HIRING PREFERENCES AND INTRAGROUP RACISM: A COMPARISON OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND CAUCASIAN APPLICANTS

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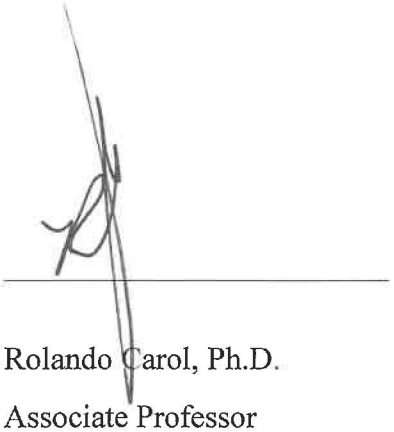

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A COMPARISON OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND CAUCASIAN APPLICANTS

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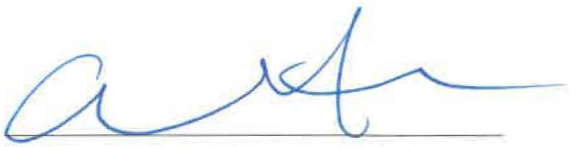

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May 4, 2019

Day of Graduation

Hiring Preferences and Intragroup Racism:

A Comparison of African-American and Caucasian Applicants

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Hiring Preferences and Intragroup Racism:

A Comparison of African-American and Caucasian Applicants

The implication of biases and stereotypes in decision making has been studied extensively before. These subconscious ideas permeate thoughts, actions, and beliefs. While the consensus is to overcome these implicit biases when interacting with others, the biases can be problematic when acknowledging the extent to which they affect hiring decisions and job placement (Rudman, Ashmore, & Gary, 2001; Ziegert & Hagnes, 2005). Considering the significance ethnicity has in politics, education, and medicine, an analysis of prejudice in hiring preferences is needed. There are studies examining the hiring preferences amongst different ethnicities (Barron, Hebl, & King, 2011; Derous & Ryan, 2012; Derous, Pepermans, & Ryan, 2017). However, few manage to capture the preferences within an ethnic group. Preferences within an ethnic group exist because of differences in various characteristics, including skin tone. For instance, there are a variety of skin tones among African-Americans. Ranging from light, resembling Caucasians, to dark, resembling a dark chocolate. African-Americans are perceived differently and perceive themselves differently based on skin tone (Adams, Kurtz-Costes & Hoffman, 2016). In the workplace, skin tone preferences can be especially evident where managers view potential employees as better or worse depending on their skin tone rather than skill (Arthur, Darrick & William, 2006). This study aims to examine the impact that prejudicial attitudes towards African-Americans of different shades of skin tone has upon hiring preferences using explicit and implicit measures. In addition to these measures, the present study also aims to examine experimenter race and ethnic identifier impact on hiring preferences.

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Hiring Discrimination

The interaction between race and the likelihood of being hired has been studied numerous times in the United States and abroad. For instance, people generally prefer to work with others who are similar in appearance, qualities, and beliefs (Garcia, Posthuma & Colella, 2008). When minority men have clean background checks, they are still judged to be less favorable than Caucasian males just released from prison. African-American and Latino men are less likely to be hired for an entry level job than Caucasian men even when their resumes are similar (Pager, Bonikowski, & Western, 2009). Since 1989, African-American applicants were less likely to be hired 64% of the time than Caucasian applicants and Latino applicants 76% of the time (Quillian, Pager, Hexel & Midtbøen, 2017). When managers were directly asked about their hiring decisions concerning African-American men, managers sought people with interpersonal skills and motivation. However, African-American men were stereotyped as not having these skills and they were less likely to be hired (Moss & Tilly, 1996). Thus, research has shown that the impact of ethnicity has an effect on the likelihood of being hired. The current study analyzed whether the ethnicity of the applicant played a part in hiring decisions. In addition to the hiring discrimination that exists between different ethnicities, there may be a bias that exists within the African-American community regarding differences in skin tone, whether dark or light. Therefore, the focus of the current study was on the light and dark difference in the skin tone of African-Americans.

African-American Skin Tone and Intragroup Bias

Researchers are aware of the bias based on different levels of skin tone present in the African-American community (Hall, 1992; Swami, Furnham, & Joshi, 2008; Uzogara, Lee, Abdou & Jackson, 2014). African-Americans can have skin tones ranging from very dark to very

light with features similar to Caucasians. However, those with features like Caucasians are more favored in the African-American culture and Caucasian culture (Glenn, 2008; Hill, 2002). This type of racial discrimination within one's own group is called intragroup racism. In the Western society, African-Americans with a darker skin tone are viewed as inferior and become the subject of bullying and ridicule by peers and family members (Keith, Lincoln, Taylor, & Jackson, 2010). Those with a darker skin tone are also seen as 'more' African-American (Stepanova & Strube, 2009). While, those with a lighter skin tone are seen as more desirable, wealthy and attractive (Glenn, 2008).

Considering the intragroup bias in the African-American community, the present study explored the differences in light and dark skin tones of applicants in a hiring scenario. In addition to skin tone biases, African-Americans also have to face the distinction of being labeled as either 'African-American' or 'Black.' This distinction can cause problems within the self for African-Americans regarding identity and experiencing biases.

'Black' versus 'African-American' Ethnic Identifier

People use ethnic identifiers to signify, either as 'Black' or 'African-American.' Many people use 'Black' because they feel no connection to Africa and have been many generations removed from the continent, because they are American (Izadi, 2012). Others use 'African-American' to have a reference to a community and country (Izadi, 2012).

