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The Effects of Manifest Ethnic Identification on Applicant Discrimination

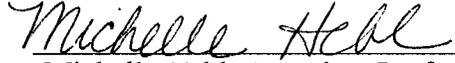
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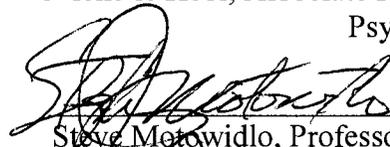
Laura Gerbasio Barron

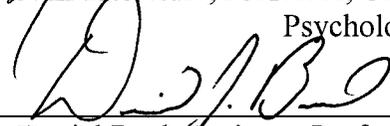
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ABSTRACT

The Effects of Manifest Ethnic Identification on Applicant Discrimination

by

Laura Gerbasio Barron

In this field experiment, Black, Hispanic, Arab, Asian, and Irish individuals applied for retail jobs with or without visible display of their ethnic identification. Applicants followed a standardized script in which they were blind to condition. Indicators of formal discrimination and interpersonal discrimination were analyzed in interactions with White, Black, and Hispanic store personnel. Contrary to hypotheses, we found that when interacting with store personnel of different races, the display of ethnic identification resulted in greater positivity and longer interactions when applicants' ethnic identification was displayed than when no ethnic identification was displayed. In contrast, for Black and Hispanic applicants, when interacting with store personnel of the same race, the display of ethnic identification resulted in lesser positivity. Implications for recruiting and selection are discussed.

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“Ethnic and Proud”: The Effects of Manifest Ethnic Identification on Applicant Discrimination

Ethnic or racial identification (also termed “centrality”) has been defined as the significance that individuals attribute to their ethnic group membership in their conceptualizations of self (Rowley, Sellers, Chavous & Smith, 1998; Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton & Smith, 1997; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998). This self-reported attitude of minority group members consistently has been shown to be related positively to self-esteem (e.g. Branscombe et al., 1999). Ironically, however, ethnic identification also has been shown to be related in a strongly positive way to perceived discrimination (e.g., Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001). That is, there seems to be a strong positive relationship between the extent to which ethnic minorities identify with their group and the extent to which they report receiving discrimination from others.

Although past research has conceptualized racial identification as attitudinal, and has focused on the attributions of minority group members as an outcome measure, such an approach is limiting. Instead, this current study investigates whether ethnic minorities who show visible signs of identifying with their ethnicity are exposed to greater levels of actual discrimination in the applicant context than those who do not show such visible signs. We investigate this by manipulating the extent to which individuals appear to identify with their ethnicity. We argue that certain physical cues that indicate individuals may identify strongly with their ethnicity may make interpersonal discrimination more likely in mixed-race interaction.

In the sections that follow, we describe (a) the conceptualization of ethnic identification as a construct that can be perceived visually, (b) how discrimination is defined and detected, and (c) the potential contributions of this study to the psychological literature, as well as the potential implications for organizations and employees.

Manifest ethnic identification

Investigation into the effects of ethnic identification on actual interpersonal treatment requires a shift in the conceptualization of ethnic identification. Eagly and Chaiken (1993) have stated that attitudes can be assessed both by behaviors and as cognitive or affective indicators. In line with this view, we propose that ethnic identification also may have a directly observable component, and we refer to this as *manifest ethnic identification*. That is, the attitudes that minority group members hold regarding how highly they identify with their race may become manifest in ways that are concretely available to those with whom one interacts. Essentially, this turns ethnic identification from an ethereal attitude, accessible only to the minority group member, to a tangible marker “displayed” to others. The most direct manifestation of ethnic identification that is under the control of the individual is likely the verbalization of one’s ethnic identity (e.g., “As a Black person, I...”) in conversation. It certainly does not seem a stretch to imagine that those who report stronger attitudes of ethnic identification would be more likely to engage in such verbal self-labeling than those who report weaker ethnic identification attitudes.

Ethnic identification also may be made manifest more indirectly, when minority group members engage in ethnicity-reinforcing behaviors. An example of this is an item in Phinney's (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure that states, "I participate in

cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs." Other researchers have utilized language preference (i.e. Spanish vs. English for Latinos) as part of their conceptualization of ethnic identity (De la Garza, Newcomb, and Myers, 1995). The reasoning here is that when the language of the mainstream culture and language of one's ethnic or racial subgroup differ, bilinguals who use the language of their ethnic group (i.e. Spanish) in situations in which they could use either language are showing greater racial identification than individuals of their ethnicity who more often use the mainstream language.

Perceivers are often naturally able to categorize others on the basis of race based on visual cues. Such cues includes skin color and facial features. Whether or not individuals would like to be identified by their racial group, their physical characteristics generally make their identification by others unavoidable. Racial categorization on the basis of physical characteristics typically occurs automatically; event-related brain potentials (ERPs) show that race is visually attended to within 100 milliseconds, often even faster than gender (see Ito & Urland, 2003). While categorization of some (i.e. White) ethnicities is more difficult on the basis of physical cues, other cues largely beyond the individual's control, such as family name, may make categorization by others unavoidable.

Manifest ethnic identification differs from natural categorization on the basis of stable physical or name cues in that manifest ethnic identification cues are under the control of the individual. Individuals themselves make their ethnic identification manifest. That is, they make their attitudes of ethnic identification known in addition to their ethnic identity. Those who join ethnic or racial clubs would likely be perceived as

manifesting ethnic identification. More indirectly, a Chinese-American individual who chooses to speak Mandarin in a situation in which he could as readily be understood in English, would likely also be perceived as manifestly showing ethnic identification.

What is of primary interest to us is what happens when identification with one's in-group also is displayed in the audience of out-group members: for example, when Hispanic bilingual coworkers speak Spanish around non-Hispanic individuals who do not, when employees listen to ethnic music out loud around coworkers not of that ethnic group, or when individuals join clubs or associations for people of their ethnicity and such membership becomes known to others.

In the current study, we operationalize manifest ethnic identification using caps with a message that identifies minority group members as belonging to their ethnic group (i.e. "Asian Student Association" or "Asian and proud"). Because we predicted that this latter message might be construed as activism among some minority groups ("Black and Proud") but not others ("Asian and Proud"), we pretested the perceived attributions to such manifest racial identification.

"Leakage" and the detection of discrimination

Due in part to legislation such as the Civil Rights Act and changing social norms that have made formal discrimination against racial groups illegal, overt prejudice and overt forms of discrimination have declined significantly over the past 40 years (see Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). However, where discrimination has continued to exist is in the subtleties of interpersonal interactions. Write Hebl, Foster, Mannix, and Dovidio (2002, p. 816), "There are no laws against interpersonal discrimination: A person cannot

be arrested or formally reprimanded for glaring at a [stigmatized group member]. Similarly, there are no mandates on the number of words one must speak or the amount of smiling one must do to people on the basis of their [stigmatized group status].” As such, although formal discrimination may be rare, interpersonal discrimination in mixed-race interactions may still be common, and, we suggest, may be fueled or exacerbated by manifest ethnic identification.

