

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AS A
JUSTIFICATION OF EMPLOYMENT
DISCRIMINATION

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This research explores the processes behind discrimination within organizations using the Justification-Suppression (JS) model (Crandall & Eshleman, 2006). According to the JS model, internal cognitions, called justifications, can disinhibit prejudice and cause discrimination. The policies and characteristics of an organization can be a source of the justifications that lead to discrimination within organizations. To explore this hypothesis, participants completed a hiring simulation task. In this experiment, the racial makeup of the company was manipulated so that the company was either homogeneously White or racially diverse. In addition, company communications, in the form of e-mails, were manipulated to change the company's tolerance for discrimination. Both the demographics and communications manipulations led the participants to discriminate in their hiring decisions. When both demographics and communications indicated discrimination was acceptable, the degree of discrimination was greater than when there was a single source of justification. This implies that an organization's characteristics can lead to increased discrimination.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AS A JUSTIFICATION OF
EMPLOYMENT DISCRIMINATION

By

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my family, Larry, Terry, Andrew, and Julie, and to my partner Veronica. They have all given me unyielding support during this long journey.

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Organizational Characteristics as a Justification of Employment Discrimination

Overview

Discrimination and prejudice are serious problems in the modern workplace (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Rudman, 1998; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). *Discrimination* is destructive behavior directed against members of a specific demographic group (Fiske, 1998). *Prejudice* is the attitudinal component of group conflict, and is defined as a negative affective reaction to members of a specific demographic group. Within the business community, discrimination results in minorities being unable to advance within the organizational hierarchy (Ibarra, 1993). The resulting stasis maintains the nation's pre-existing structural inequality while at the same time creating race and gender based tensions in the workplace (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990).

Although the existence of organizational discrimination is well documented, there is still uncertainty about the processes that lead to its creation. This research will investigate these processes by tapping into the rich literature on intergroup conflict. Research in this area has shown that prejudice and discrimination have become increasingly subtle and dependent on situational factors. Since the civil rights movement of the 1960's and 1970's, people have increasingly avoided overt prejudice because of fear of social censure (Kinder and Sears, 1981; Kovel, 1970). As a result, prejudice and discrimination have become less overt while remaining commonplace (McConahay, Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). The increased need for subtlety means discrimination is more likely to occur when situational factors act as an excuse. For example, people with

prejudiced beliefs are more likely to discriminate when they observe others discriminating (Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Stangor, Sechrist, & Jost, 2001; Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996), and when they believe their biases cannot be detected (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Pfeifer, 1992).

If discrimination is more likely to occur when the environment offers justifications for discrimination, there may be situational factors within an organization that lead to discrimination. One situational factor that may lead to discrimination is an organization's *demographics*; the racial, ethnic, and gender makeup of members of the organization (Brief et al., 2000; Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1988; Leslie & Gelfand, 2008). Organizational demographics can be self-reinforcing; organizations tend to recruit new members who are similar to the existing ones (Ibarra, 1993; Kmec, 2007; Lefkowitz, 1994). This preference for similar groups can therefore lead to discriminatory hiring.

Hiring Discrimination: Prejudice, Disinhibition, and Discrimination

Research efforts have found that hiring discrimination is a persistent problem within organizations. Individuals apply differential standards when evaluating applicants of different races (Oppler, Campbell, Pulakos, & Borman, 1992). People generally give more favorable evaluations to applicants of their own race, even when the applicants' job qualifications are controlled (Kraiger & Ford, 1985). White supervisors consistently give Black job applicants lower scores and evaluations on both objective and subjective measures of job suitability while controlling for actual work quality (Ford, Kraiger, & Schechtman, 1986; Roth, Huffcutt, and Bobko, 2003). These findings are clear evidence that prejudice and discrimination still exist within the business community and continue

to deny minorities access to the resources and legitimacy that could be used to correct structural inequality in society.

To explain the causes of workplace discrimination, this research will tap into the rich history of research on *intergroup conflict*, negative interactions between different groups based on differences in race, gender, or ethnicity. The relationship between negative attitudes and negative action towards out-groups is a popular topic within intergroup conflict research (Devine, 1989; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Kinder and Sears, 1981; Kovel, 1970; McConahay, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 1986; see Sibley & Duckitt, 2008, for a review). Whereas it seems, a priori, that greater prejudice against a specific group should lead to greater discrimination against that group, that is not always the case. There is often a disconnection between attitude and behavior (Wicker, 1969), and it is no surprise that this disconnection extends to prejudice and discrimination. In a now classic study, LaPierre (1934) had a Chinese couple visit over 200 restaurants, and observed that they were refused service only once. When LaPierre polled the owners of the restaurants they had visited, all but nine claimed they would refuse to serve a Chinese couple.

The separation between attitude and behavior is particularly strong when it involves intergroup conflict. While discrimination against ethnic and racial minorities may have been acceptable in the 1930's, social norms and values have changed; open displays of bias are now almost universally unacceptable (Kinder and Sears, 1981; Kovel, 1970). These social norms lead people to suppress prejudiced thoughts, and avoid engaging in open forms of discrimination (McConahay, Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). The seminal theory on stereotype suppression was put forward by Devine (1989), who argued that all people are knowledgeable of the prejudices and stereotypes of their culture. These

attitudes become so ingrained that they are often activated automatically. Devine argued people must actively suppress their prejudices if they believe they are socially unacceptable and to avoid social censure.

Implicit Attitudes

Based on Devine's argument that many prejudices are automatic, as well as advancements in the understanding of unconscious processing (Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986; Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006; Greenwald, Banaji, Rudman, Farnham, Nosek, & Mellott, 2002; Schneider & Shiffrin, 1977), researchers have developed dual attitude models of racial bias. These models suggest that there is a sharp separation between the conscious and unconscious components of attitude. According to these dual attitude theories, there are two distinct types of attitudes: *Implicit attitudes*, which exist outside of awareness, are activated automatically, require conscious effort to suppress, and are difficult to change. In contrast, *explicit attitudes* are constructed on the spot using whatever relevant information is consciously available, and therefore require a psychological effort to be activated and maintained (Deutsch, Gawronski, & Strack, 2006; Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000).

The prominence of dual attitude theories and the recognition of the importance of implicit attitudes have had a significant impact on social psychological research. People are less able to hide their implicit attitudes compared to their explicit attitudes, making implicit measures useful assessment tools. A number of assessment techniques have been developed to accurately measure implicit attitudes. The first implicit measure developed was the implicit priming task (Fazio, Sanbonmatsu, Powell, & Kardes, 1986). However, the most popular implicit test is arguably the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald,

McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). The IAT is administered via computer and has been used to tap into implicit attitudes that are unconscious in nature and imperceptible to the respondent, but shape their perceptions and influence behavior. It is designed to measure the strength of automatic associations between mental representations of groups and either positive or negative affect. The strength of a person's associations between the group in question and the paired affect changes the speed of their responses, which can be used to determine the relative preference of one group over another. Although the IAT is a popular measure of implicit attitude, it is also controversial. Critics of the IAT argue it measures knowledge of others' prejudice rather than personal beliefs (Han, Olson, & Fazio, 2006; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001) and that it measures relative preference rather than attitude (Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Motieth, 2001; Blanton & Jaccard, 2009a;b). Despite these criticisms, the IAT remains one of the most popular measures of implicit attitude.

More recently, a new implicit measure, called the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP- Payne, Cheng, Govorum & Stewart, 2005) has been developed. When taking the AMP, participants must judge whether a neutral picture, most often a Chinese pictograph, is pleasant or unpleasant. Before judging this neutral picture, respondents are primed with a second picture. Participants' attitudes towards the prime picture are transferred onto the neutral stimulus, indirectly assessing attitudes towards what the prime picture represents. When the AMP is used to measure prejudice, neutral pictographs are primed with pictures of Black and White faces. Prejudiced respondents judge pictographs primed with White faces to be more pleasant than pictographs primed with Black faces.

The AMP is a relatively new measure of prejudice, so it has not faced the rigorous methodological testing of the IAT. However, when compared to other implicit measures the AMP reacts to experimental manipulations similarly to experimental manipulation. However, the AMP does not correlate with other implicit measures of attitude and is less sensitive to environmental factors (De Houwer, Teige-Mocigemba, Spruyt & Moors, 2009; Garwonski, 2009; Guinote, Guillermo, & Martellotta, 2010; Prestwich, Perugini, Hurling & Richetin, 2010). This implies that the AMP measures implicit attitudes, but captures a different component of implicit attitudes than other implicit measures. The implicit attitudes captured by the AMP are more effective at predicting behavior than other implicit measures (Payne, Govorum, & Arbuckle, 2008; Payne, Krosnick, Pasek, Lelkes, Akhtar, Tompson, 2010).

The AMP has an advantage over other implicit measures because it does not rely on measurements of reaction time to assess attitudes. This makes it immune to variations in reaction ability and cognitive skill that influence other cognitive tests (De Houwer, Teige-Mocigemba, Spruyt & Moors, 2009; Garwonski, 2009). Furthermore, some of the controversy surrounding other cognitive tests concern what they measure. The IAT measures associations between the concept of a group and a concept of affect. As mentioned above, these associations may not necessarily reflect personal attitudes and beliefs, but instead be based on other psychological phenomenon (Han, Olson, & Fazio, 2006; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001; Olson & Fazio, 2004). In contrast, the AMP measures affective reactions directly; respondents are asked to report their affective reactions to the presented stimuli (Payne et al, 2005). The AMP is a more direct measure of prejudice

because it measures the basic nature of prejudice, a negative affective reaction to a specific group.

Implicit Attitudes and Racial Prejudice: The MODE Model

Dual attitude theories often try to explain the relationship between implicit attitudes, explicit attitudes, and behavior. One of the more popular dual attitude theories is the Motivation and Opportunity as Determinants (MODE) model, which suggests that unconscious prejudice is the primary cause of discrimination when it is left unchecked (Fazio, Towles-Schwen, Chaiken, & Trope, (1999). Keeping prejudice in check requires both effort and concentration. When mental resources are exhausted, people will be unable to suppress their prejudices and are more likely to discriminate.

While persuasive, the MODE model does not explain why discrimination occurs in response to situational factors beyond those that cause mental exhaustion. There is evidence that environmental factors can lead to discrimination even if they do not cause exhaustion (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000; Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Uhlman & Cohen, 2007; Stangor, et al., 2001; Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996). Greenberg and Pyszczynski (1985) found that discrimination can be linked to the observation of biased behaviors. They had participants rate Black and White debaters' performance and found the Black debater received poorer ratings when the participants heard another judge use racial slurs. Wittenbrink and Henly (1996) gave participants questionnaires and manipulated the response ranges to make the participants perceive society as a whole as more prejudiced. For example, they asked participants what percentage of Blacks had college degrees. Participants were offered choices with a range of 80-95% in the low prejudice condition and 30-60% in the high bias condition. Participants who were

exposed to this prejudiced culture condition reported greater prejudice on the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 1986) and gave Blacks a harsher sentence in a separate mock jury simulation. In a similar study, Stangor, Sechrist, and Jost (2001) had participants describe the general attitudes towards Blacks and Whites. A week later, they had participants look at falsified results for the study, which indicated the other participants viewed Blacks more positively or negatively than the participants. They then had the participants describe how many Blacks possessed the traits again. They found participants' views shifted to mimic the results they were shown. Taken together, these results demonstrate that people are more likely to discriminate when they perceive that prejudice is accepted by society or a group.

Discrimination is also more likely to occur when people believe they will not be caught. For example, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) had participants engage in a hiring decision task in which the race and the qualifications of the applicants were manipulated. They found that applicant race did not influence decision making when the applicants were either highly or poorly qualified. However, White participants were significantly more likely to hire a White applicant when the Black and White applicants were both moderately qualified. Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) argued that when the applicants were moderately qualified, participants could discriminate against Black applicants and blame the decision on their qualifications. Based on these findings, Dovidio and Gaertner argued that people are more likely to discriminate if the situation is ambiguous. Similarly, Uhlmann and Cohen (2007) found participants were more likely to engage in gender discrimination during a hiring task after being primed to perceive themselves as objective

decision makers. This demonstrates self-perceptions can lead to the disinhibition of prejudice.

A key facet of dual attitude models is the concept of implicit attitudes, which are often outside of conscious control. In the MODE model, these implicit attitudes influence behavior when people are tired or distracted. However, there are instances when situational factors can lead to increased discrimination without causing cognitive deficits (Dovidio and Gaertner, 2000; Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985; Stangor et al., 2001; Uhlmann & Cohen, 2007; Wittenbrink & Henly, 1996). As a group, these studies demonstrate that discrimination can be caused by more than mental exhaustion; people can create personal, internal excuses that increase discrimination when the situation allows. In light of these findings, a new model is needed to explain the effect of situation on disinhibition.