There isn't much empirical research done on African-Americans' perspective of their ethnic identifiers. Amongst 133 African-Americans, aged 12-75, the terms 'Black' and 'African-American' were associated with different forms of ethnic identity (Larkey, Hecht & Martin, 1993). 'Black' was viewed as providing a sense of unity and acceptability, while 'African-

American' created a sense of blended heritage. However, there was a turn for more use of 'African-American' from 'Black' as people moved toward self-determination. The perception of 'African-American' and 'Black' ethnic identifiers are present when asking people outside of the 'African-American' community. Caucasian participants were more likely to associate the identifier 'Black' with negative words, negative emotions, being less educated and with a lower SES (Hall, Phillips, & Townsend, 2014). However, this trend was not present when analyzing the 'African-American' identifier.

The current study focused on how participants perceive applications with either the 'Black' or 'African-American' identifier, from both the perception of Caucasian participants and African-American participants. This aspect is to test whether there is a hiring bias when people are identified as 'Black' or 'African-American' on applications. In addition to examining the bias of an identifier, the current study also tested whether the ethnicity of the experimenter influences how participants respond.

Experimenter Effect

The presence of an experimenter is often necessary when conducting research. However, the phenomenon of the observer effect can be hazardous or beneficial to test results. The observer effect refers to when observing an event, or being present, can cause a reaction from the participants and change their behavior (Dewey, 2007). Workers tend to change their behavior when they are being observed doing a task (King, 2018), teachers change their verbal behavior in classrooms (Samph, 1976) and people engage in safer practices (Alvero, Rost & Austin, 2008). Consequently, the presence of an observer can alter how a participant would normally behave.

Regarding race, African-Americans have reported experiencing more anxiety when a Caucasian experimenter administered instructions compared to an African-American experimenter (Baratz, 1967). Participants tend to give socially desirable responses to administrators of another race (Sattler, 1970). African-American female testers produced better performing participants than their Caucasian female counterparts (Samuel, 1977). Therefore, the present study analyzed this factor by having both an African-American experimenter and a Caucasian experimenter.

Previous study

A thesis experiment by Horace (2011) examined the effects of light and dark skin tones on the hiring preferences for African-American candidates. Participants partook in a hiring task in which they were told to read resumes with photos of light and dark tone African-Americans and decide the likelihood of hiring the candidate as a bank teller. Participants were also told to rank the candidates against each other in order of least to most likely to hire. Finally, participants were presented with a lexical decision task using different images of light and dark tone African-Americans. The results were that participants rated and ranked candidates with light skin tone higher than those with dark skin tones. For the lexical decision task, "participants were faster to respond to candidates with lighter skin tones associated with positive words than to candidates with darker skin tones associated with positive words" (Horace, 32). This experiment has laid the ground-work for the present study's analysis. By combining the results from the previous study with new methods for analysis, the current study aimed to expand upon and provided new insight.

The Present Study

This study aimed to continue examining the impact that prejudicial attitudes towards African-Americans of different shades of skin tone had upon discriminatory hiring preferences. However, this study also sought to expand upon current knowledge by assessing Caucasian skin tones in addition to the shades of African-American skin tones. The present study is based on a previous study by Horace (2011), which addressed these concerns but is now altered to more accurately detect possible prejudicial attitudes. Participants rated their likelihood of hiring a series of candidates, ranked all the candidates by who they would be likely to hire and least likely, and finally, participants completed a lexical decision task (LDT) using a series of images of Caucasians and African-Americans with light and dark skin tones.

The hypotheses for this study were: 1) the light tone candidates will be more highly rated and ranked than the dark tone candidates; 2) the use of applicants with the identifier 'African-American' will be more highly ranked and rated than applicants with the 'Black' identifier by Caucasian participants; 3) applicants with a dark skin tone and 'Black' identifier will be ranked and rated lower than applicants with a light skin tone and 'Black' identifier; 4) the presence of an African-American experimenter will lead to African-American applicants being more highly rated as hireable and highly ranked as hireable; 5) positive words will be strongly associated with light skin tone photos than dark skin tone photos; 6) for the LDT, African-American participants will be more likely to respond faster to photo stimuli of African Americans, regardless of skin tone than Caucasian participants; and 7) for the LDT, participants will respond faster to African-Americans with light tone photo stimuli and positive words than darker tone photo stimuli and positive words.

Method

Participants

One hundred fifteen (N=115) undergraduate introductory psychology students completed the experiment in return for partial course credit at Auburn University at Montgomery using Sona/PREP software. The mean age of participants was 19 years old, 6% of the participants were younger than 18 and 2% of the participants were older than 40 years old. A total of 83% of the participants identified as female (n=96) and 1% identified as other. African-Americans comprised 55% of the participants and Caucasians comprised 39% of the participants. Half of the participants stated they were currently employed (n=59). A small percentage of the participants (5%) stated they have overseen hiring before, 8% of the participants indicated they have hired at least 1 or more people before, 5% indicated they have been hiring 1 year or more, and 7% indicated they have at least beginner level hiring experience. More than half of the participants (55%) had a Caucasian experimenter present.