In fact, manifest ethnic identification may be increasingly common precisely because formal discrimination has declined. That is, if minority group members expected to be targets of formal discrimination, all but the most activist of individuals would pragmatically be very reluctant to underscore their group membership through conversation or appearance. Instead, faced with only subtle and nonverbal discrimination that does not make for clear-cut legal evidence, there may be much variability in manifest ethnic identification in mixed-race interactions.

Crandall and Eshleman’s (2003) model of the expression of prejudice suggests that genuine prejudice exists in the form of implicit negative attitudes on the basis of individual’s group membership, but that typically this genuine prejudice is suppressed. Under suppression, although formal prejudice is kept hidden, discrimination may “leak out” in the form of subtle nonverbal behavior that is often not under conscious control. Dovidio, Kawakami, and Gaertner (2002) show that more subtle non-verbal behavior are unrelated to explicitly expressed racial attitudes (as such formal declarations are tightly controlled), though the implicit reaction time differences that better tap genuine prejudice per se are highly related to nonverbal discrimination. Most relevantly for our study, White interviewers have been shown to sit farther away and cut the interview short when

interviewing a confederate Black applicant than when interviewing a White one (Word, Zanna, & Cooper, 1974).

So that individuals can maintain feelings of egalitarianism, prejudice only ceases to be suppressed when one can rationalize the prejudice (e.g., based on past experience with stereotype-consistent group member). Because employers are aware of legal protection against employment discrimination on the basis of race or national origin, we expect most discrimination to come in the form of leakage, rather than in formal discrimination. If anything, this should be particularly true when minority group members manifest ethnic identification. Such manifest ethnic identification may make employers especially attune to legal and societal pressures to be seen as egalitarian, thus making formal discrimination rarer, but leakage even more likely.

We note that leakage is most likely to occur when cognitive resources are taxed cognitively or emotionally. Many researchers have documented that when a stereotype is activated, adding a complex cognitive task enhances stereotype-consistent responses (e.g. Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Macrae, Hewstone, & Griffiths, 1993). Further, as the Word, et al. (1974) study highlights, interacting with a member of a minority group applicant is itself cognitively taxing for White individuals: the study shows greater speech errors when White individuals interview a Black than White applicant. Thus, manifest ethnic identification may create a double problem. First, such ethnic identification may make stereotypes more strongly accessible, requiring more effort for stereotypes to be overcome. That is, not only is race categorized automatically, but it is reinforced through additional ethnic identification cues that are under the control of the individual. Second, when majority members interact with minorities who manifest ethnic identification, this

may be seen as targeted at majority group members, and this may make majority members more emotionally and cognitively taxed. As such, manifest ethnic identification may create a situation in which majority group members are less able to expend mental effort to work against ethnic stereotypes.

The latter proposed mechanism is essentially an extension of stereotype threat (i.e. apprehension experienced by members of a group who feel they might perform in a manner that is consistent with a negative stereotype, especially one that is self-relevant) (Steele, 1997) to majority group members concerned about appearing prejudiced. As such, interacting with someone of a minority group who manifestly asserts his ethnic identification may invoke apprehension and undermine the ability of concerned majority group members to “pass” a test of racism. Indeed, in line with this, Frantz, Cuddy, Burnett, Ray, and Hart (2004) have shown that White individuals told that an Implicit Association Test (IAT, Greenwald et al., 1998) measures prejudice show greater pro-White bias than those told it measures knowledge or brain lateralization. Most relevantly, among those told that that the IAT measures racial preference, pro-White bias was minimized when participants were told that the chances of exhibiting pro-White preference were relatively small. Thus, applied to an interracial interaction, White individuals concerned about appearing prejudiced, may experience more threat when their conversation partner manifests additional racial cues, especially when such display is perceived as having a confrontational activism component. Devine, Evett, and Vasquez-Sason (1996) have shown similar findings for interpersonal discrimination, such that when White individuals low in dispositional prejudice fear being perceived as prejudiced, their anxious nonverbal behavior appears to suggest prejudiced attitudes.

Contributions of the proposed study

As noted previously, studies of several racial and ethnic minorities have converged in showing that the more individuals identify with their group, the more they report having experienced prejudice (e.g., Black individuals: Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001; Jewish individuals: Dion & Earn, 1975, Rollins, 1973; Hispanic individuals: Chavira & Phinney, 1991). The mechanism for this relationship, however, has been disputed.

Two basic mechanisms for the relationship between racial identification and perceived discrimination have been theorized: (a) that highly identified individuals might be more sensitive to intergroup inequalities and thus, may be more willing to label negative incidents as prejudice, and (b) that attributions to discrimination strengthen minority group identification. Although the use of structural equation modeling by Branscombe et al. (1999) found a significant path from attributions of discrimination to racial identification after controlling for the path in the opposite direction (and the converse did not hold), such findings in support of mechanism (b) are the exception. Two studies (Operario & Fiske, 2001, Study 2; Shelton & Sellers, 2000) have manipulated actual or hypothetical interracial interactions, exposing ethnic minorities who vary in their level of racial identification to White individuals who display standardized, though ambiguous behaviors. Such studies support interpretation (a) that the more racially identified individuals are, the more likely they are to label negative incidents as prejudice. However, even the authors of these studies acknowledge that this mechanism is unlikely to fully explain the relationship between racial identification and perceptions of racial discrimination (see Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1080).

While many may be concerned about perceived discrimination rather than actual discrimination per se (i.e. many individuals may care mostly about complaints of discrimination), we believe that the relationship between racial identification and perceived discrimination cannot be fully understood absent study of how racial identification relates to actual discrimination. In other words, what has been missing in the literature is investigation of a third mechanism in explaining the relationship between racial identification and perceptions of prejudice, namely (c) that greater racial identification may cause greater actual discrimination in interracial interactions. In a sense, this study aims to extend Kaiser and Miller's (2001) contention that voicing discrimination is associated with social costs for minorities-- here we explore whether giving "voice" to ethnic identification is sufficient to result in greater social costs than would be present were ethnicity only implied by physical characteristics.

The methodology for the current study is borrowed, in large part, from Hebl, Foster, Mannix, and Dovidio (2002), a field study that aimed to investigate interpersonal discrimination toward gay and lesbian job applicants. Because homosexuality is an invisible stigma, in order to manipulate perceived homosexuality, the authors had individuals apply for retail jobs while wearing caps with either the message "Gay and Proud" (gay) or "Texan and Proud" (presumably straight, and not stigmatized in Texas where the study was conducted). Greater interpersonal discrimination was found towards those portrayed as gay and lesbian, however critics of the study have suggested that some of the interpersonal discrimination towards individuals portrayed as gay and lesbian may be due to the manifest expression of group identification rather than group membership per se. Because one's race and ethnicity, unlike homosexuality, can be easily deduced

from physical cues and given name, this current study will allow us to disentangle the effects of race and ethnicity per se from those due to manifest ethnic identification.