The Justification-Suppression Model

Crandall and Eshleman (2006) developed the Justification-Suppression (JS) model to explain how hidden prejudices become expressed as discrimination. According to the JS model, people spend mental resources to suppress their implicit prejudices and avoid engaging in discrimination, just as in the MODE model. Although these models share this similarity, the JS model differs from the MODE model in a few critical ways. In the JS model, suppressing prejudice is unpleasant in addition to being effortful. Therefore, expressing prejudice can be a cathartic experience because it alleviates the pressure to act in a non-biased fashion.

Because discrimination is a pleasurable act within the JS model, people are motivated to actively search for *justifications*, factors that make discrimination socially acceptable

(Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). Justifications can be created based on observations from the environment, or internally using personal beliefs. The manipulation of job applicants' ambiguous qualifications in research by Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) is an example of an external qualification, while the primed belief in objectivity used by Uhlmann and Cohen (2007) is an internal justification. According to the JS model, justifications do not reinforce or increase prejudice itself; instead, they increase the expression of existing prejudice. This means only people with preexisting implicit prejudices will discriminate when the opportunity arises. According to the JS model, people are happier when they have the opportunity to discriminate, because discrimination is a pleasurable, cathartic experience.

Research generally supports the JS model; people with preexisting prejudicial attitudes are more likely to engage in discrimination when the opportunity arises. For example, Wittenbrink and Henly (1996) found that only participants who self-reported significant prejudiced beliefs on the Modern Racism Scale discriminated after being led to believe society as a whole is prejudiced. Stangor, Sechrist, and Jost (2001) found participants became more biased when they believed their peers were also biased. Simon and Greenberg (1998) found participants who pre-tested high for prejudice rated a Black confederate less positively after they heard racial slurs from a White confederate. In contrast, those who pre-tested low on prejudice rated the White confederate less positively. These results demonstrate how people can use the discrimination of others to justify their own prejudices, while non-prejudiced people react negatively to acts of discrimination.

Taken as a whole, these studies give empirical verification to the Justification-Suppression Model, and demonstrate the complex relationship between prejudice and discrimination. The JS model outlines the relationship between the antecedents and outcomes

of discrimination. Discrimination is more likely to occur when environmental factors create justifications for discrimination. These justifications allow people to act on their pre-held prejudices, leading to acts of discrimination. This discrimination in turn leads to positive mood, because the act of discrimination is cathartic, releasing the mental resources that were required to suppress prejudice.

Organizational Demographics

Since discrimination is still a common occurrence within the business community (Ford, et al., 1986; Kraiger & Ford, 1985; Oppler et al., 1992; Roth, et al., 2003) and given the general importance of environmental factors in encouraging discrimination (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Greenberg & Pyszczynski 1985), it is important to look at what specific environmental factors can encourage discrimination in organizations.

One such factor is *organizational demographics*, the racial, ethnic, and gender makeup of the members of the organization. People have an inherent motivation to create homogeneous groups within a social network (Marsden, 1988; Rogers & Kincaid, 1981). As a general principle, people have an easier time communicating, trusting, and cooperating with people who are similar (Byrne, 1971; Kanter, 1993; Lincoln & Miller, 1979).

Preference for interacting with similar others has a strong impact on organizational makeup and performance. For example, new employees tend to be assigned to supervisors of the same ethnic group, creating largely homogenous groups in organizational settings (Lefkowitz, 1994). Heterogeneous groups tend to have a much higher turnover rate than homogeneous groups. Thus, heterogeneous groups that do form

in organizations tend to be short lived (Kmec, 2007). Because minority networks tend to be less connected to other networks within their parent organization, the social connections they form tend to be smaller in number, less extensive and less powerful. This lack of connectedness can lead to a higher turnover rate among minority employees (Ibarra, 1993), which leads directly to diminished vocational achievement. Given the effects of homogeneity on discrimination, it is no surprise that homogeneous organizations often have more occurrences of discrimination, and are perceived as more tolerant of discrimination. (Leslie & Gelfand, 2006; Mannix, Neale, & Northcraft, 1995; Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, & Neale, 1988). According to the Justification Suppression model, homogeneous organizations create justifications for discrimination. People can attribute discrimination to a desire to create harmonious groups. People can also claim that discrimination is for the victim's own good, since they can argue that minorities would not "fit in" in a homogeneous organization.

Leslie and Gelfand (2008) conducted one of the few research projects looking at the effect of demographics on discrimination. They were interested in the effect of demographics on the willingness of employees to accuse an organization of discrimination. They found that participants viewed a company as more sexist when all of the company's executives were male, compared to a mixed-gender executive board. Although the manipulation used in this study will be adapted to the present research, the two projects have different purposes. Leslie and Gelfand (2008) focused on whether demographics led applicants to perceive a company as more discriminatory against them, whereas the present research focuses on whether organizational demographics lead directly to acts of discrimination against applicants.

The central hypothesis of this research is that organizational demographics are self-reinforcing. It will demonstrate that organizational demographics are a source of the justifications people can use to act on their prejudices. A homogeneous organization makes minority applicants seem unwelcome, and will lead to discrimination out of a desire to preserve the company's homogeneity and for the minority applicant's own well being.

The Current Research

The current research is based in part on the studies of Ziegert and Hanges (2005) and Leslie and Gelfand (2008). However, the current research has a number of methodological improvements and theoretical advances over the previous research. Although Ziegert and Hanges' findings (2005) provided preliminary evidence that organizational characteristics can influence discrimination, there were several limitations that offered directions for the current research. Ziegert and Hanges (2005) manipulation has been criticized as too overt and lacking external validity. The discrimination resulting from that manipulation has been attributed to experimenter demand (Blanton et al., 2009 b). Ziegert and Hanges (2005) also used the IAT as a measure of prejudice. Though this is the most popular implicit measure of attitude, the IAT is also controversial (Blanton & Jaccard, 2009a; Olson & Fazio 2004; Tetlock & Arkes, 2004), which makes results using it as a measure suspect.

To address these criticisms, the current research used a more subtle and realistic manipulation of the organization. In Ziegert and Hanges' original research (2005), participants were told specifically and directly to hire White applicants. In the present research, the manipulation was more subtle. The justification for discrimination was

created through the demographics of the company's executive board. Leslie and Gelfand (2008) used a similar method and found that participants viewed the company as more tolerant of discrimination when the executive board was homogeneous. This research also improved on Ziegert and Hanges' (2005) research by using a new implicit measure of attitude. The Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP) utilizes emotional priming to detect implicit attitudes. Unlike the IAT, this measure is not dependent on reaction times to detect attitudes. This sidesteps any methodological issues that may affect the IAT.

Finally, this research applied a new theoretical framework to the influence of organizational characteristics on discrimination. Although Ziegert and Hanges' (2005) original research demonstrated an organization's characteristics could have an effect of discrimination, they did not outline the process by which an organization's characteristics lead to discrimination. This research expanded on their work by using the JS theoretical framework to explain this process, and leads to specific predictions that support the JS account of discrimination. This will lead to a better understanding of the process by which an organization's policies and makeup lead to discrimination. The core hypothesis is that organizational characteristics can foster discrimination by justifying the expression of pre-held prejudices: People with pre-existing prejudices will feel free to express them when the organization is tolerant of discrimination.

Experiment 1

In Experiment 1, participants completed an e-mail inbox task (Brief et al., 2000) designed to simulate work commonly performed by an upper level manager of a small corporation. The critical part of the inbox task is a hiring simulation, in which the participants must choose one of eight applicants to hire for an executive position within

the company. The composition of the organization was manipulated so that the upper level management was portrayed as either all White (White condition), or a mixture of Blacks and Whites (Diverse condition). The race of the fictional company applicants was also treated as an independent variable, creating a 2 x 2 mixed design.

Hypotheses

H1: Participants will make more discriminatory hiring decisions when the company only has White employees compared to when it has both Black and White employees.

According to H1, participants exposed to an all White company will discriminate more when hiring.

H2: There will be an interaction between prejudice and organizational demographics; only people with strong personal prejudices will exhibit bias when the organization is all White.

If people have pre-existing biases, the JS hypothesis indicates that they will feel free to express these prejudices when a justification exists in the environment. Participants with weaker biases will not be more biased in conditions with an all White company, because they will not have biases they need to express. When the company has mixed demographics, participants will suppress their biases, so there will be no relationship between prejudice and discrimination.

H3: There will be an interaction between implicit prejudice and organizational demographics; only people with strong implicit prejudices will exhibit bias when the organization is all White.

The relationship between demographics and implicit prejudice will be the same as the relationship between demographics and explicit prejudice. However, I expect implicit

prejudice to be an even stronger predictor of discrimination, because implicit prejudice will not be affected by participants' attempts to hide their prejudices.

Participants

The participants were 100 students from the University of Maryland (57 females and 43 males). They were recruited through the university's online participant pool and received course credit for their participation. All of the participants included in the study were White, because the race of participants was not the main focus of the research, but could affect the results.

Experimental Design

The experiment was a 2x2 design. The demographics of the company's executives was a between subject variable; participants were shown pictures of the company executives that either portrayed them as all White or racially mixed. The race of the applicants was a within subject variable; participants were shown an equal number of Black and White applicants.

Measures

The Inbox Task

The inbox task is a workplace simulation adapted from research by Brief and his colleagues (2000). It was completed entirely on a computer. All of the materials from the inbox task are included in Appendix A. In the simulation, participants first read about a fictional company, which included a description of the company's history, photos and bios of its executive board, and a description of the company's current financial situation. After reading this description, participants took on the role of Alex Folger, the company's

Chief Financial Officer. Participants were instructed to respond to all of the daily e-mails contained in his/her (Alex's gender was not specified) inbox. Participants had to make several decisions when responding to the e-mails. These decisions included tasks such as deciding the salary of a new employee, approving several employees' trip to a conference, and approving a vacation request.

Of the exercises participants were asked to complete, the "hiring recommendation" task was the focus of analysis. The hiring task began with a memo explaining that the participant has to select a job candidate to replace a retiring member of upper level management. After reading the memo, participants were presented with the dossiers of eight potential job candidates who had been referred for the position. The dossiers are included with the inbox materials in Appendix A. The dossiers provided information about each candidate's education, prior work experience, race, gender, and hobbies. Two of the applicants had inferior qualifications, and were used as a manipulation check to make sure the participants were paying attention to the task. Participants were considered to be paying attention if they ranked the two unqualified candidates last. Prior research has illustrated that there are no differences between the qualifications of six other candidates' (Brief et al., 1995). Participants rated each candidate on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*should not have been referred*) to 5 (*excellent referral*) and ranked the candidates from best (number one) to worst (number eight) qualified for the position.

Experimental Manipulations

This experiment was a 2x2 design with the demographics of the company's executives was a between subject variable and the race of the applicants was a within subject variable. The first independent variable was the demographics of the company's

executives. Photos of the executives of the company were included in the company's informational materials. In the White condition, all of the executives in the company were White. In the Mixed condition, the company included both White and Black executives. The second independent variable was the race of the applicants. Three of the applicants were Black and three were White. Their qualifications were balanced to make race the only difference between the candidates.

Affect Misattribution Procedure

Implicit racial attitudes were measured using the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP) developed by Payne and his colleagues (2005). The AMP relies on the test taker misattributing an affective reaction towards one stimulus (e.g. a Black face) onto a second, neutral stimulus (a Chinese pictograph) in order to measure their attitude towards the initial stimulus. Participants were primed with pictures of Black faces, White faces, or a gray box (control) and then had to judge whether neutral pictographs were pleasant or unpleasant. The AMP score is calculated by computing the difference in how many times the participants categorize pictographs preceded by Black faces as pleasant compared to pictographs preceded by White faces. The more pictographs primed by White faces the participants find pleasant, the greater their implicit bias. See Appendix B for examples of the pictographs and faces used in the AMP.

Attitude Towards Blacks Scale

Racism was measured explicitly with the Attitudes Towards Blacks scale (ATB), a measure of racial attitudes whose items are tied to race relations within the United States (Brigham, 1993). The ATB scale contains seven items measured on a 7-point Likert

scale, such as “Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.” A complete list of the questions is included in Appendix B.

Procedure

The experiment took place in a lab containing twelve computers. After reading and signing the consent form, each participant was assigned to a computer where they received individual instructions from the experimenter. Participants were told that the experiment was looking at how decision making style influences workplace decisions, and that they would first complete a workplace decision task and then complete a series of measures designed to assess their decision making style. After receiving these instructions, participants completed all of the experimental measures on their computer. After completing the in-box task, participants took the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP). After completing AMP, participants completed the Attitudes Towards Blacks scale. To control for order effects, the items within each scale were randomized. All the measures were presented on one of the lab computers. After completing all of the measures, participants were debriefed and excused.