Procedure

Participants completed an online consent form (See appendix A) and an online demographic questionnaire (See appendix B). The questionnaire included questions about job history, experience with hiring others and personal ethnic identifier. Via an online survey, participants were instructed to evaluate potential candidates for a bank teller position. They were presented with 16 different candidates and application forms (See appendix C). The application forms included a photo, the name of the applicant, the ethic identifier of either 'Black" or 'African-American', and the job history. The photos had been pilot tested photo stimuli of 8 light

skin tone and 8 dark skin tone African-American males and 8 Caucasian males of average attractiveness without any major distinguishing features such as facial hair, glasses or tattoos.

The candidate job history consisted of positions that are bank related (Wells-Fargo, BBVA, Compass) and another that is non-bank related (ex: Walmart, McDonalds, Best Buy). After reading the applications, participants completed two tasks online: one rating the hireability of the candidate individually and then ranking of all the candidates, compared to each other (Horace, 2011). Participants were asked to rate their likelihood of hiring the person on a scale of 1 being "not likely to hire" to 7 being "very likely to hire" (Appendix D). Afterwards, participants were instructed to rank the top two candidates they would most likely hire and the bottom two candidates they were least likely to hire (Appendix E). Participants ranked all the candidates using printed versions of the applications they had previously seen. The participants were either instructed by a Caucasian experimenter or an African-American experimenter. Both experimenters were given the same script to direct participants to ensure control over any other extraneous variables.

After completing the rating and ranking tasks, participants were asked to complete 10-12 practice trials consisting of neutral words and photos regarding the lexical decision task using SuperLab 4.0 before moving on to the experimental task. A Lexical Decision Task (LDT) asked participants to quickly decide if a word is an English-speaking word (GIRL, NOTE) or a non-English speaking word (FXLF, EETG). The rate at which they decided between the word and non-word was used to analyze the subconscious processes (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997). The LDT used more automatic processes in contrast to the more explicit measure of the rating and ranking tasks. This process was used to reveal schemas and stereotypes (Dovidio, et al., 1997). By combing the photo stimuli and word association, it was

determined that when the participant saw a photo and word that are strongly associated, their reaction times are faster than when the association is perceived as weak (Kunda, Davis, Adams, & Spenncer, 2002). The photos used in the experimental trial consisted of 16 different images which had not been previously seen before. These images consisted of 4 lighter skin toned African-American males and 4 darker skin toned African-American males. These images also consisted of 8 Caucasian males.

The participants were shown a fixation screen for 500ms and a photo was then shown for 400ms. Followed by a blank screen for 50ms and finally one of 12 positive (e.g., happy, fun), 12 negative (e.g., angry, sad), or 24 nonwords (e.g., folut, losri) written in black on the center of the computer screen on a white background for 1500ms. Participants were asked to respond to whether the letter string following the picture was a word or nonword by pressing the correct button on the keypad connected to the computer. The letter string remained on the screen until the participant responds or the 1500ms time limit passed. The participants began the process again with different photos and word stimuli after being shown a fixation screen for another 500ms. After completing this task once, the LDT ran again in a randomized order. Once the LDT was completed twice, the participants completed the target familiarity questionnaire. Finally, participants were debriefed before leaving (Appendix F).

Results

Hireability Rating and Ranking Analyses.

The analysis of hypotheses 1-4 required two different statistical tests due to the differing variable types (i.e., ratings are a continuous variable and rankings are a categorical variable). Thus, rating analyses employed an analysis of variance and ranking analyses employed a chi-

square test of independence. The first hypothesis was that the light tone applicants would be more highly ranked and rated than the dark tone applicants. The results of the study do not completely support the hypothesis. For ratings, a two-way analysis of variance failed to yield a significant difference in the ratings of the light and dark tone applicants ($F = 2.21$, *ns*). However for rankings, a chi-square test of independence revealed a marginally significant difference between the light and dark tone applicants, X^2 (1, $N = 197$) = 3.1744, $p = .0748$. (See Figure 1). Thus, this result revealed a marginal significance in top rankings of applicants where dark tone applicants were more likely to be ranked in as one of the top two candidates than light tone applicants. These results indicate that the hypothesis was not supported.

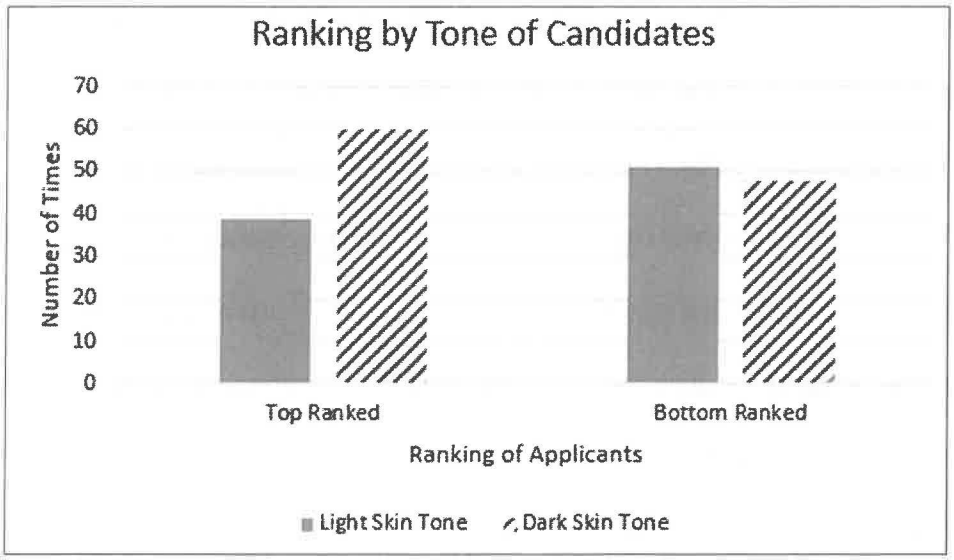

Figure 1: Rankings of candidates based on skin tone of candidates

The second hypothesis was that the applicants with the ethnic identifier 'African-American' would be more highly ranked and rated than applicants with the 'Black' ethnic identifier by Caucasian participants. For ratings, a 3 (Participant Race: African American vs. Caucasian vs. Other) X 2 (Ethnic Identifier: African American vs. Black) ANOVA revealed a