We have spoken to some researchers who question whether interpersonal discrimination as it has been defined in the literature ought to be a matter of concern to organizations at all. After all, as we have stated, formal discrimination is what is most unambiguously detectable as driven by race, and thus formal discrimination is what ought most to worry organizations from a strictly legal perspective. That said, as Valian (2000) has written, the smaller more subtle “molehills” of difference become “mountains” of disadvantage to targets over time. When minority group members are continually met with greater negativity than they see directed towards their majority group co-workers, they may become more apt to perceive formal discrimination in salary negotiations, promotional opportunities, and termination. As a result, minority group members who are repeatedly met with interpersonal discrimination may seek legal relief where before they may have given their organization the benefit of the doubt.

Furthermore, beyond legal concerns, one can articulate a business case argument for the costs associated with the negative interpersonal treatment of minorities. Many authors maintain that because an increasing proportion of consumers and other relevant stakeholders are members of racial minorities, organizations can gain access and legitimacy to more markets by being culturally and demographically similar to stakeholders. Versions of this argument maintain that a diversity in the workforce is valued by consumers in and of itself (Wright, Ferris, Hiller, & Kroll, 1995), that mirroring the marketplace enhances marketing capability (Cox & Blake, 1991; Cox,

1994) or that a diverse workforce fosters better understanding of the needs and preferences of diverse consumers (Nkomo & Kossek, 2000).

More directly, Cox and Blake (1991) have theorized that an inhospitable environment for women and minority group members may translate into negative organizational outcomes such as increased turnover and absenteeism by members of these groups. This notion has received some empirical support, with King, Hebl, George, and Matusik (2006) finding that the extent to which women perceive their organization as maintaining an inequitable climate is positively related not only to their job satisfaction and job stress, but also to intentions to leave, and organizational helping behaviors. Paralleling the findings for stigmatized customers studied in King, Shapiro, Singletary, and Turner (2007), for stigmatized applicants and employees also, greater interpersonal discrimination may be related to less likely intentions to return, and less likely intentions to contribute to the organization (i.e. for customers: make purchases). Most directly, interpersonal discrimination has even been linked to actual performance, at least in the applicant setting. In the classic Word, Zanna, and Cooper (1974) experiment, when White participants were subjected to the same interpersonal behaviors that had been directed toward black applicants (i.e. wider interpersonal distance, shorter interview duration), applicants were more nervous and performed less well than those not subjected to the behaviors.

Essentially, the extant findings that minority members with stronger attitudes of ethnic identification perceive the same interracial interactions as more discriminatory offer little suggestion as to how organizations might decrease employees' perceived discrimination. That is, by law, organizations cannot select or train on attitudes of ethnic

identification. However, if manifest ethnic identification behaviors in interracial interactions at work do lead to greater actual interpersonal discrimination, this may have important implications for the policies organizations choose to set. For example, by setting standardized dress codes, guidelines in the decoration of workspaces, or requirements that all music to be listened to on individual headphones, interpersonal discrimination due to overt racial/ ethnic identification may be minimized, and perceptions of discrimination may be reduced to the extent that such policies are enforced in an egalitarian manner (e.g. White individuals in jeans would need to receive the same reprimand for dress code violation as minorities in ethnic clothing; those listening to European classical music on speakers would need to receive the same reprimand as those listening to traditional ethnic music).

Further, the most important potential implication, if ethnic identification behaviors affect actual interpersonal discrimination, is for minority employees themselves. Minority employees may be able to modify their behavioral ethnic identification in mixed-race interactions to great benefit, absent any necessary attitudinal change in their private racial identification. We are certainly not claiming that without manifest ethnic identification interpersonal discrimination would cease to exist. However, if overtly expressing ethnic identification only exaggerates this tendency further, minority employees may well wish to alter such expression in mixed-race interactions.

Current Study

In the current study, we compare observable interpersonal treatment towards members of five ethnic minorities (Black, Hispanic, Arab, Asian, and Irish) who apply for jobs when they do and do not manifest controllable racial identification cues. Male

and female college-age confederates of the five ethnicities applied for jobs at retail stores. The store managers with whom they interacted were unaware that a research study was taking place. Manifest ethnic identification was manipulated by having confederates wear one of three hats. In the control condition, confederates wore a blank cap. In the manifest ethnic identification conditions confederates wore a cap with a message identifying them as belonging to their respective racial group's student association (i.e. "Black Student Association," "Hispanic Student Association," "Arab Student Association," "Asian Student Association" or "Irish Student Association") or a cap that expresses pride in their respective racial group (i.e. "Black and Proud," "Hispanic and Proud," "Arab and Proud," "Asian and Proud," or "Irish and Proud"). Because we are sensitive to the delicate interactions of the parties involved in any dyadic interaction, we use a paradigm in which we manipulated racial identification while keeping racial minority job applicants blind to condition, thus minimizing expectancy biases.

As we have stated, racial identification and perceptions of activism do not exist in a vacuum, but rather in a larger social and political context. We theorize that because racial messages are interpreted in the context of the larger cultural and political awareness of perceivers how racial identification messages are interpreted will vary based on group status and the particular nature of stereotypes of the particular group. For instance, when Arab individuals proclaim pride in their ethnicity, in the post-September 11th United States, this may prompt associations with religiously-motivated terrorism. As such, racial identification may really be seen as religious identification, and perceived activism may be seen as activism in the spreading of religion. Although the research on American discrimination against Arabs is sparse, a recent study suggests that

in the work context when criteria are more ambiguous and discrimination is harder to detect, Americans more negatively evaluate those presented as Muslims than those presented as Christians or Jews (Bennet-AbuAyyash & Esses, 2007). Furthermore, a study of college-age male Arab-Americans revealed a decline in the employment rate and average earnings in the post 9/11 U.S. labor market (Rabby, 2006).

When Hispanic individuals proclaim pride in their ethnicity, at least in the heavily Mexican border state of Texas, racial identification may be interpreted in the context of immigrants “stealing jobs” or fundamentally changing U.S. culture (i.e. in the county in which the study will be conducted the percentage of Hispanic individuals has risen from 6% in 1960 to 38% in 2005). When Black individuals proclaim pride, this may call to mind associations with the Black Panther Party (at least as originally formed) that called for armed resistance to Black oppression.

Formal and interpersonal discrimination against both of these ethnic groups has been documented in large-scale “hiring audit” studies in major U.S. cities, in which Black and White (Turner, Fix, & Struyk, 1991), or Hispanic and White (Cross, Kenney, Mell, & Zimmerman, 1990) applicants have applied for the same jobs after having been equipped with the same fictitious work histories, and having been extensively trained on how to answer interview questions in the same standardized manner. Formal discrimination relative to Whites has also been found in resume studies in which resume content is matched and fictitious individuals with Black and Hispanic names are evaluated less favorably (e.g., King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, & Mendoza, 2006), and are less likely to be contacted by real employers (Blacks: Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004).