Results

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the makeup of the company’s management would affect the degree of bias exhibited by the participants. Specifically, participants presented with a White company were expected to give Black applicants lower scores/rankings compared to participants presented with a mixed company. To test this hypothesis, I conducted a Random Coefficients Model (RCM) in which the within-subject (Level 1) slope for applicant race (0= Black applicant; 1=White applicant) was predicted by the

between subject demographic (Level 2) variable (0 =Mixed company; 1= White company). The analysis was conducted on two separate dependent variables. The first was the rank given to each individual applicant, with a lower number indicating the participants were ranked more highly and were perceived as more qualified for the job opening compared to the other applicants. The second dependent variable was the rating given to each individual applicant, with a higher number indicating they were perceived as more qualified for the position.

I found a significant 2-way interaction between the demographics of the company's executives and applicant race on the applicant rankings ($b = .15$, $t(98) = 3.57$, $p < .05$). To understand the nature of this interaction, I computed a difference score between each participant's average rankings of the Black and White applicants. This collapsed the applicant race variable into a single score for the purposes of reporting averages. This score was used to report averages for all subsequent hypothesis tests involving applicant rankings. Positive scores on this measure indicate stronger a preference for White applicants, whereas negative scores indicate a stronger preference for Black applicants. As predicted, there was a strong preference for White applicants in the White demographic condition ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 1.54$). A 1 sample t-test was conducted on the ranking differences in this condition and the degree of bias was significantly different from 0, $t(48) = 8.69$, $p < .05$. There was no bias when the company was mixed ($M = -.18$, $SD = 1.43$). A 1 sample t-test indicated the amount of bias in the mixed demographic condition was not significantly different from zero, $t(52) = .90$, $p = .37$.

Hypothesis 1 was also tested using participant ratings as the dependent measure. These results did not support the hypothesis; there were no differences in how the applicants were rated based on the experimental conditions ($b = .25$, $t(98) = 1.18$, $p = .24$).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants' explicit racial attitudes (as measured by the ATB) would moderate the degree of bias in the in-basket task. In other words, there would be a 3-way interaction in which the participants' level of explicit bias, the demographic makeup of the company's executives, and the applicants' race would predict how much the participants would discriminate. Prejudicial attitudes would predict discrimination when the executives of the company are all White, but would not predict discrimination when the executives were a mixture of Black and White. To test H2, an RCM was conducted in which the within-subject (Level 1) slope for applicant race (0=Black applicant; 1=White applicant) was predicted by the Level 2 between subject variables, including demographic company manipulation, the ATB, and the interaction between the two. The 3-way interaction between the explicit racism measure, applicant race and demographic condition was not significant ($b = 0.03$, $t(98) = .43$, $p = .67$). This failed to support hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 was also tested using the rating measure. The hypothesis was not supported for the participants ratings ($b = 0.07$, $t(98) = .62$, $p = .54$). There was also no significant correlation between the implicit and explicit measures of prejudice $r(100) = .06$, $p = .54$. This means it is possible the explicit measure failed to accurately measure the prejudice of the participants.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that participants' implicit racial attitudes (as measured by the AMP) would moderate the degree of bias in the in-basket task. In other words, there would be a 3-way interaction in which the participants' level of implicit bias, the

demographic makeup of the company's executives, and the applicants' race would predict how much the participants would discriminate. Prejudicial attitudes would predict discrimination when the executives of the company are all White, but would not predict discrimination when the executives were a mixture of Black and White. An RCM was conducted in which the within-subject (Level 1) slope for applicant race (0= Black applicant; 1=White applicant) was predicted by the Level 2 demographic manipulation, the AMP, and the interaction between the two. The 3-way interaction between the AMP, applicant race and demographic condition was significant ($b=0.18$, $t(96) = 2.30$, $p < .05$).

To understand the nature of this interaction, I computed a within participant difference score between the average ranking of the Black and White applicants. This collapsed the applicant race variable into a single score for the purposes of reporting averages. Positive scores on this measure indicate stronger rank preference for White applicants, whereas negative scores indicate stronger rank preference for Black applicants. This interaction is plotted in Figure 1. As shown in this figure, the AMP predicted applicant rankings in the White company demographic condition, but not the mixed company demographic condition. This is consistent with my hypothesis that participants would base their actions on their prejudices when the demographics provided a justification. Hypothesis 3 was also tested with the participant rating measure, and once again this hypothesis was not supported for applicant ratings ($b= 0.16$, $t(98) = -.89$, $p = .38$).

Discussion of Experiment 1

The results of Experiment 1 demonstrated that organizational demographics can have a powerful effect on discrimination. Participants were more likely to discriminate

when the company executives were all White compared to a company with a mixed executive board. Furthermore, the results conformed to the interaction predicted by the hypothesis. Participants only discriminated if they had preexisting prejudices and the demographics of the company justified the expression of those prejudices. This relationship only held for implicit prejudice, perhaps because the explicit measure was influenced by the participants' social desirability concerns, making it an inaccurate measure of prejudice. Experiment 1 offered strong initial support for the link between demographics, prejudice, and discrimination. Given that there is experimental support for the effect of demographics on discrimination, Experiment 2 expanded on Experiment 1 by examining the relationship between organizational demographics, prejudice, and discrimination using the Justification- Suppression model.

Experiment 2

Experiment 2 replicated the basic procedure of Experiment 1 while incorporating a number of improvements. It included manipulation checks of the justifications the participants used when making hiring decisions. Additionally, since the ATB failed to predict discrimination in Experiment 1, it was replaced with a different measure of explicit prejudice, the Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Experiment 2 also added in a second manipulation the communication manipulation. This added variable was meant to manipulate the degree to which discrimination is tolerated by the organizations leadership. Support for diversity by an organization's leadership has proven critical for fostering diversity among its members (Cox & Blake, 1991; Gelfand, Nishii, Raver, & Schneider, 2005). Furthermore, when leadership is tolerant of discrimination, than the company is perceived as more

discriminatory and discrimination is more likely to occur (Leslie & Gelfand, 2008; Ziegert & Hanges, 2006). Evidence that discrimination is tolerated by organizational leadership should therefore lead to increased hiring discrimination. The communication condition was intended to test whether multiple sources of justification can build on each other, with more indicators leading to greater discrimination.

The communication manipulation came in two parts: First, the company president's treatment of an accusation of gender discrimination changed between conditions, sympathizing either with the accuser or the accused. Secondly, in the instructions for the hiring task, the company president told participants to hire someone who will "fit in" with the company.

Experiment 2 also expanded the number of dependent variables being tested and looked for more complex relationships between those variables that are predicted by the Justification Suppression model. According to the JS model, discrimination is more likely to occur when environmental factors create justifications for discrimination. These justifications allow people to act on their pre-held prejudices, leading to acts of discrimination. This discrimination in turn leads to positive mood, because the act of discrimination is cathartic, releasing the mental tension that was required to suppress prejudice. Experiment 1 only measured discrimination aspect of this causal chain. Experiment 2 added in measures of the other factors that lead to discrimination; justifications used and mood. By adding in measures of all the factors included in the JS model, Experiment 2 tested whether the relationships between these variables conformed to the relationship predicted in the JS model. The additional measures added to the

procedure included the PANAS-X(Watson & Clark, 1996), a measure of mood, and a measure of the participants' justifications designed for the study.

Hypotheses

H1: Participants will make more discriminatory hiring decisions when they perceive that the organization encourages discrimination.

According to H1, participants exposed to an organization which justifies discrimination will discriminate more when hiring new employees. Both a company with homogeneous White demographics or by company communications which indicate that discrimination is tolerated within the company.

H2: There will be an interaction between prejudice and organizational characteristics; only people with strong personal prejudices will discriminate when it is allowed in the organizational.

If people have pre-existing biases, the JS hypothesis indicates that they will feel free to express these prejudices when the organization provides justifications. Participants with weaker biases will not be biased in conditions which organization provides justifications, because they will not have biases they need to express. In conditions where the organization does not encourage discrimination, participants will suppress their biases, so there will be no relationship between prejudice and discrimination.

H3: There will be an interaction between implicit prejudice and organizational characteristics; only people with strong implicit prejudices will exhibit bias when the organizational allows discrimination.

The relationship between organizational characteristics and implicit prejudice is expected to be the same as the relationship between organization and explicit prejudice.

H4: Participants with biases will be in a more positive mood when they discriminate.

Crandall and Eshleman (2003) argue that expressing prejudices can be a cathartic and pleasurable experience. Therefore, participants who discriminate during the hiring task should be in a more positive mood at the end of the experiment compared to participants who did not discriminate.

H5: The relationship between organizational characteristics, justifications, prejudice, discrimination, and mood will be in line with the JS model.

According to the JS model, there is a specific, linear relationship between the variables tested in the previous hypotheses. An organization's characteristics lead to the development of justifications, which lead to acts of discrimination, which in turn lead to a more positive mood. The relationships between these variables will be tested with a path analysis.

Method

Participants and Experimental Design

The participants were 122 students from the University of Maryland (67 females and 55 males). They were recruited through the university's online participant pool and received course credit for their participation. In order to avoid participant race confounding the results, non-White participants were dropped from the analysis.

The experiment was a 2 (demographic condition) by 2 (communication condition) by 2 (applicant race) factorial design. The demographic condition consisted of showing a company chart that either had all White executives or racially mixed executives. The communication condition consisted of correspondences to the participant from the company's CEO, hinting either that the company values diversity or has little concern

about diversity. For the applicant race manipulation, half of the applicants considered by the participants were Black and the other half were White.

Materials

The AMP

Implicit racial attitudes were again measured using the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP) developed by Payne and his colleagues (2005). The format was identical to the measure used in the first experiment.

Inbox Task

The inbox task was identical to the task used in the first experiment with the addition of the communication manipulation, the details of which are explained below.

Experimental Manipulations: Organizational Characteristics

Two manipulations of the organization were included in the study. First, the demographics of the company's executives were manipulated. The nature of this manipulation was identical to Experiment 1. Photos of the executives of the company were included in the company's informational materials. In the White condition, all of the executives in the company were White. In the mixed condition, the company included both White and Black executives. See Appendix A for pictures of the executives included in the experiment.

The second organizational manipulation used methodology adapted from Leslie and Gelfand (2008). They used subtle phrasing within the communications of the company to manipulate the organizations' acceptance of discrimination. I instituted Leslie and Gelfand's (2008) manipulation in the present study by creating an e-mail and placing it before the hiring task. This e-mail described a former employee who was fired

by the vice president of operations for negligence and is suing the company for discrimination. This additional e-mail is included in Appendix A, although it only appeared in Experiment 2.

In the discrimination communication condition, the president of the company supported the vice president unconditionally and was dismissive of the accusation of discrimination: “It is very important that we stand by Ray [the vice president] and make sure this accusation is dealt with as soon as possible. So I want everyone who worked with David [the accuser] to submit reports on his performance so we can support Ray’s decision to let him go if this case has to go to court.” This was followed by an email providing instructions for the hiring task in which the instructions included subtle encouragement to discriminate when hiring: “[This company] prides itself for its unity, people who work here all have a similar vision of the company, so try to hire someone who will fit in with the company’s beliefs and values.”

In the diversity communication condition, the president was more sympathetic to the former employee making the accusation: “It is very important that any discrimination in the company is dealt with as soon as possible, so I want everyone who worked with David [the accuser] to file a report on his performance so I can judge if the decision to let him go was unfair.” Additionally, the e-mail containing the instructions for the hiring task included instructions to be open to any of the candidates: “[This company] prides itself for accepting anyone, regardless of their background, and it is possible for anyone to rise through the company ranks.” These changes in the content of the e-mails gave the participants subtle hints that the company is supportive of either diversity or discrimination. See Appendix A for the full content of the e-mails included in the study.

Symbolic Racism Scale

To measure explicit prejudice, participants completed the Symbolic Racism Scale (SRS; Henry & Sears, 2002). It is an eight item measure the tests for prejudice using questions that test opinions often related to prejudiced beliefs. An example of a question from the measure is “Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve.” See Appendix B for a full list of the questions, which were presented in a random order.

PANAS-X

The Positive and Negative Affective Scale (PANAS; Watson & Clark, 1988) was used to measure the affective state of the respondents. When taking the scale, respondents were shown a series of affective adjectives and were asked to indicate to what extent the adjective described them at the current moment. Examples of the adjectives include *scared, nervous, excited, inspired, joyful, and delighted* (see Appendix B for a complete list of the adjectives employed). The participants responded on a five point scale, with 1 indicating that the adjective describes them only slightly, and 5 indicating the adjective describes them extremely well. The experiment used the expanded version, the PANAS-X, which is sub-divided into general positive and general negative subscales. There were a total of 22 questions included in the scale, which were presented in a random order during the experiment.

Manipulation Checks

It was predicted that the manipulations would lead the participants to create justifications that would lead to discrimination. Therefore, participants also completed measures to test if the manipulations led to justifications and what justifications were used. There were two subscales included in the fixed format questions of the

manipulation check. One focused on whether the participants made their hiring decisions based on the applicants' similarity to the company's existing employees. A second subscale focused on the participants' use of the competence of the employees as a justification for their decision. Participants completed scale questions testing how important certain factors were in making their decision such as "How important were the applicants' qualifications when making your decision?" and "How important were the applicants' compatibility with the company when making your hiring decision?" The questions were presented in a random order, and a full copy of these questions is included in Appendix B.