significant Participant X Ethnic Identifier interaction, F (2, 104) = 4.55, p = 0.0128; Wilk's Λ = .9196 (See Figure 2). Caucasian participants rated applicants with the 'Black' ethnic identifier higher (M = 8.012, SD= 1.377) than applicants with the 'African-American' ethnic identifier (M = 7.548, SD = 1.703). However, a chi-square test of independence for rankings, failed to produce a significant difference between the race of the participant and the identifier used for the applicants, X^2 (1, 107) = 2.4846, *ns*. These results indicate that the hypothesis was not supported.

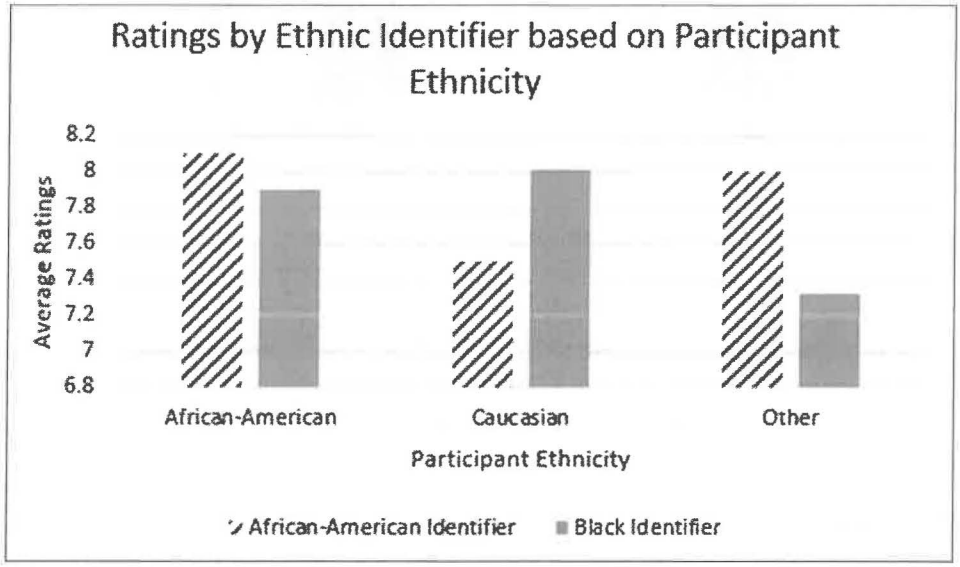

Figure 2: Rating effect by ethic identifier based on participant ethnicity

The third hypothesis was that applicants with a dark skin tone and 'Black' ethnic identifier will be ranked and rated lower than applicants with a light skin tone and 'Black' ethnic identifier. For ratings, a 2 (Applicant Skin Tone: Dark vs. Light) X 2 (Applicant Ethnic Identifier: African-American vs. Black) revealed a significant Skin Tone X Ethnic Identifier interaction, F (1, 114) = 12.76, p =.0005; Wilk's Λ = .8993 (See Figure 3). Dark tone and black ethnic identifier applicants were rated highest (M= 8.253, SD= 1.986), while light tone and black ethnic identifier applicants were rated the lowest (M= 7.539, SD= 2.322). The rankings for skin

tone and ethnic identifier were not significant, X^2 (1, 107) = 2.4846, *ns*. These results indicate that the hypothesis was not supported.

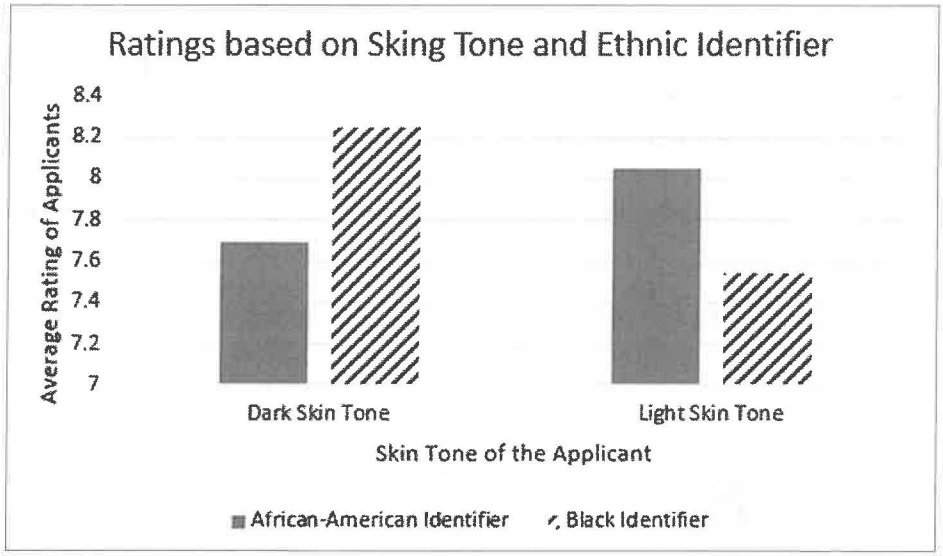

Figure 3: Ratings of applicants based on the skin tone of the applicant and the ethnic identifier used on the application