In contrast to the negative and confrontational or violent associations of majority group members to Arab, Hispanic, and Black expressions of racial identification, the expression of pride in being Asian may be seen both positively and negatively. Like stereotypes of Jews and non-traditional women, stereotypes of Asian individuals are of the envious variety: they are respected for their competence, but disliked for lacking warmth (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999). In fact, in a recent resume study that manipulated applicant names, the White participants showed negative bias against those with Black names, but Asian American applicants actually received a boost in ratings relative to those with a White name (King, Madera, Hebl, Knight, & Mendoza, 2006). Thus while the expression of group identification may increase interpersonal dislike, we would not expect even high levels of racial identification to be perceived as racially activist, at least to the same extent as other minority groups studied here. As “model” minorities respected for their competence, they have largely “made it” in the mainstream. Because of questions over the exact perceptions of others towards the racial cues used in the study, we pretested the racial messages manifested by each group to ensure that our chosen manipulations represented greater levels of perceived racial identification than the control condition.

We make the following overall hypotheses:

H1: There will be greater interpersonal discrimination in mixed-race interactions with Black, Hispanic, Arab, and Asian job applicants who manifest racial identification than in interactions with applicants whose ethnicity is only implied by physical characteristics.

H2: The level of manifest ethnic identification will be more strongly positively related to interpersonal discrimination than to formal discrimination.

H3: Manifest ethnic identification will have a greater effect on U.S. ethnic groups that have experienced greater discrimination in their recent history (Blacks, Hispanics, and Arabs) than on groups that have not (Asians and Irish).

Manipulation check

Design and procedures

To test the extent to which our manipulations affected perceptions of ethnic identification and activism we employed a mixed 3 (cap: blank, “___ Student Association,” or “_____ and Proud”; within-Ss) x 4 (race: Black, Hispanic, Arab, or Asian; between-Ss) design. Thirty-four White undergraduate students were asked to indicate the extent to which our three conditions were perceived to express racial identification and racial activism when worn by male and female members of the four races included in our study. Students completed the survey in exchange for course extra credit. Although students of other races also completed the survey, sample sizes of other races were too small to permit analysis. Of the White students, 58.8% were female.

Participants were told to take on the perspective of a manager at a retail store in a Houston shopping mall, and to imagine that a college age person comes into “their” store and asks to fill out an application for a job. Participants made ratings on the basis of three sets of information: (a) the applicant is of a specified race and gender, (b) the applicant is

of a specified race and gender and wears a cap with the minority group student association message (e.g., “Arab Student Association), and (c) the applicant is of a specified race and gender, and wears a cap with the message expressing pride in his or her respective racial group (e.g., “Arab and Proud”).

Dependent measures

Private ethnic group identification. We measured private ethnic group identification using Phinney’s (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. The 14-item measure includes items such as “I feel a strong attachment towards my ethnic group” and “I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.” To avoid confusion, we substituted the relevant ethnic group (Black, Hispanic, Arab, or Asian), and rephrased the items as “This person feels...” Alpha ranged from .93 to .94 for the three different conditions computed separately.

In-group public racial group identification. This was identical to the previously described measure, except that “This person wants other people of his race to know that” was added to the beginning of each stem, i.e. “This person wants other people of his race to know that he feels a strong attachment towards his ethnic group.” Alpha ranged from .96 to .98 for the three different conditions computed separately.

Out-group public racial group identification. This was identical to the measure above, except that “This person wants other people of his race to know that” was changed to “This person wants people of other races to know that.” For example, “This person wants people of other races to know that he feels a strong attachment towards his ethnic group.” Alpha ranged from .95 to .98 for the three different conditions computed separately.

Racial activism. We created a 24 item measure of racial activism, designed to tap three (8 item) components: working for group benefits, working against assimilation, and confronting discrimination and prejudice (see Appendix). Exploratory principal components analysis revealed a differential component structure depending on the condition (i.e. the cap). However, in all cases, all 24 items loaded highly and positively on the first component, which is interpretable as racial activism. Scale reliability analysis indicated, however, that inter-item reliability was improved when the eight items addressing working against assimilation were removed from analysis (i.e. group differentiation was not seen as integral to racial activism). Hence, racial activism was computed as a mean of the 16 remaining items. Subsequent alpha ranged from .96 to .97 for the three different conditions computed separately.

Manipulation check results

Across races and genders, condition (hat) had a significant effect on all four perceived attitudes tested [$F(2, 66) = 89.76, p < .001$; $F(2, 66) = 75.04, p < .001$; $F(2, 64) = 52.71, p < .001$; and $F(2, 66) = 34.19, p < .001$, for self-directed ethnic identification, in-group-directed ethnic identification, out-group-directed ethnic identification, and racial activism, respectively]. Furthermore, no consistent interaction effects involving the caps emerged, indicating that our manipulation generally impacted perceptions of identification and activism equivalently for all races and both genders included in our study.

We had initially attempted to create conditions that expressed three different levels of racial identification and activism. Our results indicate that although both hats with written text expressed far greater levels of racial identification and activism than

blank hats, the differences between the “_____ Student Association” and the “_____ and Proud” hats were minimal. Paired-sample t-tests indicated no significant difference between the racial activism expressed by the two hats with written text. Although paired-sample t-tests did indicate that “_____ and Proud” hats expressed greater levels of ethnic identification than “_____ Student Association” hats, the effect sizes were not substantial. Specifically, Cohen’s *d* effect sizes (See Table 1) indicate very large effect sizes when the blank hats are compared to the hats with written text, but only small to medium effects when “_____ and Proud” and “_____ Student Association” hats are compared.

In light of these findings, we nonetheless chose to retain the three hat conditions in our study to permit generalizability of the effects of perceived racial identification and activism on applicant discrimination. That is, both hats expressed substantial racial identification and activism relative to the blank hat, and the inclusion of both hats allowed for greater confidence that effects found were due to perceived racial identification and activism rather than something unique to a single particular message.

Main study

Participants and procedure

One male and one female undergraduate student of each of the five different ethnicities (Black, Hispanic, Arab, Asian, and Irish) served as job applicants. Students all had a common American first name, but an “ethnic” last name. To reduce possible ambiguity in distinguishing ethnicity from physical appearance (e.g., distinguishing Hispanic from Arab ethnicity, or distinguishing Irish ethnicity from other White ethnic

groups), participants introduced themselves by full name upon initially meeting store personnel (e.g., “John Rodriguez” vs. “John Khalid” vs. “John O’Reilly”). Students represented themselves truthfully, providing their own name and own education and work history during the application process. In this sense, each student served as his or her own control, entering approximately 10 stores (approximately 30 stores total) while wearing each of the three hats (blank, “___ Student Association,” or “_____ and Proud”).

Within a week prior to each study trial, the first author contacted store personnel by phone by to ask if they were currently hiring. For the current research, we used only those stores that indicated that they were hiring (62.2%), or that indicated that they were accepting applications and did not indicate that they were not currently hiring (37.8%). To avoid suspicions on the part of store management, and to avoid dependencies in our data, only one participant entered any given store.

In total, applicants entered 340 stores in nine shopping malls in the Houston metropolitan area and attempted to secure a job. Of these interactions, approximately 80% directly interacted with store managers. Given the diversity of the area, the store personnel that applicants interacted with was 52.5% White, 20.3% Hispanic, 18.8% Black, 5.4% East Asian, and 0.9% Arab.