Procedure

The experiment took place in a lab containing twelve computers. After reading and signing the consent form, each participant was assigned to a computer where they received individual instructions for the experiment. Participants were told that the experiment was looking at how decision making style influences workplace decisions, and that they would first complete a workplace decision task and then complete a series of measures designed to assess their decision making style. These instructions were given verbally and were complemented by instructions for the inbox task, which are included in Appendix A. After receiving these instructions from the experimenter, participants completed all of the experimental measures on their computer. After completing the inbox task, participants completed the PANAS-X so that any affective reaction to the hiring decision task did not have time to fade. Following the PANAS-X, participants took the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP), and then completed the remaining measures. To control order effects, all of the scale measures were presented in a random order, and the

items within each scale were randomized. After completing all of the measures, participants were debriefed and excused.

Results

Manipulation Checks

The analysis of the manipulation checks was conducted with ANOVA rather than the RCM used for the main hypothesis testing, because there were no independent variables with a random variance and no variables nested within each other. I conducted two manipulation checks to determine whether the experimental manipulations affected participants' use of justifications for their hiring decisions. I first conducted a 2 x 2 univariate ANOVA using the communications and demographic manipulations as independent variables and the competence justification measure as the dependent variable. There was a main effect for the demographic condition on participant use of competence as a judgment criteria $F(1,122)= 6.94, p < .05, d=.93$. Participants were more likely to report that they based their decisions on applicant competence in the White company condition ($M=5.39, SD=.63$) than in the mixed company condition ($M=4.01, SD= .79$). There was also a main effect for the communication condition $F(1,122)= 6.71, p < .05, d=.95$. Participants were more likely to report that their decisions were based on applicant competence in the bias communication condition ($M= 5.03, SD= .76$) than the diversity communication condition ($M=4.30, SD= .62$). These findings demonstrate that the experimental manipulations led the participants to develop and utilize justifications.

There was also a significant interaction between the communications and demographic conditions and participants' reported use of competence as a justification for their hiring decisions, $F(1,122)= 4.85, p < .05, d=.88$. To understand the nature of

this interaction, the means in the four conditions were calculated, and are shown in Table 2. As can be seen in this table, when the company demographics were mixed, there was a difference in the use of competence as a justification between the biased communication condition and the diverse communication condition. However, in the White demographic conditions, there were no differences in the use of competence as a justification between the two communication conditions. Additionally, the participants reported using bias as a justification more overall in the White demographic condition. This implies both manipulations led to an increase in the use of justification, but that the demographic manipulation had a greater effect on the use of competence as a justification, possibly leading to a ceiling effect.

A second 2 x 2 univariate ANOVA was conducted to test the effect of the two manipulations on the use of the similarity of the applicants to the current company executives as a justification. There was a significant main effect for the demographic condition, $F(1,117)= 11.95, p<.05, d= .76$. Participants were more likely to base their decisions on applicant similarity to the existing employees in the White company ($M=2.06, SD=.76$) as opposed to the mixed company ($M= 1.61, SD=.70$). There was no main effect for the communication condition. There was also a significant interaction between the communication and demographic conditions on the use of applicant similarity as a justification for discrimination $F(1,117)= 9.50, p < .05, d=.62$. The means of this measure in the four conditions were calculated and are shown in Table 3. As can be seen in the table, in the discriminatory communication condition, the demographic manipulation had a significant effect on use of similarity as a justification, but in the diversity communication condition, the demographic manipulation had no effect on

participants' use of similarity as a justification. These results imply similarity was only used as a justification in the White demographic, diverse communication condition.

Hypothesis Tests

Hypothesis 1 predicted that the makeup of the company's management and its internal communications would affect how much the participants would discriminate when making hiring decisions. Participants presented with a White company were expected to give Black applicants lower ratings and rankings for their job suitability compared to participants presented with a mixed company. The second manipulation consisted of subtle discriminatory messages made by the president of the company in e-mails, which would lead to lower scores/rankings for Black applicants.

To test this hypothesis, I conducted a Random Coefficients Model (RCM) in which the within-subject (Level 1) regression represented each participant's differences in rating or ranking of the six applicants as a function of applicant race (0= Black applicant; 1=White applicant). The Level 1 slope was then predicted by the Level 2 between subject experimental manipulations: the demographic condition (0 =Mixed company; 1= White company) and the communication condition (0=Diversity Condition; 1= Discriminatory Condition).

I found a significant 3-way interaction among the communication condition, the demographic condition, and applicant race ($b = .45$, $t(117) = 2.47$, $p < .05$, $d = .46$). To understand the nature of this interaction, I computed a difference score between each participant's average rankings of the Black and White applicants. This collapsed the applicant race variable into a single score for the purposes of reporting averages. This score was used to report averages for all subsequent hypothesis tests involving applicant

rankings. Positive scores on this measure indicate stronger a preference for White applicants, whereas negative scores indicate a stronger preference for Black applicants. Table 4 displays the average results of this bias measure as a function of the two manipulations. As can be seen in this table, White applicants were ranked more positively overall across all conditions. There was moderate amount of bias when there was one indicator discrimination was acceptable. There was a very strong amount of bias in the condition with two indicators that discrimination was acceptable. There was a much weaker bias in the mixed demographic and diverse communication condition.

To test whether the differences were significant, the RCM was conducted again, including interaction terms for these manipulation effects. This was done to see if the difference in the degree of bias between the conditions with no indicator discrimination was acceptable, one indicator, and two indicators were significantly different from each other. The difference in the degree of bias exhibited by the participants in the conditions with no indicator and one indicator was significant, ($b = .55$, $t(117) = 2.75$, $p < .05$, $d = .51$). The difference in the degree of bias in the conditions with 1 and 2 indicators as also significant ($b = .83$, $t(117) = 2.85$, $p < .05$, $d = .53$). There was no significant difference in the degree of bias between the two conditions with a single indicator discrimination was acceptable. These results indicate that when an organization encourages discrimination, it is more likely to occur, and when an organization's gives multiple indications that discrimination is acceptable, the degree of discrimination increases significantly.

Hypothesis 1 was also tested using participant ratings as the dependent measure. This measure did not support the hypothesis; there were no differences in how the applicants were rated based on the experimental conditions ($b = .08$, $t(117) = .86$, $p = .38$).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that participants' explicit racial attitudes (as measured by the Symbolic Racism Scale- the SRS) would moderate the degree of bias in the in-basket task. In other words, there would be a 4-way interaction in which participants' level of personal bias would predict how much they discriminate based on the applicants' race, the company's internal communications, and the demographics of the company's executives. Prejudicial attitudes would predict discrimination when the executives were all White and/or internal communications encouraged bias. Participants' level of individual prejudice would not predict discrimination when the executives of the company were mixed and the internal communications encouraged diversity.

To test H2, an RCM was conducted in which the Level 1 bias slope for applicant race was predicted by the Level 2 demographic company manipulation, the communication manipulation, the SR, and all of their interactions. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, I found a significant 4-way interaction between the SRS, applicant race, the demographic condition, and the communication condition on the participants' rankings of the applicants ($b = 0.05$, $t(115) = 2.54$, $p < .01$, $d = .47$). The four way interaction is plotted in Figure 2. As seen in this figure, symbolic racism predicted differences in applicant rankings, except in the mixed demographic /diverse communication condition. This is consistent with the hypothesis that participants would base their actions on their prejudices when the organization provided a justification.

Hypothesis 2 was also tested using the participants' ratings of the applicants. The hypothesis was not supported ($b = 0.15$, $t(115) = 1.38$, $p > .01$) for the participants ratings.

Hypothesis 3 was similar to H2 except that it explored the utility of an implicit attitude measure (the Affect Misattribution Procedure - AMP) for predicting individual

level of prejudice when the company's demographics and internal communications encouraged discrimination. Therefore, a similar RCM analysis was conducted, but the AMP was used as a predictor instead of the SRS. There was a significant 4-way interaction between the demographic manipulation, the communication manipulation, the AMP, and applicant race on the applicants' rankings ($b=0.12$, $t(115) = 2.02$, $p < .05$, $d=.38$). This interaction is plotted in Figure 3. As shown in this figure, the AMP strongly predicted the degree of bias in the White demographic/discriminatory communication condition, moderately predicted bias in the White demographic/ diverse communication condition and the mixed demographic/ discriminatory communication condition, and did not predict rankings in the mixed demographic/diverse communication condition.

To test whether the differences in the AMP's predictive ability were significant, the RCM was conducted again including interaction terms for the between subject conditions and the AMP. This was done to see if the differences in the predictive ability of the AMP between the conditions with no source of justification, one source of justification, and two sources of justification were significantly different from each other. The difference in the degree of bias exhibited by the participants in the conditions with no source of justification and one source of justification was significant, ($b= .34$, $t(115)= 2.46$, $p < .05$, $d=.46$). The difference in the degree of bias in the conditions with 1 and 2 sources of justification was also significant ($b= .52$, $t(115)= 2.61$, $p < .05$, $d=.49$). These results support the experimental hypothesis that implicit attitudes would predict the degree of bias when participants were given a justification by the environment. When there was a single justification in the environment, personal prejudice moderately predicted bias.

When there were two indicators that prejudice was acceptable, personal prejudice strongly predicted bias.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that participants who discriminated would be happier than participants who did not. To test this, I performed a univariate ANOVA with the communication and demographic manipulations as the independent variables and the positive subscale of the PANAS-X as the dependent measure. As with the manipulation checks, ANOVA was used because there were no independent variables with a random variance and no variables nested within each other. Participants reported being in a more positive mood in the White demographic conditions ($M=3.02$, $SD=.79$) compared to the mixed demographic conditions ($M=2.60$, $SD=.94$). The difference between these two conditions was significant, $F(1,118)= 8.27$, $p< .01$. Participants also reported being happier in the discriminatory communication conditions ($M=3.00$, $SD= 1.01$) compared to the diversity communication condition ($M=2.61$, $SD=.71$). The difference between these two conditions was also significant $F(1,118)= 7.39$, $p< .01$. There was also a strong significant correlation between the positive subscale of the PANAS-x and the applicant rankings, $r(122)= .59$, $p< .01$. Taken together, these results support the hypothesis that participants were happier when they discriminated in their hiring decisions.

Hypothesis 5 predicted there would be a specific set of relationships among the factors based on the precepts of the justification suppression model (Crandall & Eshleman, 2003). According to the JS model, environmental factors and personal prejudice lead to the development of justifications, which lead to acts of discrimination, which in turn result in a more positive mood. A path analysis was conducted to test these relationships. In the path analysis, the factors were represented by the following

measures: The competence justification measure was used to represent the participants' justifications; the AMP was used to represent prejudice; the mean rank difference measure represented discrimination; the positive subscale of the PANAS-X represented mood. The model tested is included in Figure 4. The fit of this model was good, with a non-significant chi-square, $\chi^2(6, N = 122) = 10.28, p = .11$, and a CFI value greater than the recommended criterion of .95 (CFI = .98). In addition, all of the measures had strong relationships with the predicted factors. Organizational characteristics were strongly related to justifications, which were related to degree of discrimination, which were related to positive affect. This offers support for the Justification-Suppression model, because the relationship between the organization, justifications, discrimination, and positive affect were in the direction and pattern predicted by the model.

A second path analysis was run with a model that was not predicted by JS theory as a comparison to the predicted model. The model is included in Figure 5. The fit of this model was poor, with a significant chi-square, $\chi^2(6, N = 122) = 27.74, p < .01$, and a CFI value less than the recommended criterion of .95 (CFI = .85). This demonstrates that the set of relationships predicted by the JS model is a better fit to the data than alternate, unpredicted models.

General Discussion

The purpose of this research was to demonstrate how subtle changes in an organization can interact with personal prejudice to cause discrimination. The organization was manipulated in two separate ways; through its demographics, and through the portrayal of its leadership. As predicted by hypothesis 1, participants engaged in more discrimination when it was justified by the organization. Both the

communications of the company and its demographics led to an increase in hiring discrimination. There was also a significant interaction between the communications of the company and its demographic composition on hiring discrimination. Communications and demographics were equally potent sources of justification; an all White executive board led to discrimination as much as company communications. Participants were significantly more discriminatory when both company demographics and internal communications indicated discrimination was acceptable, compared to when just one of those sources encouraged discrimination. These results indicate that multiple characteristics of an organization can intensify each other, leading to an exponentially stronger effect on discrimination.

When there were justifications present in the environment, it was hypothesized the degree of discrimination would be determined by the participants' preexisting prejudices. This hypothesis was supported by the results. In the conditions where the company communications and/or demographics provided justification for discrimination, there were significant correlations between the implicit and explicit attitude measures and the degree of discrimination of the job applicants. When there were no indicators that the organization supported discrimination, there were no correlations between prejudice and discrimination. Apparently, when discrimination was justified by the organization, the extent of the participants' prejudices determined the degree to which they discriminated. This relationship held true for both implicit and explicit attitudes.