The fourth hypothesis was that the presence of an African-American experimenter would lead to African-American applicants being more highly rated and ranked. For rankings, experimenter ethnicity was not significant, X^2 (1, 126) = .3214, *ns*. For ratings, experimenter ethnicity was not significant, F (1, 113) = 1.32, *ns*. Finally, a 3 (Participant Race: African-American vs. Caucasian vs. Other) X 2 (Applicant Ethnicity: African-American vs. Caucasian) analysis for ratings revealed a significant effect for applicant ethnicity, F (1, 104) = 6.14, p = .0148; Wilk's Λ = .9442 (See Figure 4). African-American applicants were rated higher (M = 7.8183. SD = 1.873) than Caucasian applicants (M =7.5467, SD = 1.8743).

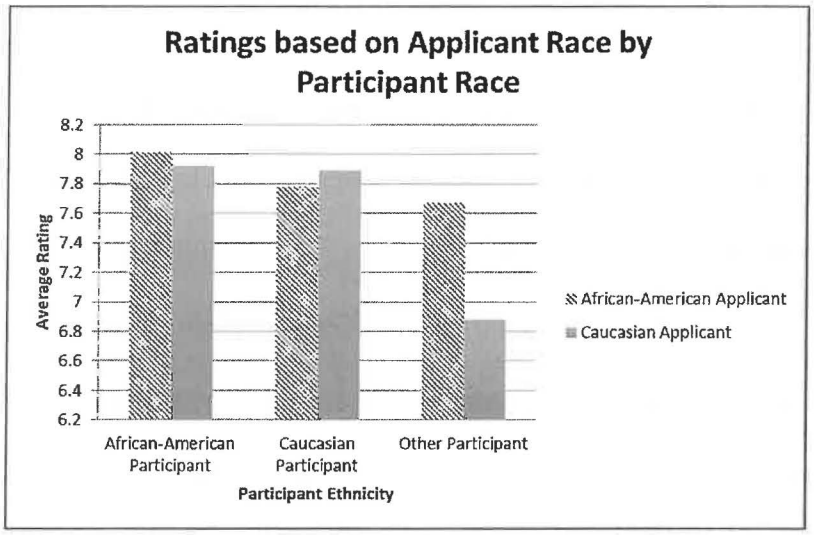

Figure 4: Ratings of applicants based on the race of the applicant and the race of the participants

Implicit Test Analyses.

The data were analyzed within a 2 (Trait Type: Positive Word vs. Negative Word) X 2 (Photo Stimuli: African-American vs. Caucasian) X 2 (Participant Ethnicity: African-American vs. Caucasian) repeated measure ANOVA with reaction times (RTs) as the dependent variable. Only correct RTs between 1400 ms and 1900 ms were analyzed. RTs below 1400 were too fast to be considered a suitable response to the task. RTs above 1900 were too slow to be considered a suitable response to the task. When the aggregate means were evaluated for normality, the response latencies produced a normal distribution after limiting the reaction times.

The fifth hypothesis was that for the LDT, participants would respond faster to African-Americans with light tone photo stimuli and positive words than darker tone photo stimuli and positive words. There was a significant interaction between skin tone and trait type, $F(1, 112) = 4.82$, $p = .0301$ (See Figure 5). Participants respond slower to positive words associated with a light skin toned target, ($M = 1646$, $SD = 61$) and participants respond faster to negative words

associated with a light skin toned target (*M*= 1636, *SD*= 60). These results indicate that the hypothesis was not supported. The sixth hypothesis was that for the LDT, positive words would be strongly associated with light skin tone photos than dark skin tone photos. This hypothesis was not supported by the results, F (1, 112) = 2.15, *ns*. The seventh hypothesis was that for the LDT, African-American participants would respond faster to photo stimuli of African-American stimuli, regardless of skin tone than Caucasian photo stimuli. The results show that there was a significant interaction between the participant race and the race of the photo, F (2, 103) = 3.46, p = .035 (See Figure 6). African-American participants responded faster to African-American photos (*M*= 1629, *SD*= 46) and slower to Caucasian photos (*M*= 1637, *SD*= 46). Caucasian participants responded equally to both African-American (M= 1651. SD= 67) and Caucasian photos (*M*= 1650, *SD*= 71). Participants who were neither African-American nor Caucasian, responded faster to Caucasian photos (*M*= 1645, *SD*= 56) and slower to African-American photos (*M*= 1656, *SD*= 55). These results indicate that the hypothesis was supported.