Although participants entered over 300 stores (and survey data is available for these stores), we discovered several malfunctions had occurred with the audio recorders, during the trials of the Black female, Hispanic female, Asian female, and Irish male applicants. To help compensate, the Black female applicant applied at an additional 16 stores, and the Irish male applied at an additional nine stores. The same Hispanic female was not

available when we found out about her unintelligible audio, and so a different Hispanic female interacted at an additional 16 stores.

To enhance generalizability beyond the Houston metropolitan area, all included stores were chains, most of which are well-known national or international chains. We did not include stores in which observers could not browse freely without drawing attention from store personnel (e.g., high-end jewelry stores), and stores with a separate on-site human resources department (department stores). Of the included shops, 30.8% targeted women or girls only, 9.7% targeted kids of both sexes, and 59.5% targeted adults of both sexes. To avoid discomfort on the part of male applicants, no male applicants were assigned to apply at maternity or women's lingerie stores. Male applicants did, however, apply at other (clothing) stores that targeted female customers exclusively. With this caveat aside, stores were assigned randomly to applicants, and conditions were assigned randomly to stores.

The students were not aware which hat they are wearing. They were told to avoid looking in mirrors to prevent their expectations from creating realities. Participants were asked to report whether they saw the hat before or during an interaction. If participants reported seeing their reflection during a trial, data from that trial was dropped from analyses. In three cases, the applicant saw the hat during the trial. In an additional two cases, store personnel commented specifically about the hat. Thus, data from these five cases were dropped.

Participants carried an audiotape that remained hidden and they recorded each interaction. They also followed a memorized, standardized script, which they rehearsed in simulated interactions beforehand. In the script, they ask to speak with the person in

charge, introduce themselves upon meeting the person in charge, and ask (a) "Are you currently hiring?" (b) "Could I fill out an application?" (c) "What sorts of things would I be doing if I worked here?" and (d) "How do you like working here?" The first two questions were intended to establish the participant as a job applicant, while the latter two were intended to extend the duration and depth of the interpersonal interaction, allowing for an assessment of interpersonal discrimination based on conversation length, number of words exchanged, and employer positivity/negativity.

All interactions were observed by an additional participant "observer" who entered each store before the applicant and busied himself/ herself in looking at merchandise. When the applicant entered the store, the observer watched the interaction as covertly as possible. After each interaction, both applicant and observer departed the store and returned to a central base in a mall area, where they completed questionnaires that assessed the interpersonal behaviors of the employee and the race of store personnel. A total of 12 different observers (all students or recent graduates) were used, including five men, and eight White, one Asian, and three Hispanic individuals. In all cases, the ethnicity of the observer was different from that of the applicant.

Dependent measures

Formal discrimination. We measured this construct as (a) statements of job availability that differed from information obtained over the phone, (b) permission granted in-person to complete a job application that differed from information obtained over the phone, and (c) interview scheduling, in the form of an on-the-spot interview, an on-the-spot interview appointment, or callback to schedule an interview.

Conversation length. After audiotapes were transcribed, this was assessed as (a)

length of interaction with the store manager (time to find and complete application was excluded), and (b) total number of words spoken by store manager. We also coded total number of words spoken by applicant. Both of these measures were highly positively skewed. We therefore took the base ten logarithm of each measure for use in analysis.

Positivity and negativity. This was assessed by (a) applicant perceptions of nonverbal and overall positivity and negativity, as well as interest in the applicant as a job candidate, and (b) confederate observer perceptions of the same.

Nonverbal behaviors. Applicants and observers indicated on 7-point Likert-type scales the extent (0 = "not at all" to 6 = "very much") to which the store manager or associate (a) "nodded," (b) "made eye contact," (c) "stood close," and (d) "smiled," as well as (e) "leaned away," (f) "furrowed their brow," and (g) "pursed their lips." A principal components analysis of applicant ratings revealed two factors interpretable as positive and negative nonverbal behaviors. Nonverbal positivity accounted for 55.90% of variance (Eigenvalue = 3.91), and nonverbal negativity accounted for an additional 18.38% of variance (Eigenvalue = 1.29). With varimax rotation, loadings of the four positive nonverbals on the first factor ranged from .81 to .93. Loadings of the three negative nonverbals on the second factor ranged from .73 to .93. Principal component analysis of observer ratings reproduced the two factor structure, with nonverbal positivity accounting for 42.88% of variance (Eigenvalue = 3.00), and nonverbal negativity accounting for 27.80% of variance (Eigenvalue = 1.95). Loadings of the four positive nonverbals on the first factor ranged from .78 to .87, and loadings of the three negative nonverbals on the second factor ranged from .71 to .91. The four-item nonverbal positivity scale showed alpha of .88 for applicant ratings, and alpha of .83 for observers.

The three-item nonverbal negativity scale showed alpha of .84 for applicants and alpha of .80 for observers.

Overall positivity and negativity. Applicants and observers indicated the extent to which store personnel were (a) "friendly," (b) "helpful," (c) "comfortable," and (d) "enthusiastic," as well as (e) "rude," (f) "hostile," (g) "awkward," and (h) "attempted to end the interaction prematurely."

Principal components analysis of observer ratings revealed two factors, that accounted for 51.51% (Eigenvalue = 4.12) and 19.23% of variance (Eigenvalue = 1.54), and which were interpretable as positive and negative overall impressions, respectively. With varimax rotation, loadings of the four positive impressions on the first factor ranged from .82 to .87; loadings of the four negative impressions on the second factor ranged from .66 to .87. A composite of the four positive impressions had an alpha of .63, which could be improved to .86 with the deletion of enthusiastic. Hence, enthusiastic was removed from the scale. The composite of the four negative impressions had an alpha of .77.

However, principal components of applicant ratings analysis revealed a single factor that accounted for 65.28% of variance (Eigenvalue = 5.22). Factor loadings ranged from .65 to .90. Nevertheless, to allow for direct comparability of applicant and observer ratings on the same types of ratings, positive and negative scales were created separately. The composite of the four positive impressions had an alpha of .93; deletion of enthusiasm resulted in an alpha of .91. The composite of the four negative impressions had an alpha of .81.

Inter-rater (i.e. applicant-observer) reliabilities were generally high: .65 for nonverbal behavior, .57 for overall positivity, .51 for overall negativity, and .56 for a single-item measure of interest in the applicant as a job candidate. However, inter-rater reliability of negative nonverbal behaviors was poor (.30), and was excluded from overall analyses of positivity/negativity.

Measured "nuisance" variables. We additionally collected a number of applicant, store personnel, and store variables to ensure that these were not affecting our results. We recorded applicant gender, applicant race, personnel gender, personnel race, personnel managerial status, female store type, store crowdedness, phone indication of hiring status, and whether hiring signs were posted. We obtained both applicant and observer ratings of personnel race, store crowdedness, and signs posted.

Results

Preliminary analysis: Applicant condition guesses. A major strength of our methodology is that applicants remain blind to condition. That is, they did not see which of the three hats they were wearing. Nevertheless, we sought to ensure that applicants were not readily able to guess which hat they were wearing. Thus, we asked applicants after some of the interactions to indicate a guess as to which hat they were wearing. Overall, the correlation between actually wearing the manifest ethnic identification hats and guessing that one was wearing the manifest ethnic identification hats was quite small. We do note, however, that, in contrast to the other ethnic groups, the Arab applicant was quite accurate in guessing which hat she was wearing, which may have affected the results for Arab applicants. Correlations between condition and condition guess, by

ethnicity appear in Table 2.