The fourth hypothesis of the research was that participants who had a justification to discriminate would be happier than participants who had no justification. This hypothesis was supported by the results; participants in the three conditions in which the

organization justified discrimination was were significantly happier than participants in the condition with no justifications. There was also a relationship between participants' happiness and degree of discrimination, implying the more a participant discriminated, the happier they felt. Taken together, these results implied discrimination can indeed act as a cathartic and pleasurable experience, being released to express their internal prejudices let the participants relieve internal pressure and relax any efforts need to keep prejudice in check.

One potential alternative explanation for these results is that the desire to maintain homogeneous groups created by the demographic manipulation was created from an honest belief that Black candidates would have been unhappy in the company. This belief could exist independent of prejudiced attitudes. The desire to create groups with homogeneous characteristics has been well documented in psychology (Byrne, 1971; Kanter, 1993; Lincoln & Miller, 1979; Marsden, 1988; Rogers & Kincaid, 1981), so it is a reasonable alternative explanation for the results. There are several aspects of the results which argue against this interpretation. There was a strong relationship between measures of prejudice and applicant rankings in White demographic conditions. If participants preferred White applicants in these conditions out of a desire for homogeneity, it is likely even participants low in prejudice would have preferred Whites in the White demographic conditions. This implies that actions in these situations were driven by prejudice rather than a desire for homogeneity.

The manipulation checks included in the experiment also offered insight into the participants' decision making process. In the White demographic/ diversity communication condition, participants reported they based their decisions on similarity.

However, in the White demographic/ bias communication condition, participants did not claim that their decisions were based on similarity. Instead, they reported their decisions were based on the applicants' qualifications. This indicates that similarity was a justification for discrimination only when no other justifications existed in the environment. Once there was a second justification offered by the organization, participants adopted that as their main justification. The relationship between personal prejudice and hiring decisions in both of these conditions indicated that similarity is ultimately a justification for preexisting prejudices, rather than a reason in and of itself. Participants based their decisions on their own personal prejudice, and used the environment to devise a cover for these prejudices.

The results also have important theoretical and methodological implications. This research shows a link between attitudes and behavior; in this case, attitudes towards Blacks and hiring decisions among employees. It also shows the efficacy of implicit measurement as a predictor of behavior. Both implicit and explicit measures predicted participants' behavior, but the implicit measure, the AMP, was a clearer and more effective predictor of behavior.

The AMP, the implicit measure used in this study, is a relatively new measure of implicit attitude and has yet to face rigorous testing. This is one of the first studies to demonstrate that the AMP can predict discriminatory acts, and demonstrates the promise of this new implicit measure. Thus, this study highlights the usefulness of assessing attitudes with an implicit technique and the potential importance of using it to predict discrimination. Most often, research utilizes the IAT as an implicit measure of prejudice. This is problematic because the IAT has been criticized for being effected by individual

variations in reaction time and measuring knowledge of others' attitudes rather than actual attitudes (Ashburn-Nardo, et al., 2000; Blanton & Jaccard, 2006 Han, et al., 2006; Karpinski & Hilton, 2001). The AMP differs from other implicit measures of attitude because it does not rely on reaction time, which makes it immune to individual variations in reaction time. It is also dependent on affective reactions rather than associative links, so it is unlikely it measures knowledge of cultural prejudice (Payne et al., 2006). Thus, using the AMP neatly sidesteps the methodological issues of the IAT.

This research also supports the validity of the Justification Suppression (JS) model as a theory of prejudice (Crandall & Eshlemen, 2005). The JS model holds that people usually suppress prejudices they may have, but look to the environment for justifications that make expression of their prejudice acceptable. Evidence for this can be seen in the participants' awareness of the characteristics of the organization. Participants responded to the changes in the organization between conditions, even though those changes were extremely subtle. Despite the subtlety, these differences had a powerful effect on how the organization was perceived.

It was also demonstrated that participants create justifications for their decision to discriminate. Participants in the discrimination condition claimed to base their decisions on the perception of the applicants' qualifications, while participants in the White/diversity condition were more likely to base their decision off the applicant's ability to fit in the company. Participants in the White/discrimination condition based their decisions solely on the applicants' qualifications, while ignoring issues of similarity. This suggests when multiple potential justifications are available, people will select whichever they feel to be most appropriate.

This research supported key aspects of the JS model. A path analysis revealed a specific relationship between the organization, discrimination, and positive affect. This is in line with the JS model; participants look to the organization for justifications, which they then use to discriminate, which leads to increased positive affect. The cathartic nature of discrimination has not been demonstrated previously and is a unique aspect of the JS model. Overall, these findings support the JS account of prejudice. Further research needs to be conducted to support its' use as a theoretical model for the relationship between prejudice and behavior.

This research also has important implications for the nature of discrimination in the workplace. The results indicate that discrimination can be self-reinforcing; if a company is predominantly White, it justifies discrimination and perpetuates the existing racial composition. This implies that diversity may be similarly self-perpetuating, which demonstrates the importance of diversity not only as a way of bringing new perspectives to the workplace, but also as a way of creating fair hiring norms. Furthermore, if a homogeneous White company was, by itself, enough to create an organization that seemed supportive of discrimination, then this means that even if a company deliberately tries to create an organization that supports diversity with initiatives, the demographics of the company can negate these efforts. The communications that indicated discrimination was acceptable were subtle, which means companies must be mindful of accidentally indicating discrimination is acceptable.

Appendix A- Tables

Table 1

Climate for Discrimination Averages by Condition

	Diversity Condition		Bias Condition	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
White Condition	4.09	.90	4.61	.77
Mixed Condition	2.37	.83	4.07	.76

Table 2

Use of Competence as a Justification

	Diversity Condition		Bias Condition	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
White Condition	5.23	.65	5.48	.56
Mixed Condition	4.20	.74	3.40	.84

Table 3

Use of Similarity as a Justification

	Diversity Condition		Bias Condition	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
White Condition	2.45	.63	1.59	.56
Mixed Condition	1.68	.73	1.56	.69

Table 4

Mean Differences in the Rankings of the Applicants

	Diversity Condition		Bias Condition	
	Mean	Standard deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
	White Condition	.67	1.31	2.40
Mixed Condition	.45	1.50	.73	1.26