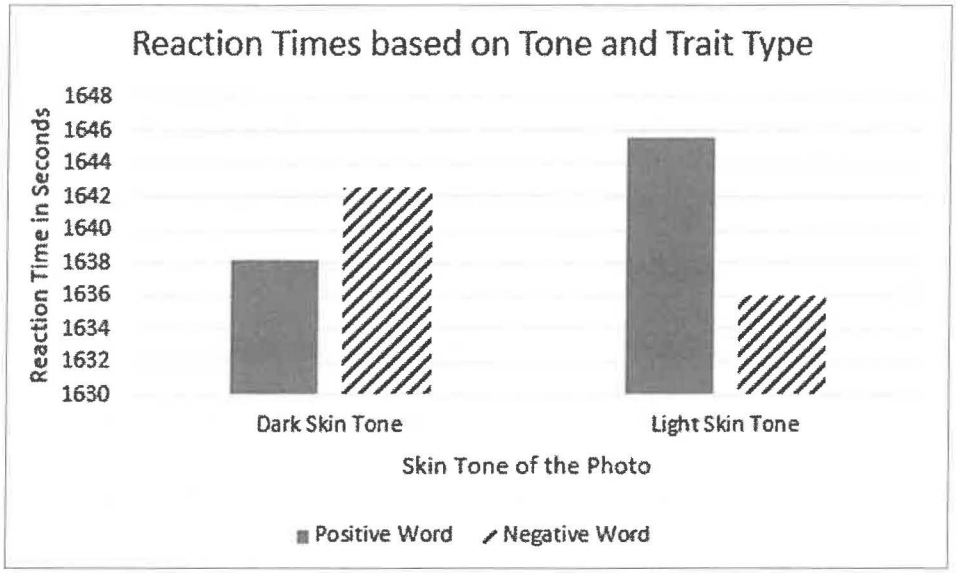

Figure 5: Reaction times based on the skin tone of the target photo and the word stimulus used

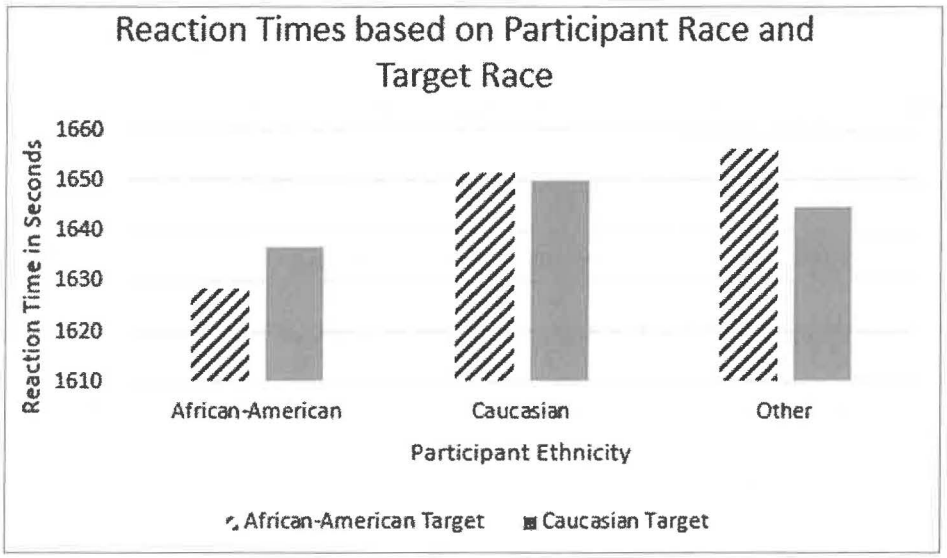

Figure 6: Interaction between reaction times based on the race of the participant and the race of the photo stimulus

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the implicit and explicit attitudes regarding hiring scenarios as well as environmental factors that may contribute to the results. The explicit hiring tasks (i.e., hiring ratings and hiring rankings) revealed mix results depending on the categories being analyzed. The skin tone of the applicants alone did not have a significant impact on the ratings; however, when combining skin tone with an ethnic identifier, participants displayed a preference. Participants were more likely to rate a target with dark skin tone and the black ethnic identifier higher than targets with light skin tone and black ethnic identifier applicants. It is possible that participants attended to the ethnic identifiers over an applicant's skin tone. Participants may associate being 'Black' with those having a dark skin tone, while being 'African-American' with those having a light skin tone. These results are contradictory to previous research in which those with a light skin tone are viewed more positively and hireable than those with a dark skin tone. (Glenn, 2008; Hill, 2002; Horace, 2011). This could point to interesting implications regarding how ethnicity is identified within job applications. When creating applications for positions, hiring managers should take care to how they phrase identifiers. For people applying for positions, the results indicate that applicants should be attentive to their chosen ethnic identifier and how this could impact perceptions. The results indicate that African-American applicants who are dark skin toned would benefit from using the 'Black' ethnic identifier and African-American applicants who are light skin toned would benefit from using the 'African-American' identifier. This conclusion is consistent with research that those with a darker skin tone are seen as more African-American (Stepanova & Strube, 2009).

However, when making a final decision of which applicants to hire (i.e. the ranking task), dark skin tone applicants were rated as being more likely to be hired (in the top ranking) than

light skin tone applicants. A possible explanation could be that participants saw the dark skin tone candidates as better suited for the job than light skin tone candidates. Another explanation is the participants could be trying to give the right answer so they overcompensate by ranking the dark skin tone applicants higher than the light skin tone applicants. These results are contradictory to previous research because those with a light skin tone are seen as more favorable than those with a dark skin tone by both African-American and Caucasian communities (Glenn, 2008; Hill, 2002). The differences in ratings (i.e. thinking the applicant can perform the job) become more apparent when analyzing the ethnicity of the participants. African-American participants were more likely to rate applicants with the African-American identifier higher than applicants with the Black ethnic identifier. This finding could be due to African-Americans identifying more with the term 'African-American' than the term 'Black'. This result is consistent with research stating that there is a social shift within the African-American community to identifying as 'African-American' as a move towards self-determination (Larkey, Hecht & Martin, 1993). However, Caucasian participants saw applicants with the 'Black' ethnic identifier as more appealing than applicants with the 'African-American' ethnic identifier. These results are inconsistent with past research because the research states that 'Black' applicants would be perceived as less desirable than 'African-American' applicants (Hall, Phillips, & Townsend, 2014).

