and relationship building skills in addition to rich product knowledge to build and sustain new business opportunities. Created strategic brand plans for new agencies located within our region.