Appendix B- Figures

Figure 1

Mean Rank Difference and AMP- Experiment 1

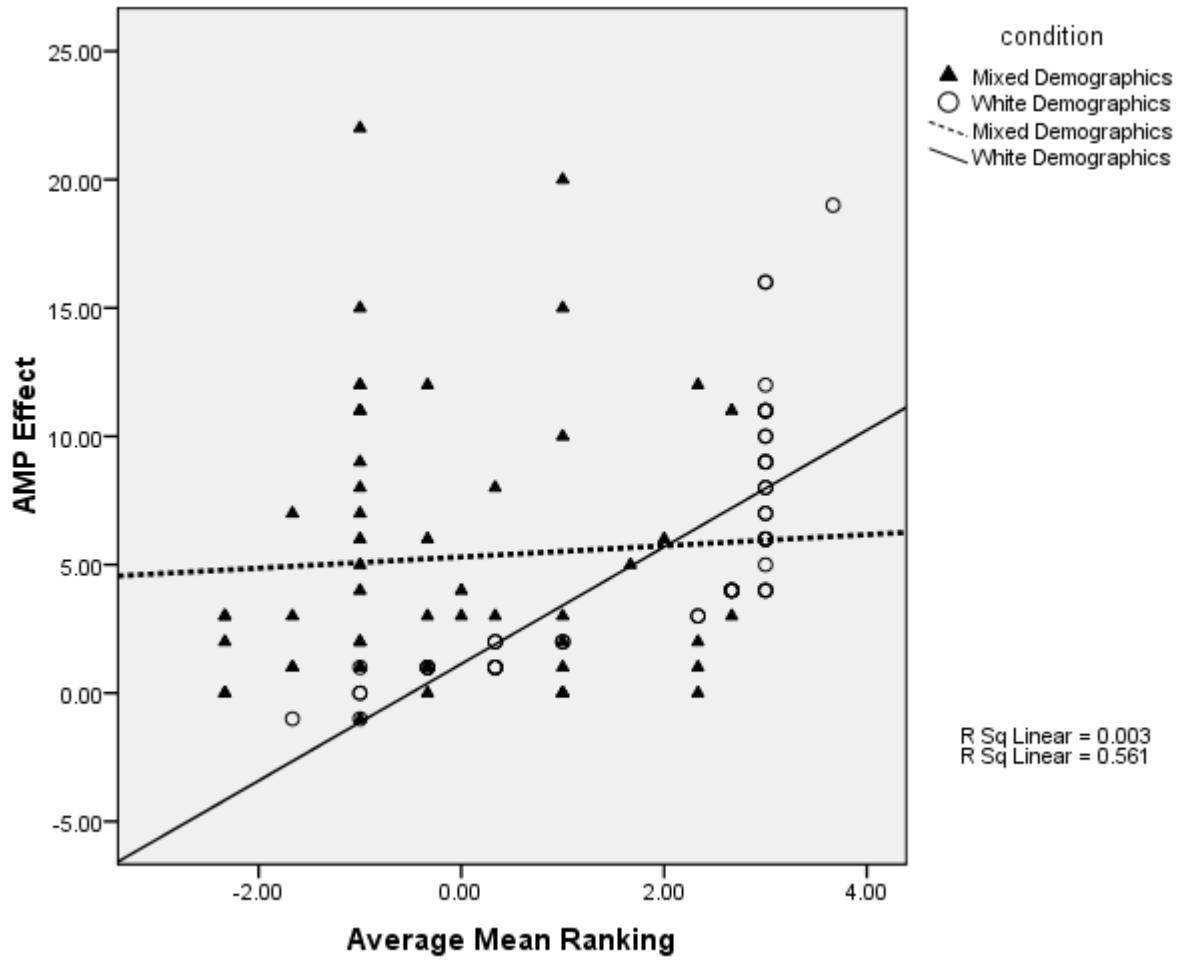


Figure 2

Mean Rank Difference and Symbolic Racism - Experiment 2

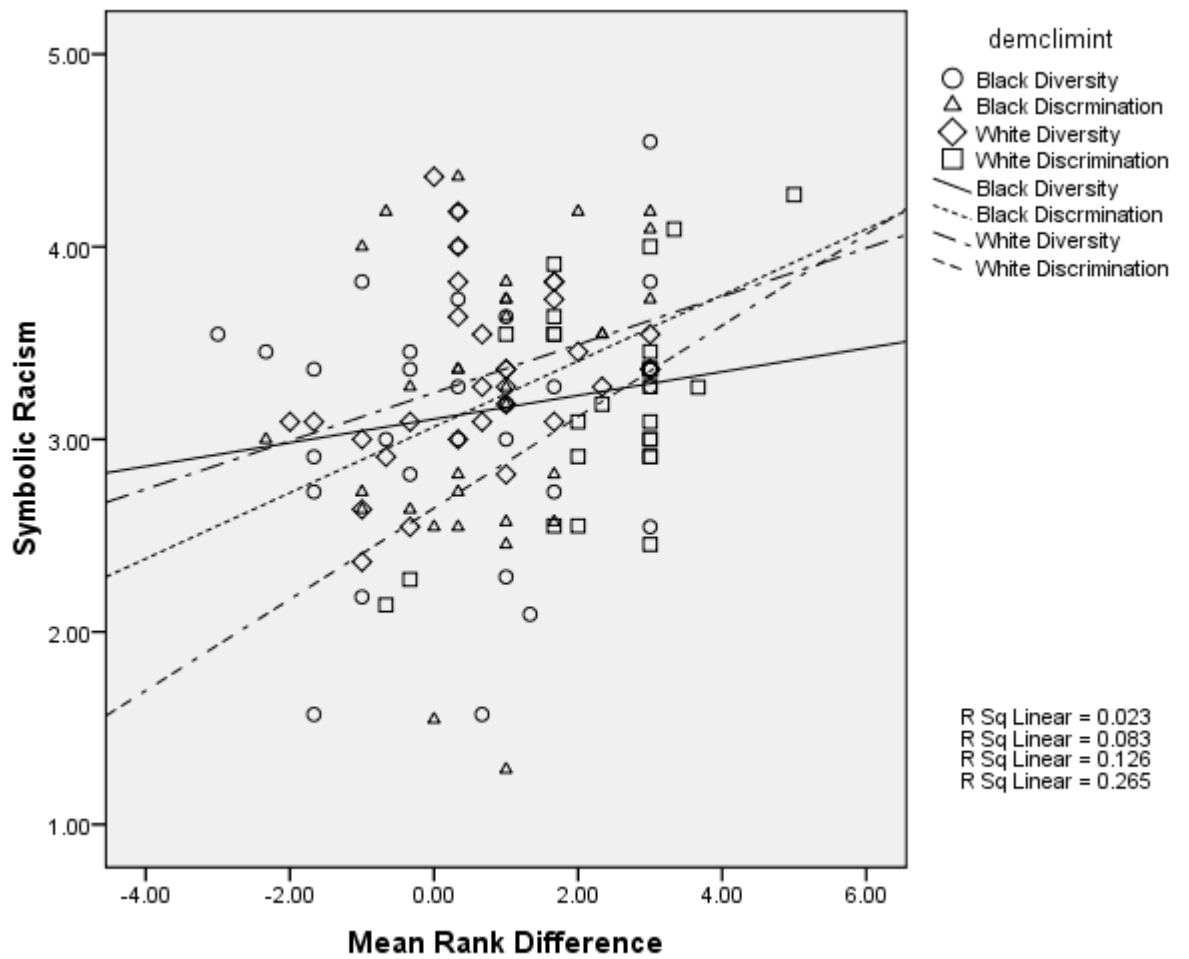


Figure 3

Mean Rank Difference and Affect Misattribution Procedure- Experiment 2

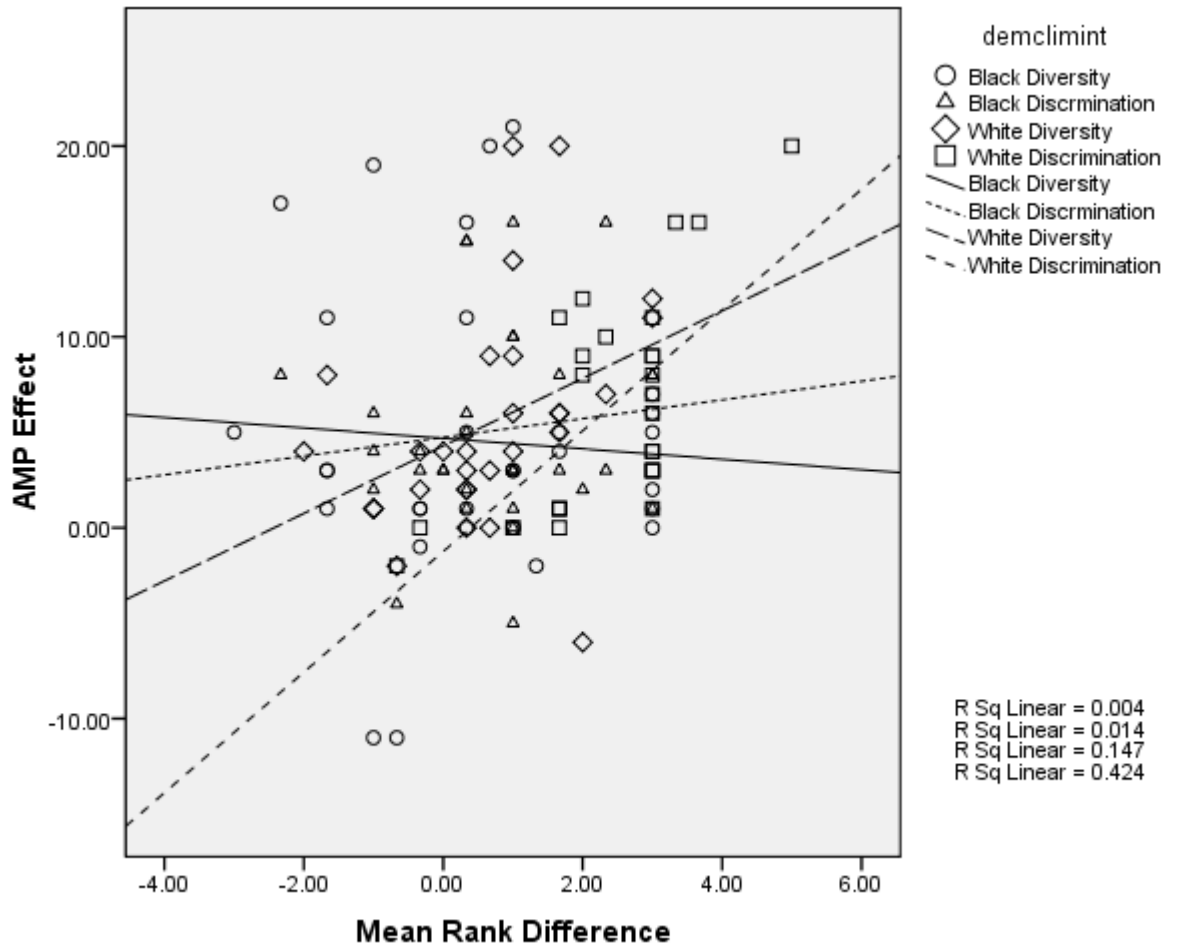


Figure 4

Path Diagram of Justification Suppression Model- Experiment 2

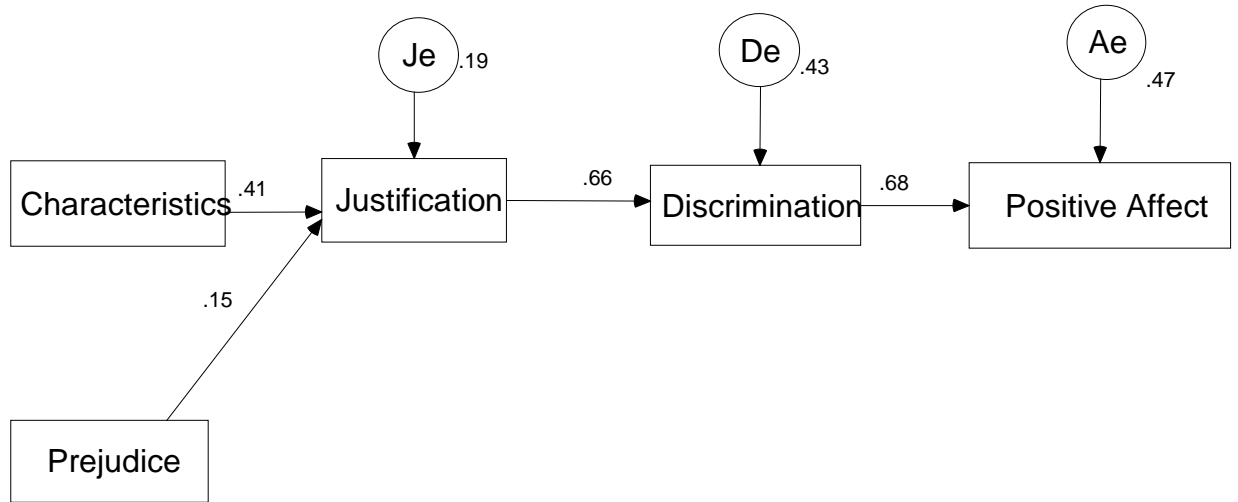
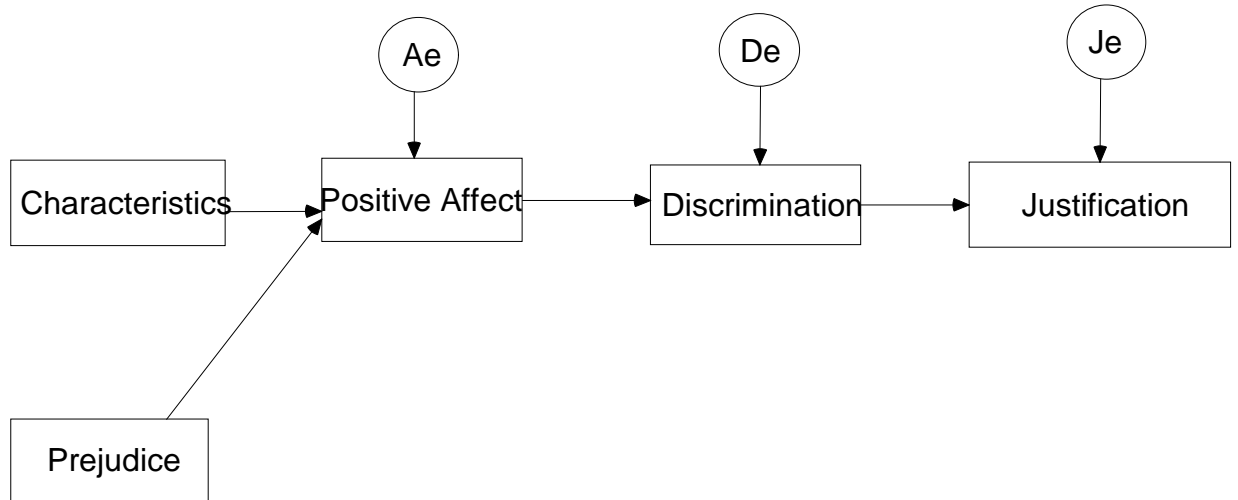


Figure 5

Path Diagram of Alternate Model- Experiment 2



MANAGERIAL DECISION MAKING

- For several years, researchers have been investigating various factors which could affect how managers make decisions. Your cooperation is exceedingly important in terms of advancing scientific knowledge about how people make managerial decisions. Please be as honest and open as possible in answering each of the questions asked. We are interested in your true thoughts and feelings. All of your responses will be completely confidential.
- The exercise consists of several different sections, each with its own set of instructions. Please read each set of instructions very carefully and do not skip any questions
- Press the spacebar to continue

The Firm — JOE'S



In 1974, Buddy Smith scraped together every penny he could to purchase JOE'S Hamburger Joint on the west side of Fort Worth, Texas. Under Buddy's management, the restaurant shortly became a huge popular and financial success. Buddy quickly opened a second and third unit in Fort Worth, attracting considerable local investor interest. The firm currently is comprised of more than 135 units located throughout the continental United States, with plans to open 10 new units a year for at least the next five years. In 1987, the firm also launched a small but rapidly growing frozen food business.



- Rodger Kline: Rodger has his law degree from the University of Texas and has served as JOE'S Legal Counsel for almost 15 years.



- John Pace: John has an undergraduate degree in accounting from Boston University and over the last six years worked his way up to the current position as Controller. Management Information Systems also reports to John.

Additional Staff



- The person you rely on most at work is your Administrative Assistant, Barbara Brown. Barbara became your secretary shortly after you joined JOE'S. She has progressed with you as you have moved up JOE'S and knows how you like things to be done. She is remarkably loyal to you, hard working, and efficient.

Joe's Executive Board



- Buddy died in 1986 and his wife, Anita, replaced him as Chairman of the Board.



- The President of JOE'S is Buddy's long time friend and employee, John Cummings, age 66. John has three direct reports all of whom joined the firm during the late 1970's



- Todd Folger. Todd is a Stanford University MBA and worked his way up from controller to Chief Financial Officer (CFO) and Executive Vice-President (EVP). His primary responsibility is obtaining the funds needed to fuel JOE'S expansion.



- Ray Lease. Ray worked his way up from the very bottom of the firm's hierarchy to his current position as Executive Vice-President (EVP) of Operations. Through five Regional Vice-Presidents, it is Ray's job to oversee the day-to-day functioning of JOE'S restaurant units.



- Mary Copeland. Mary, like Ray, worked her way up at JOE'S to her current position as Executive Vice-President (EVP) of Marketing. Her principal responsibilities are advertising, promotion and new business development including management of the frozen food division.

Your Role As Todd Folger



- You are to play the role of Todd Folger, Chief Financial Officer and EVP, and the person primarily responsible for finding the capital to maintain JOE'S planned expansion. But, that is far from your sole responsibility. You have the heads of four other functions reporting to you:



- Betty Smith Blake: Betty is the daughter of Buddy and Anita and has been with the firm since earning her B.A. in Communications from Rice University in 1981. She currently is the Vice-President of Human Resources; but, will be leaving the firm effective August 15th, 2007, to pursue family and philanthropic interests fulltime.



- James Walters: James has his business and law degrees from New York University and, since joining the firm three years ago, has been Senior Vice-President of Real Estate. James' primary job is to acquire the sites and negotiate the construction of contracts for all of JOE'S restaurant units.

The Situation- The Inbox

- Anita Smith and the Board are pleased with the Company's performance and, thus, its top management team. Indeed, Cummings already has announced his pending retirement and very soon Anita and Cummings are expecting to name either you, Ray, or Mary as President. Each of them has worked long and hard for the firm and sorely wants the top spot.
- It is 7:30 AM on December 21, 2008 and you, Todd Folger, have less than 30 minutes to go through your inbox before you have to attend an 8:00 AM meeting with Cummings that probably will last all morning. You returned home late last night from a week long trip to New York to meet with a number of key financial analysts about JOE'S plans. This afternoon you and your spouse leave for a 10 day trip to Tokyo where you will hold a similar set of meetings with Japanese analysts. You're nervous about the trip. A lot could be riding on it and you've never been to Japan before.