Finally, African-American participants rated African-American applicants higher than Caucasian applicants. Similarly, Caucasian participants rated Caucasian applicants higher than African-American applicants. A possible explanation for these results is that participants saw those who look similar to them as more appealing. This finding is consistent with the research in which people prefer those who are similar in appearance, qualities and beliefs (Garcia, Posthuma

& Colella, 2008). These results imply that hiring managers should be aware of the possibility that they could be biased towards those who are dissimilar to them. This awareness could manifest as training on stereotypes and prejudices for those in corporate positions.

Interestingly, rankings were not significant in any other area other than by skin tone of the applicants. A possible explanation could be that the when comparing applicants together and having to make the final decision of whether to hire or not, participants only considered the skin tone in their conclusion. While, participants liked dark skin tone applicants with the 'Black' ethnic identifier, the main factor of the hiring decision came to the skin tone of the applicant. These results are not consistent with previous research as light skin tone applicants were ranked higher overall than dark skin tone applicants (Horace, 2011). This finding could be an indication in a shift towards positive viewings of dark skin tone within both the African-American and Caucasian communities.

Within the LDT, participants responded faster and correctly to images with a light skin tone and negative words. These results are inconsistent with previous research (Horace, 2011). The faster and correct response time shows that participants strongly associate negative words with lighter skin tones than darker skin tones and positive words. This finding is also supported by the results showing that participants responded quickly and correctly to dark skin tone and negative words. There was an implicit association in which having a dark skin tone is strongly associated with negative words. Overall, without trait type or skin tone, participants responded quickly and correctly to photos that were similar to them. African-American participants responded quickly and correctly to African-American photos and Caucasian participants responded quickly and correctly to Caucasian photos. This finding is consistent with the explicit results because participants rated those who were similar to them as higher than applicants who

were not similar. These results indicate hiring managers should be attentive to their potential biases when selecting employees.

Limitations & Future Research

A major limitation to the present study is the sample size. While the size was large enough to obtain sufficient power and significant results, a larger sample size would be beneficial to results. Also, the demographics of the sample are of concern. Many of the participants were African-American and female, so it would be beneficial to have a sample that is representative of the population. Another issue is that the participant pool was limited to the students taking General Introduction to Psychology at Auburn University at Montgomery. A more expansive sample of students from other institutions and programs could provide an accurate view of stereotypes and prejudices in hiring decisions. Finally, many of the participants did not answer the question asked of them, so there was missing data that could have impacted the results.

Future directions for this study would be to include women in the photos because the present study only had men as the applicants and the photo stimuli for the LDT. Also, it could be helpful to expand the ethnicities included in the study from beyond African-American and Caucasian to include Latino/Hispanic Americans, Asians, Native-Americans and Islanders. The inclusion of more groups would be more indicative of the actual applicant pool when making hiring decisions. While the college student demographic provides information about future hiring managers, an analysis of older individuals with hiring experience would provide information about current beliefs and attitudes. When stating their reasons for the rating of applicants, many participants stated that the applicants had similar backgrounds in terms of education and occupation. Therefore, a future direction could include applicants with and without a suitable

background for the position. Finally, many participants commented that they felt they couldn't make a decision because they couldn't interview the applicants. So, a future direction for this study could be to include actors to portray the applicants, then asking participants to make a decision.

Conclusion

Based on the results, there is still a desire to overcompensate for possible racist attitudes. However, implicit results reveal negative attitudes towards those who are not light skin toned. Also, there is still a preference for those who are similar to the self especially with making hiring decision. Therefore, while those people are likeable, they may not be hireable.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent

Concerning Participation in a Research Study
For Hiring Predispositions and Memory
Auburn University at Montgomery
Psychology Department

You are invited to participate in a study of hiring predispositions, and memory. In this study we hope to learn if memory has an effect on hiring predispositions. If you agree to take part in this study, your involvement will last no longer than 2 hours. If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to complete two parts of the study. In the first part of the study after filling out a demographics form, you will be asked to pretend that you are in charge of hiring for a bank teller position at a local bank. You will be given photos and resumes of potential job applicants to use in order to decide which candidates you would be most likely to hire. You will be asked to rate each candidate's hireability individually and then to rank all of the candidates from most to least hireable. In the second part of the study, you will be asked to complete a computerized task as well as a short questionnaire asking if you personally knew anyone used in the study. There are no known risks associated with this research. While there will be no direct benefits to you for taking part in this study other than partial course credit, it is anticipated that you will gain some educational benefit from participating in this study. At the end of the study, an explanation will be offered to you. You should gain a greater understanding of how psychological research is conducted, and types of research conducted at AUM.

You have the option not to take part in this study. There will be no penalties involved if you choose not to take part in this study. If you choose to take part, you have the right to stop at any time.

Your part in this study is anonymous. None of the information will identify you by name. All records are maintained in locked filing cabinets or secure internet servers. Anonymity will be maintained by ensuring that there is no way to connect participant's responses with their personal information. Results will be reported as an aggregation of data and there will be no way to connect individual responses with participants in any way. Upon completion of the study the informed consent and debriefing forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet.