Preliminary analysis: Applicant “hypotheses.” All applicants were kept blind to researchers’ hypotheses. However, applicants did know the three types of caps that they might be wearing, and we suspected that applicants might generate their own implicit hypotheses as to the effects of hat type in interactions with managers of other races. Although the effects were not extremely large, guessing that they were wearing a manifest ethnic identification cap was significantly positively correlated with overall negativity ($r = .23, p = .011$), and significantly negatively correlated with overall positivity and nonverbal positivity ($r_s = -.25$ and $-.21, p_s = .006$ and $.023$). That is, applicants guessed that they were wearing the manifest ethnic identification caps when they had perceived less positive interpersonal treatment during mixed-race interactions. Stated differently, it was the applicants’ implicit hypothesis (as well as the authors’ explicit hypothesis) that managers would treat applicants of a different race less favorably when applicants displayed manifest ethnic identification.

Main Analyses

Our first hypothesis (H1) stated that, across ethnic groups, manifest ethnic identification would lead to more negative interpersonal treatment in interactions with store personnel of other races. Interpersonal treatment was operationalized in terms of both quality (ratings of treatment) and quantity (extent of interaction).

Overview of data analytic strategy. Because our interest was in explaining differences in behavior of store personnel, rather than solely applicant perceptions, we collected both applicant and observer ratings of the behavior of store personnel. In analyses, we treated rating perspective (applicant vs. observer) as a within-subject (i.e.

within-store manager) variable, and condition (manifest ethnic identification vs. none) as a between-subject (i.e. between store managers) variable. Thus we conducted analyses using three mixed-design ANOVAs: with (a) overall negative impressions of interpersonal treatment, (b) overall positive impressions of interpersonal treatment, and (c) positive nonverbal behaviors as the respective dependent variables. We then followed up these analyses with analysis of the specific items that made up these three composites, to gain a more fine-grained understanding of the consequences of manifest identification.

Because of our interest in explaining differences in behavior of store personnel, we also examined two objective indicators of interpersonal treatment: length of interaction, and number of words spoken by store manager. We conducted a MANOVA with both as dependent variables, and then ran two univariate ANOVAs separately. Additionally, we ran two ANCOVAs in which we controlled for number of words spoken by the applicant.

Interpersonal treatment quality: Overall Negativity. We found a marginally significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on negativity towards applicants: $F(1, 253) = 3.07, p = .08, \eta^2 = .01$. However, the direction of the effect was opposite what we had hypothesized. Results indicated that store personnel were rated as showing less negativity when ethnic minority applicants manifested identification ("___ Student Association" or "___ and Proud) relative to when they did not. Although overall, applicants ratings indicated more negative treatment than observer ratings [$F(1, 253) = 19.30, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$], there was no interaction between rating perspective and manifest identification. That is, the same pattern of less negative treatment towards

applicants wearing the manifest identification hats relative to blank hats was found regardless of perspective.

Additionally, we ensured that the effect of manifest identification on personnel negativity was not be explained away by other nuisance variables. We tested the effects of personnel race, gender, and managerial status; applicant race and gender; store type, crowdedness, and telephone indication of current hiring status. Though applicant race and phone hiring indication affected personnel negativity, controlling for their effects, there was still the same marginally significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on personnel negativity: $F(1, 251) = 3.30, p = .07, \eta^2 = .01$.

To examine what variables might be driving the overall effect, we conducted univariate analyses of all of the individual items that made up the negativity scale. Of the 4 items (rudeness, hostility, awkwardness, and trying to prematurely end the interaction) that made up that negativity composite, only a significant effect was shown for awkwardness: $F(1, 251) = 5.14, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$. Store personnel were evaluated as less awkward in their interactions with ethnic minority applicants when applicants manifested ethnic identification relative to when they did not. The same pattern was found regardless of perspective, and the effect remained significant when applicant race and phone hiring indication were controlled for: $F(1, 249) = 5.71, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$.

Interpersonal treatment quality: Overall Positivity. We also found a significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on positivity towards applicants: $F(1, 253) = 4.72, p = .03, \eta^2 = .02$. Again, the direction of the effect was opposite what we had hypothesized. Results indicated that store personnel were rated as showing more positivity when ethnic minority applicants manifested identification relative to when they

did not. There was no effect of rating perspective (applicant or observer) on positivity or, most importantly, the positivity by ethnic identification interaction. That is, the same pattern of more positive treatment towards applicants wearing the manifest identification hats relative to blank hats was found regardless of perspective.

Again we ensured that the effect of manifest identification on personnel positivity was not explained away by other nuisance variables (those listed previously). Though personnel managerial status affected positivity, when controlling for it, the effect of manifest ethnic identification on personnel positivity remained marginally significant: $F(1, 252) = 3.87, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$.

Of the 3 items (friendliness, helpfulness, and comfort) that made up the positivity composite, significant effects were found for friendliness [$F(1, 253) = 4.80, p = .03, \eta^2 = .02$], and helpfulness [$F(1, 251) = 5.40, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$], but not comfort. Store personnel were evaluated as more friendly and more helpful in their interactions with ethnic minority applicants when applicants manifested ethnic identification relative to when they did not. Although not included in the positivity composite, we also found a significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on enthusiasm: $F(1, 252) = 8.53, p = .004, \eta^2 = .03$. The same pattern was found regardless of perspective, and the effects for friendliness, helpfulness, and enthusiasm remained significant when personnel managerial status was controlled for: $F(1, 252) = 4.07, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$, $F(1, 250) = 4.50, p = .04, \eta^2 = .02$, and $F(1, 251) = 6.64, p = .011, \eta^2 = .03$.

Interpersonal treatment quality: Nonverbal Positivity. We also found a significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on positivity towards applicants: $F(1, 253) = 6.88, p = .009, \eta^2 = .03$. Again, the direction of the effect was opposite what we had

hypothesized. Results indicated that store personnel were rated as showing more nonverbal positivity when ethnic minority applicants manifested identification relative to when they did not.

Although overall, applicants ratings indicated less positive nonverbal treatment than observer ratings [$F(1, 253) = 7.45, p = .007, \eta^2 = .03$], there was no significant interaction between rating perspective and manifest identification. More positive nonverbal treatment towards applicants wearing the manifest identification hats relative to blank hats was found regardless of perspective.

Again we ensured that the effect of manifest identification on personnel positivity was not explained away by other nuisance variables. Though personnel managerial status affected nonverbal positive behaviors, controlling for it, the effect of manifest ethnic identification on personnel positivity remained significant: $F(1, 252) = 5.72, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$.