The Situation- The Inbox

- Your fears about the trip are all tied-up with your hopes of being named President. You've just got to continue to impress the financial community with JOE'S solid balance sheet and the ability to maintain this sound position in the future. As usual, your inbox only has emails which require your immediate attention.
 - Your task is to move through the e-mails as quickly as possible. Like real emails, the original email to you is towards the bottom of the email, whereas your reply is towards the top of the email. On emails Todd has to reply to, you must chose between several options. In each case, click on the reply that you wish to send using the mouse. For some items, you may not like any of the options; however, it is very important that you choose one of them. If the email does not require a reply, read the e-mail carefully and press the spacebar to move onto the next e-mail.
-
- **You will now begin responding to e-mails, if you have any questions, please ask the experimenter**


Welcome to Windows Mail - Unicode (UTF-8)
 File Edit View Tools Message Help
 Reply Reply All Forward

From: Betty Blake, V.P. of Human Resources
 Date: Wednesday, December 17, 2008
 To: Todd Folger
 Subject: Manager Position

Betty, All things considered I think that

1. *Less than \$20,000*
2. *\$20,000 to \$25,000*
3. *\$25,001 to \$30,000*
4. *\$30,001 to \$35,000*

Would be a fair offer to make, hopefully Mabel will be happy with the offer


Todd Folger CFO 

Sorry to trouble you, but I need your advice on a sticky issue.

I found a super person for our Manger of Training & Development position. She is Mabel Brown, a former school teacher who recently completed her M.B.A. degree with a major in Human Resources Development.

Based upon a compensation survey of training and development personnel and our analysis of my Department's salary structure, I feel a target salary of \$35,000 is a fair one for the job. However, I asked Mabel what her salary expectations were and she said \$22,000 to \$24,000.

Given the need to lower my Department's expenses, I just don't know what to do. I promised Mabel that I would get back to her by the end of the month.


What's your advice?
 Betty Blake, V.P. of Human Resources
 Joe's Hamburger Joint 

Welcome to Windows Mail - Unicode (UTF-8)
 File Edit View Tools Message Help
 Reply Reply All Forward

From: Mary Copeland, E.V.P. of Marketing
 Date: Wednesday, December 17, 2008
 To: Todd Folger
 Subject: Travel Budget


Mary, in light of this budget issue, I think it would be prudent to

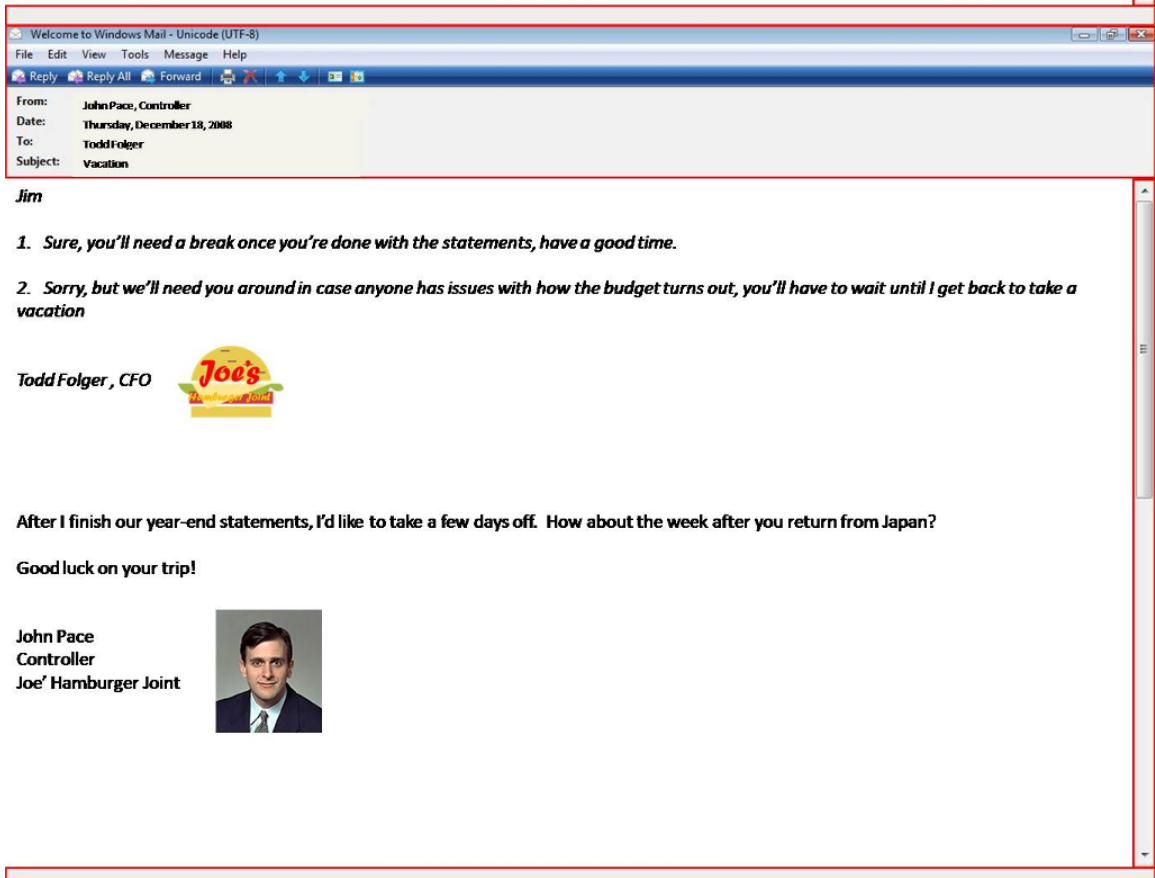
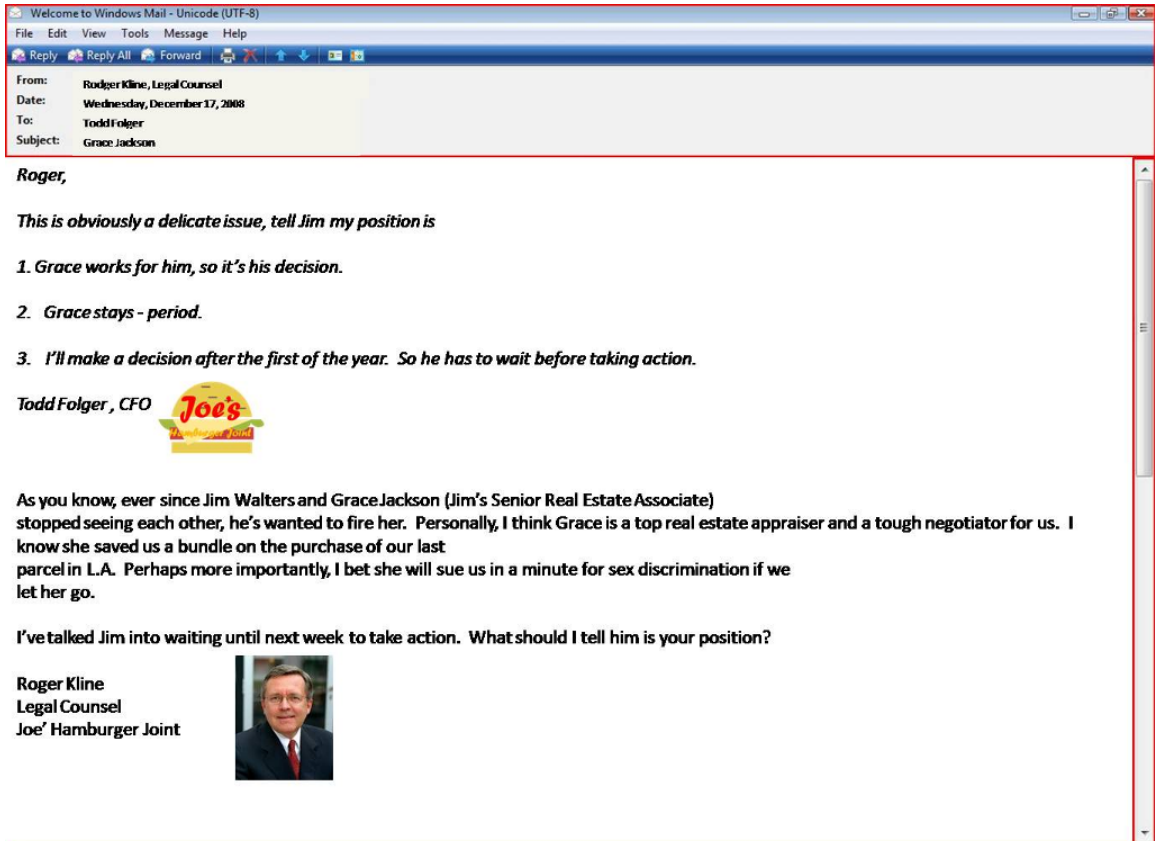
1. *Not approve any over-budget expenditures.*
2. *Approve the over-budget travel expenditure, only if we can off-setting it elsewhere in the marketing budget.*
3. *Go over budget to cover your marketing peoples' trip.*

Todd Folger, CFO 

Sorry to trouble you, but I need your advice on a sticky issue.

I was just made aware we probably will be 15% over our Travel and Entertainment Budget by year end. Nevertheless, I'd like to send my top four marketing people to attend the American Marketing Association Meeting next week in Honolulu. They are booked and ready to go. I discussed this with Cummings and he seems to think you and I can resolve this. I don't see a problem approving these trips, given that by year end I expect to be within my overall budget since my use of temporary help is expected to be under budget. What do you think?

Mary Copeland,
 EVP of Marketing
 Joe' Hamburger Joint 



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File Edit View Tools Message Help
Reply Reply All Forward

From: Anita Smith, Chairman of the Board
Date: Thursday, December 18, 2008
To: Mary, Todd, & Ray
Subject: John's Replacement


As you know, John will be leaving the firm soon, and one of you is likely to be named as his successor. I thought it only fair to share with you the sort of person we want to try to fill John's shoes with when he retires.

Most of all, we want a President with tremendous people skills — somebody that can spot managerial talent, put together a great team, and motivate them to excel.

Obviously, it's also important that the new President understand the financial side of the business and appreciate the importance of operations.

If you have any questions or comments, please chat with John or myself. Just keep in mind, we, like you, want the very best, a people manager that knows what JOE'S is all about.

Anita Smith
Chairman of the Board
Joe' Hamburger Joint




Welcome to Windows Mail - Unicode (UTF-8)
File Edit View Tools Message Help
Reply Reply All Forward

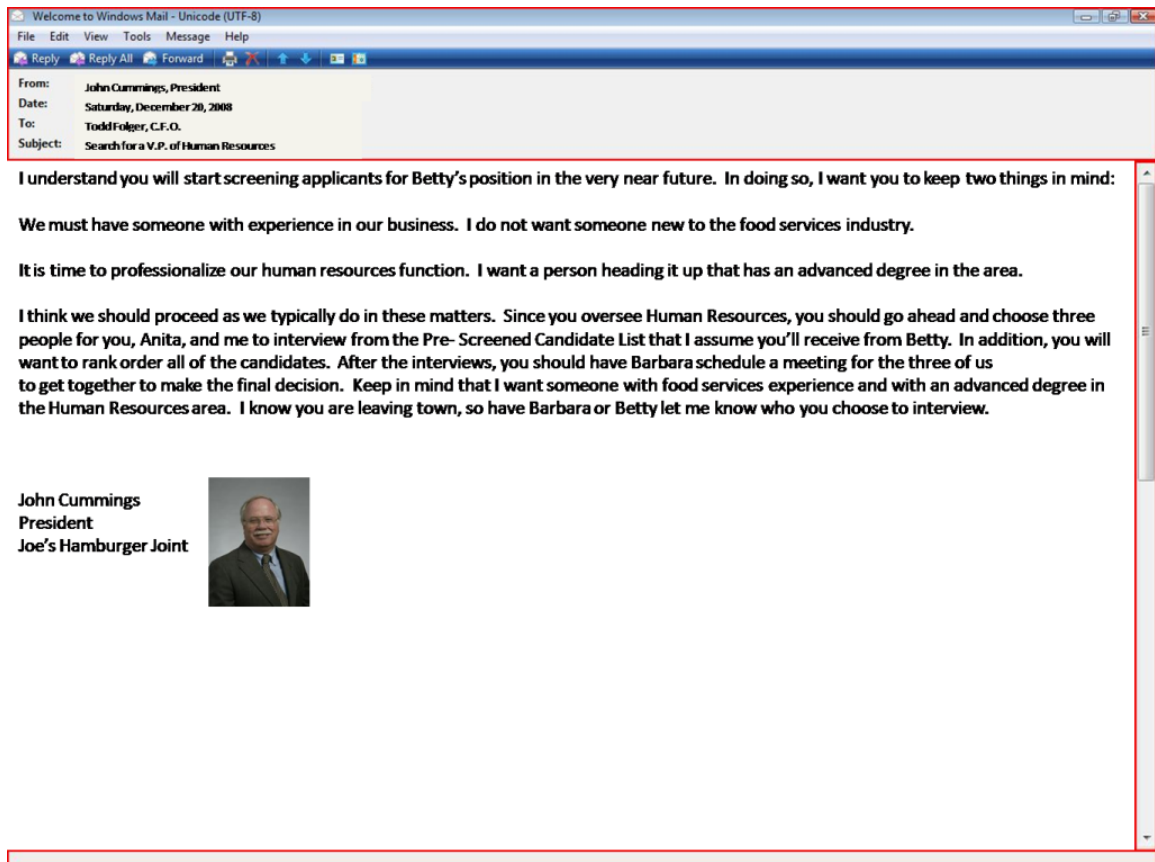
From: Betty Blake, Outgoing V.P. Human Resources
Date: Friday, December 19, 2008
To: Todd Folger, C.F.O.
Subject: Candidates for V.P. of Human Resources

Awkward as it may be for me, I had my folks in Human Resources pre-screen the applications for my position. The resulting Pre-Screened Candidate List will be forthcoming from my administrative assistant. I need to know the three applicants you want interviewed and, then, I'll make the arrangements. Also, for our records in Human Resources, please make sure you rate each referral on the list.