Your decision whether to participate will not prejudice your future relations with Auburn University at Montgomery. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation at any time without penalty. If you decide later to withdraw from the study, you may also withdraw any information that has been collected about you. Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions about the study, you can contact the investigator, Dr. Clarissa Arms-Chavez, by phone (344 244-3595) or via email (cchavez@aum.edu). If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact Debra Tomblin, Research Compliance Manager, AUM, by phone (334-244-3250) or via email (dtomblin@aum.edu). We will give you a copy of this consent form to take with you.

Authorization Statement

I have read each page of this paper about the study (or it was read to me). I know that being in this study is voluntary and I choose to be in this study. I know I can stop being in this study without penalty. I will get a copy of this consent form now and can get information on results of the study later if I wish.

YOU ARE MAKING A DECISION WHETHER TO PARTICIPATE. YOUR SIGNATURE INDICATES THAT YOU HAVE DECIDED TO PARTICIPATE, HAVING READ THE INFORMATION PROVIDED ABOVE.

If you agree to this, please select if you consent below:

- ○ Yes, I consent
- ○ No, I don't consent

→

Appendix B

Input age below

Select gender identity

- Male
- Female
- Transgender
- Gender Fluid
- Intersex
- Other

Select race identification

- African-American
- Asian
- Caucasian
- Hispanic/Latino
- Native American
- Other

Select your perceived color of skin tone

- Dark
- Light
- Other

Have you ever been in charge of hiring an individual for a job before?

- Yes
- No

If yes, about how many individuals would you say you have hired?

- 1-5
- 6-10
- 11-15
- 15+
- I haven't been in charge of hiring an individual before

If yes, how long would you say you were in charge of hiring?

- Less than 1 year
- 1 year
- 2-3 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-15 years
- 15+ years
- I haven't been in charge of hiring an individual before

If yes, please rate your level of experience with hiring

- Beginner
- Intermediate
- Expert
- Other
- I haven't been in charge of hiring an individual before

Have you held a paying job before?

- Yes
- No

If yes, how long have you been in the work force? *(Please answer for total years worked, not only years worked at one particular job)*

- ○ Less than 1 year
- ○ 1 year
- ○ 2-3 years
- ○ 3-5 years
- ○ 5-10 years
- ○ 11-15 years
- ○ 16+ years
- ○ I haven't held a paying job before

Are you currently employed?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

Appendix C

Your task is to read the applications below to hire a candidate for a Bank Teller Position. After reviewing the candidates, please answer the subsequent questions.

Applicant Information	
First Name: Jacob	Last Name: Bassett
Address: 238 16th Street Montgomery, AL 36109	
Race: Black	Email: J.Bassett@aol.com

Employment History		
Company: Old Navy	From: 2005	To: 2006
Title: Sales Associate		
Company: Chase Bank	From: 2006	To: Present
Title: Bank Teller		

Education	
University: University of Rio Grande	Degree: Finance
Graduate?: Yes	Degree Type: Bachelors

Appendix D

On a scale from 1-10. How likely would you be to hire Jacob Bassett?

Not at all likely										Extremely likely
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

What caused you to give this candidate the rating that you chose? Please explain below:

→

Appendix E

List the top 2 applicants that you are most likely to hire.

List the bottom 2 applicants that you are least likely to hire.

Appendix F

First of all, the names and traits that you have learned for the photographed individuals are not necessarily true. We have no knowledge as to their true names and personalities.

Within this experiment, we were testing the effects that skin tone and ethnic identifiers had on hiring predispositions of African-American and Caucasian Candidates. As well as the presence of an African-American or Caucasian experimenter on results. You were asked to complete two different parts of the study. In the first part of the study, we measured your own outward or self-reported attitudes using the candidate rating and ranking tasks. In the second part of the study, we also measured your attitudes implicitly using a computerized Lexical Decision Task. Since the words and pictures on the screen were shown so quickly, you had to rely on your own preconceived stereotypes and biases in order to come up with a fast answer. This does not mean that you were being labeled as prejudiced or racist, but your answers simply measured which pictures (lighter or darker candidates) and words (positive or negative) your thought shared a stronger association without you having to think about it. Research has shown that such split-second reactions have been found to be much more accurate than answers given after conscious deliberation. Your participation in the current research will help us learn more about the influence of light and dark African-American and Caucasian skin tones and hiring predispositions. It will also help us to determine whether one skin tone is preferred over the other. In addition, your participation will help us better understand this largely unstudied prejudice.

It is important to remember that your data is kept completely anonymous and there will be no way for us to associate your responses with you individually. It is a part of an aggregation of data. Nonetheless, if you prefer that your data be excluded from the experiment, please notify the researcher right now.

If, at a later time, you would like more information about the topics covered in this research, or an opportunity to talk about the feelings and thoughts brought up by participating in this research, you may contact Dr. Clarissa Arms-Chavez, by phone (344 244-3595) or via email (cchavez@aum.edu).

Do you have any questions for me now? If so, please ask!

Since the true purpose of this study was masked for experimental purposes, it is your right to have your own data excluded from the analysis. If that is the case, you may notify the experimenter. Please do not share any information about this experiment with anyone else as this would drastically hurt our results!

- ○ Like a great deal
- ○ Like a moderate amount
- ○ Like a little
- ○ Neither like nor dislike
- ○ Dislike a little
- ○ Dislike a moderate amount
- ○ Dislike a great deal

If you are comfortable included your data in our analyses please indicate below

- ○ Yes, I consent to have my data included in the analysis
- ○ No, I do not consent to have my data included in the analysis

→