We additionally conducted follow-up analyses of the 4 specific items that made up the nonverbal positive behavior composite. Of the four items (smiling, nodding, eye contact, and standing close), significant effects were found for smiling [$F(1, 253) = 8.49, p = .004, \eta^2 = .03$], and nodding [$F(1, 253) = 8.90, p = .003, \eta^2 = .03$]. The same pattern was found regardless of perspective, and the effects of manifest ethnic identification on smiling and nodding, remained significant when personnel managerial status was controlled for: $F(1, 252) = 7.59, p = .006, \eta^2 = .03, F(1, 252) = 7.89, p = .005, \eta^2 = .03$.

Interpersonal treatment quantity. Of the nuisance variables discussed previously,

applicant gender and store crowdedness significantly affected the extent of interaction. Controlling for applicant gender and store crowdedness, we ran a MANCOVA with interaction length and number of words spoken by store personnel as dependent variables. There was a marginally significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on extent of interaction: $F(2, 134) = 2.38, p = .097$. That is, the extent to which store personnel spoke to ethnic minority applicants was greater when applicants displayed manifest identification hats relative to when they did not. When univariate analyses were run, we found a significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on total interaction length: $F(1, 135) = 4.52, p = .04$, but no significant effect on number of words spoken by personnel: $F(1, 135) = 2.22, p = .14$.

The effect of manifest ethnic identification on total interaction length disappears however when number of words spoken by the applicant is controlled for: $F(1, 141) = 1.04, p > .10, \eta^2 = .01$. However, given that applicants were kept blind to condition, and were generally poor at guessing their condition, we do not believe the lack of an unmediated effect on personnel interaction length to be a major caveat. In our paradigm, it is only the personnel who have access to whether manifest ethnic identification is being displayed. Thus, the findings suggest that it is the store personnel, and not the applicants, who engender more overall conversation when applicants manifest ethnic identification.

In summary then, not only was our first hypothesis (H1) not supported, but our findings were opposite of what we had predicted. In mixed-race interactions, ethnic minority applicants who manifest ethnic identification (displaying "___ and Proud" or "___ Student Association" hats) were subject to more positive interpersonal treatment

than applicants who made no display of ethnic identification. There was consensus from applicant and observer ratings that applicants who manifest ethnic identification received greater (a) overall positivity, and (b) greater nonverbal positivity from other-race store personnel. Specifically, applicant and observer ratings converged in indicating that other-race store personnel smiled and nodded more towards ethnic minority applicants when they manifest ethnic identification. Overall, applicant and observer ratings converged in indicating that other-race store personnel overall appeared more enthusiastic, friendly, and helpful, and less awkward in their interactions with ethnic minority applicants when applicants manifest ethnic identification. Further, it was not only the quality of the interactions that was positively affected by manifest ethnic identification, but the quantity as well. Interactions with store personnel continued for more time when applicants wore the hats that visibly displayed their ethnic identification. Correlations between condition, condition guess, and interpersonal treatment variables appear in Table 3.

Note that in these analyses we had included data from all five ethnic groups. However, the extremely high accuracy with which our Arab applicant was able to guess which hat she was wearing (Table 2) troubled us, as this would leave open the possibility that Arab applicants might be altering their behavior on the basis of their expectancies. Thus, we also include correlations between condition, condition guess, and interpersonal treatment variables when the Arab applicants are excluded from analyses (Table 4).

Our second hypothesis (H2) stated that manifest ethnic identification would have a greater effect on interpersonal treatment than on formal treatment. We operationalized formal treatment in terms of (a) in-person indications of job availability that differed

from information obtained over the phone, (b) permission granted in person to complete a job application that differed from information obtained over the phone, and (c) whether an interview was offered (on-the-spot interview, on-the-spot appointment offer, or a callback to schedule an interview). We address each in turn.

Indications of job availability. Of stores that had unambiguously indicated over the phone (within the previous week) that they were "currently hiring," there was no significant difference when applicants did and did not manifest their ethnic identification. When applicants displayed ethnic identification, 8.0% (8/100) of store personnel indicated to applicants that the stores were not hiring. When applicants did not display ethnic identification, 7.5% (3/40) of store personnel indicated to applicants that the stores were not hiring.

Of stores that had provided a more ambiguous response over the phone (i.e. when asked are you currently hiring, they had indicated that they were unsure but were accepting applications, that they did not provide that information over the phone but were accepting applications, or that they were always accepting applications), manifest ethnic identification had a significant effect on in-person indication of job availability [Chi-square (1) = 4.79, $p = .03$]. When applicants displayed ethnic identification only 9.3% (5/54) of store personnel indicated to applicants that the stores were not hiring. When applicants did not display ethnic identification however, 29.2% (7/24) of store personnel indicated to applicants that the stores were not hiring. This finding suggests that when stores are not hiring, or are otherwise reluctant to indicate their hiring status, other-race store personnel may try particularly hard to avoid being seen as prejudiced by ethnic minority applicants when applicants display their ethnic identification.

Overall, however, logistic regression (with phone hiring indication as a covariate) revealed no significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on whether applicants were told that jobs were available: Wald (1) = 2.14, $p = .14$.

Permission to complete application. We only sent applicants to stores that indicated that we could complete an application. In 7.2% (18/250) of stores applicants were not allowed to complete an application. Reasons applicants reported for not being given an application included: they were out of applications (but applications are available online), only contact information is required, a resume is required, or that applications are only available during group interview times. Applicant race and personnel managerial status were significant predictors of whether an application was given; phone indication of hiring status was not. Controlling for these, there was no significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on whether applicants were allowed to complete an application: Wald (1) = 1.02, $p = .31$.

Interview offers. To investigate this, we restricted analyses to stores in which applicants had been allowed to complete an application (as most interview offers occurred in the form of a call-back after the application was read at a later date). Applicant race, store personnel race, and personnel managerial status were significant predictors of whether an interview was offered. Controlling for these, there was no effect of manifest ethnic identification on whether applicants were offered an interview: Wald (1) = .01, $p = .92$.

It is likely that when many applicants received call-backs it was strictly on the basis of their applications. Several applicants reported that they were called back by different store personnel than they had met with in-person, and in some cases, applicants

reported to us that store managers even stated that they just picked the application out of the store file. Thus, we also restricted analyses to whether an on-the-spot interview or on-the-spot interview appointment was offered. Of those who did not manifest ethnic identification, they were offered an interview while in the store 11.5% of the time (9/78). Of those who manifested ethnic identification, they were offered an interview while in the store 8.4% of the time (14/166). Logistic regression showed that neither any of the measured covariates (i.e. managerial status, applicant race, etc.) nor manifest ethnic identification had a significant effect on in-store interview offer: Wald (1) = .59, $p = .44$.

In summary then, our second hypothesis (H2) was supported in that, though manifest ethnic identification affected interpersonal treatment it did not significantly affect overall formal treatment (i.e. outcomes), in the form of indication of job availability, permission to complete an application, or interview offers. Although we do not have the data available to directly speak to this issue, to us these findings simply suggest that variables like the match between store need and applicant availability or applicant work experience (of which the different applicants in our study had varying amounts) play a far larger role in determining who store personnel really see as a good candidate for a job, than for determining how an applicant will be treated interpersonally when a candidate expresses interest in a position.