Remember, I'll be leaving in less than four weeks.

Betty Blake,
Outgoing V.P. Human Resources
Joe' Hamburger Joint





Ranking Instructions

- Please rank all the candidates you have looked at, from most qualified for the position to least qualified
- To rank the candidates, click on their picture. The first candidate you click on will be ranked 1 for most qualified, and the last candidate you click on will be ranked last.
- Ask the experimenter for a sheet you can use to keep track of the rankings. Every time you assign a rank to a candidate on the computer, write the corresponding number in the box below the candidate on the sheet so right a 1 below the first picture you click on, ect
- Do not click on any candidate more than once

Welcome to Windows Mail - Unicode (UTF-8)

File Edit View Tools Message Help


Reply Reply All Forward

From: John Pace, Controller
Date: Saturday, December 20, 2008
To: Todd Folger, C.F.O.
Subject: Financial Statements

EXAMPLE

John, after hearing from President Cummings, I think the best way to proceed is to

1. Postpone all write-offs until next year.
2. Write-off less than \$1 million.
3. Write-off \$1 to 2 million.

Todd Folger, CFO 


Press the appropriate number key to select your reply

Your reply

I've just learned of what could be described as a "potential bookkeeping error". As you know, due to shifting local market conditions over the years, a few of our units had to be closed down. The value at which these units are carried on the firm's books is based upon the estimated market price of the units at the time each unit was closed (\$5.1 million for the land, building, and equipment). However, the value of all units has dropped drastically since they have been closed because of (a) vandalism, including two units completely destroyed by arson, and (b) inadequate maintenance of equipment. Because of our decision to self-insure store units, there are no insurance proceeds due. Based on independent appraisals the value of the inactive units is less than \$2.0 million.

Since I am now preparing year-end statements, I need to know if you want to authorize a write-off of the firm's assets at this time to reflect the drop in the value of the inactive units. Such a write-off would cut deeply into our profits for the year. I know the impact on profits won't look good to the folks in Japan, and I'm sorry to hit you with this right before you leave.

John Pace
 Controller
 Joe's Hamburger Joint



E-mail sender

Original email

CANDIDATE #1 – Michael J. Davis

Relevant Work Experience – 5 years in institutional sales with Allied Sysco Food Distributors based in Houston. Moved to position of Western Regional Director of Human Resources for Chili's Restaurant in Denver for 4 years; promoted to corporate as Director of Training and Development for last 3 years.

Education – BS from Rice University in psychology; MBA from the University of Colorado with concentration in Human Resource Management.

Management Potential Test Score – 95.

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant

Sex: Male Race: Black (African American)
 Age: 40 Marital status: Married
 Number of children: 2 teenage children
 Outside activities: Amateur photography, graphic art



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent Referral | Very Good Referral | Acceptable Referral | Poor Referral | Should Not Have Been Referred |

CANDIDATE #2 – Suzanne R. Baker

Relevant Work Experience – 2 years with Safeway in store operations; 4 years with Sears in personnel as Manager of Training; now Benefits Manager in Chicago.

Education – BS in Economics from University of Chicago.

Management Potential Test Score – 86

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant –

Sex: Female Race: White
Age: 35 Marital Status: Single
Number of children: N/A Outside activities: ???



Rating of Referral -

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent
Referral | Very Good
Referral | Acceptable
Referral | Poor
Referral | Should Not
Have Been
Referred |

CANDIDATE #3 – Charles J. Akers

Relevant Work Experience – 10 plus years in several positions in Human Resources Department with Ruth’s Chris Steak House based in New Orleans; has been the number two person at corporate headquarters in Human Resources for the last 2 years.

Education – BBA and MBA with a major in human resources from the University of Texas- Austin.

Management Potential Test Score – 96

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant –

Sex: Male Race: White
Age: 37 Marital status: Married
Number of children: 3 Outside activities: ??



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent
Referral | Very Good
Referral | Acceptable
Referral | Poor
Referral | Should Not
Have Been
Referred |

CANDIDATE #4 – Joseph Federson

Relevant Work Experience – 8 years with the U.S. Department of Agriculture in various personnel assignment; last 5 years as a Manager of Personnel with USDA.

Education – BA in psychology from Georgetown University.

Management Potential Test Score – 88.

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant –

Sex: Male Race: White
Age: 42 Marital status: ??
Number of children: 4 children
Outside activities: Community Affairs (homeless shelter)



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent
Referral | Very Good
Referral | Acceptable
Referral | Poor
Referral | Should Not
Have Been
Referred |

CANDIDATE #5 – Stewart K. Payton

Relevant Work Experience – 4 years with Sheraton Hotels in Human Resources; over 6 years as Dir. of Training and Development with Houston’s Restaurants based in Atlanta.

Education – BS in education and MS in personnel psychology from North Carolina State University.

Management Potential Test Score – 97.

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant

Sex: Male Race: Black
Age: 44 Marital status: Divorced
Number of children: 1 teenage son
Outside activities: ??



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent
Referral | Very Good
Referral | Acceptable
Referral | Poor
Referral | Should Not
Have Been
Referred |

CANDIDATE #6 – Clara Shavers

Relevant Work Experience – worked in store management for Kentucky Fried Chicken for 8 years; last position at KFC was Manager of Corporate Recruiting for 2 plus years; last 4 years served as Director of Training and Development for Lawry’s Restaurants based in Los Angeles.

Education – BA from University of Illinois; MBA from Michigan with concentration in organizational behavior and human resources.

Management Potential Test Score – 94.

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant

Sex: Female Race: White
Age: 41 Marital status: Married
Number of Children: 2 children
Outside activities: Michigan alumni booster



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent
Referral | Very Good
Referral | Acceptable
Referral | Poor
Referral | Should Not
Have Been
Referred |

CANDIDATE #7 – Richard Taylor

Relevant Work Experience – 7 years in various HR positions with Quaker Oats in Chicago; left as Manager of Training to become Human Resource Manager for Mass Feeding Corporation in Chicago; after 3 years was named Director of Human Resources-Midwest Region, Sizzler’s Restaurants; has been in this position for 4 years.

Education – BA from California Berkeley and Master of Labor and Industrial Relations from University of Minnesota.

Management Potential Test Score – 95.

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant

Sex: Male Race: White
Age: 40 Marital Status: Divorced
Number of children: 1 child
Outside activities: Sailing enthusiast



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Excellent
Referral | Very Good
Referral | Acceptable
Referral | Poor
Referral | Should Not
Have Been
Referred |

Candidate # 8 – Therisa Ward

Relevant Work Experience – 9 years with Taco Bell, 6 years in store operations, 3 years as a District Personnel Manager.

Education – BS from USC in accounting; MBA from UCLA with concentrations in strategic planning and human resources.

Management Potential Test Score – 93.

Optional Information Supplied by Applicant –

Sex: Female Race: Black
Age: 38 Marital status: Married
Number of children: 3 children
Outside activities: pianist, organist.



Rating of Referral –

Please circle the one number below that best indicates the quality of the candidate as a potential hire.

1
Excellent
Referral

2
Very Good
Referral

3
Acceptable
Referral

4
Poor
Referral

5
Should Not
Have Been
Referred

Michael J. Davis



Stewart K. Payton

Suzanne R. Baker



Clara Shavers

Charles J. Akers



Richard Taylor

Joseph Federson



Therisa Ward



Appendix D- Measures

AMP

Instruction Slide

Welcome! In this experiment we are interested in how people make simple judgments. We will be showing you pairs of pictures flashed one after the other. The first picture is a ***real-life image***. You should do nothing with the real-life image; it is simply a warning signal that the second image is about to appear.

The second image is a ***drawing***. Your job is to make a quick judgment on how pleasant each drawing is.

Press the space bar to see a sample trial.

You will press the “e” key if you judge the drawing to be unpleasant, and the “i” key if you judge it to be pleasant.

You should not judge all of the groups as pleasant or all of them as unpleasant. Judge each group based on whether you think it is **more or less pleasant than average**. There are no right or wrong answers; please respond with your own “gut” feeling.

Also, don’t think too hard about your judgments of the groups. As you can see, the groups are flashed very briefly, and we are interested in your snap judgments of them. Thus, please try to respond quickly.

(Please press the space bar to continue)

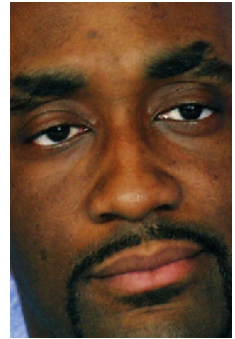
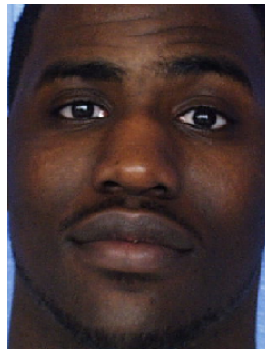
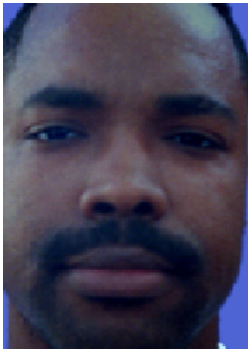
As a reminder:

e = unpleasant

i = pleasant

When you’re ready, please place your fingers on the response keys, and press the space bar to begin.

Stimulus Slides
Black Faces



White Faces



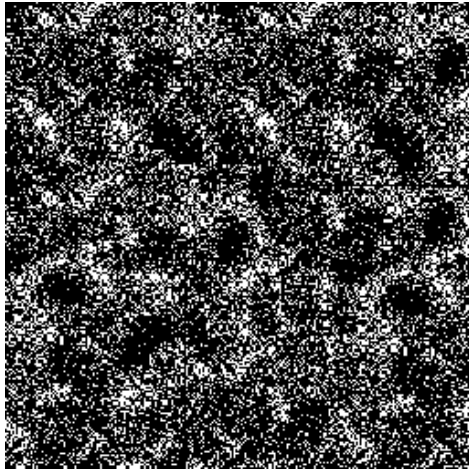
Neutral Stimulus



Neutral Ideographs

判含 既退

Masking Slide



Attitude Toward Blacks Scale

1. If a Black man were put in charge of me, I would not mind taking advice from him or her.
2. If I had a chance to introduce Black visitors to my friends and neighbors, I would be pleased to do so.
3. I think Black people look more similar to each other than White people do.
4. I would probably feel somewhat self-conscious dancing with a Black person in a public place.
5. I take offense when I hear a White person make a prejudiced remark about Blacks.
6. It would not bother me if my new roommate was Black.
7. It is likely that Blacks will cause trouble in neighborhoods they move to.

Symbolic Racism Scale

1. It is really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites.
2. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same.
3. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.
4. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.
5. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
6. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.
7. Blacks have more influence on the country than they ought to have.
8. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

PANAS Scale

Indicate to what extent you feel this way at the moment:

Negative Subscale:

Afraid, Scared, Nervous, Jittery, Irritable, Hostile, Guilty, Ashamed, Upset, Distressed

Positive Subscale:

Inspired, Interested, Proud, Strong, Happy, Joyful, Delighted, Cheerful, Lively, Energetic

Climate for Diversity Scale

1. This organization values diversity
2. The upper management is committed to promoting diversity.
3. Individuals from minority groups are often excluded from the company.
4. The company executives are committed to creating an environment that welcomes all types of employees.

Justification Manipulation Checks

1. How important was the applicants' qualifications when making your decision?
2. How important was the education of the applicants when making your decision?
3. How important was the previous work experience of the applicants when making your decision?
4. How important was the applicants' compatibility with the company when making your decision?
5. How important was the applicants' ability to get along with the other employees of the company?
6. How important was the applicants' similarity to the company's existing employees?

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