The one significant effect we did find seemed to concern more the desire not to appear prejudiced interpersonally than it did an actual formal outcome. Of those stores that had indicated ambiguously over the phone whether or not they were hiring, manifest ethnic identification was shown to make in-store indication of hiring status more likely.

We did not find that in such stores applicants were any more or less likely to be allowed to complete an application, or offered an interview.

Our third hypothesis (H3) stated that the effect of manifest ethnic identification on interpersonal treatment in mixed-race interaction would be moderated by ethnicity. We had initially predicted that manifest ethnic identification would have a larger effect on Blacks, Hispanics, and Arabs in interaction with other-race store personnel than it would on Asians and Irish.

As in our test of the first hypothesis, we treated rating perspective (applicant vs. observer) as a within-subject (i.e. within-store manager) variable, and condition (manifest ethnic identification vs. none) as a between-subject (i.e. between store managers) variable. Thus we conducted analyses using three mixed-design ANOVAs: with overall negative impressions of interpersonal treatment, overall positive impressions of interpersonal treatment, and positive nonverbal behaviors as the respective dependent variables.

Ethnicity-specific effects of manifest ethnic identification on overall negativity, overall positivity, and nonverbal positivity. No significant ethnicity by manifest ethnic identification interaction effect was found for overall negativity: $F(4, 245) = 1.18, p = .32, \eta^2 = .02$, or for overall positivity: $F(4, 244) = 1.83, p = .12, \eta^2 = .03$. We did, however, find a significant ethnicity by manifest ethnic identification interaction effect for nonverbal positive behaviors: $F(4, 244) = 2.81, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$, when managerial status was controlled for. Additionally, there was no three-way interaction between ethnicity, manifest ethnic identification, and rater, indicating that ethnicity moderated the

effect of manifest ethnic identification on nonverbal positivity, regardless of whether applicants themselves or observers (of other ethnicities) were providing the ratings.

Because we did find a significant moderating effect of ethnic identification, we split file by ethnicity and re-ran the repeated-measures ANOVA for nonverbal positivity. The results appear in Table 5. We found significant effects of manifest ethnic identification on nonverbal positivity for Irish applicants, and for Hispanic applicants. For Irish and Hispanic applicants, there was no rater by ethnic identification interaction effect, indicating consistency across raters.

For Black applicants, however, there was a significant interaction between rater (applicant or observer) and manifest identification: $F(1, 53) = 6.51, p = .01, \eta^2 = .11$. Although manifest ethnic identification did not significantly affect observer-rated nonverbal behavior towards Black applicants, manifest ethnic identification did result in greater applicant-rated nonverbal behavior towards Black applicants: $F(1, 253) = 8.59, p = .004, \eta^2 = .03$. The effects on ethnic identification on applicant-rated nonverbal positivity, by ethnicity, appear in Table 6. Although finding the same effects across applicant and observer ratings is very likely to indicate actual differences in the behavior of store personnel, we do note that applicant ratings provide the purest indication of the effect of manifest identification. Applicants were kept blind to condition; we were not, however, able to keep observers blind to condition.

The pretesting of the hats did not support the idea that our hats are seen as more indicative of ethnic identification or activism when worn by Blacks relative to members of other groups. However, some researchers we have spoken to have indicated to us that they see "Black and Proud" or even "Black Student Association" as more "militant" than

when other ethnicities manifest their identification, and expressed surprise by our findings that Black applicants who manifest ethnic identification were treated more positively than Black applicants who did not. This may have reflected the expectations of our observers of Black applicants as well. It may have been the case that the expectancies of our observers that Black applicants would be treated less positively when they manifest ethnic identification obscured the direction of the actual behavioral differences.

Ethnicity-specific effects on interpersonal treatment quantity. Of the nuisance variables discussed previously, applicant gender and store crowdedness significantly affected the extent of interaction. Controlling for applicant gender and store crowdedness, we ran a MANCOVA with interaction length and number of words spoken by store personnel as dependent variables. There was no significant ethnicity by manifest ethnic identification interaction effect. We also ran an ANCOVA with interaction length as a dependent variable, and the same covariates. We found a significant ethnicity by manifest identification interaction effect: $F(4, 137) = 2.47, p < .05, \eta^2 = .07$.

Because we did find a significant moderating effect of ethnic identification, we split file by ethnicity and re-ran the ANCOVA for interaction length. The results appear in Table 7. For specific ethnicities, because of the small sample sizes, we found a significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on interaction length only for Black applicants: $F(1, 26) = 9.42, p = .005, \eta^2 = .27$, such that interactions with other-race store personnel lasted longer when Black applicants displayed their manifest identification. We believe this finding offers further credence to the contention that the

actual behavioral treatment-- not just applicant perceptions-- of personnel directed towards Black applicants was more positive when applicants manifest identification than when they did not.

In summary then, our third hypothesis (H3), that ethnic identification would have a larger effect on Black, Hispanic, and Arab applicants relative to Irish and Asian applicants was largely unsupported. Effects of manifest ethnic identification on quality of interpersonal treatment were found for Irish, Hispanic, and Black applicants, and effects of manifest ethnic identification were found for Black applicants. This pattern does not neatly fit with what we had hypothesized based on the groups for which the most documented findings of recent U.S. discrimination exist. The three groups for which we found positive effects of manifest ethnic identification in other-race interaction, are however the three races that account for most of the store personnel in the area malls that our applicants visited. The proportion of East Asian store personnel was extremely small, and the proportion of Arab applicants was virtually non-existent. This may have meant that there was little history in the local area of Arabs claiming hiring discrimination; we cannot help but wonder if the findings for Arabs might have been different if our study was conducted in a more-heavily Arab area in which claims of hiring discrimination by Arabs are more prevalent (e.g., Michigan). Additionally, because personnel in the malls in the local area were quite diverse in terms of race (i.e. only 52% of the personnel with whom our applicants interacted with were White), there may be history in the local area of so-called reverse hiring discrimination claims from Whites.

Additional Analyses: Interpersonal Treatment in Same-Race Interactions. When we initially envisioned this study, we had not realized that we would have enough cases available to analyze the effect of manifest ethnic identification on same-race interactions. Because the area personnel were approximately 20% Hispanic and 20% Black, we did however have the opportunity to analyze same-race interactions for Hispanic and Black applicants, as well as for Irish (White) applicants. Across the three groups, we did not find a significant effect of manifest ethnic identification on overall negativity, overall positivity, or nonverbal positivity. However, one reason for this might be that for the Irish applicants, same-race individuals may or may not be the same ethnicity (and our applicants couldn't tell), and the effects of manifest ethnic identification might be different for Irish vs. non-Irish Whites.

We thus re-ran the analyses limiting applicants to Blacks or Hispanics in encounters with same-race personnel. We found significant effects of manifest ethnic identification on overall positivity [$F(1, 29) = 5.12, p = .03, \eta^2 = .15$] and nonverbal positivity [$F(1, 29) = 5.38, p = .03, \eta^2 = .16$]. Interestingly, the direction of these effects was opposite what we had found for Blacks and Hispanics who interacted with other-race personnel. Same-race store personnel treated Black and Hispanic applicants less negatively when applicants manifest ethnic identification relative to when they did not. No rater by manifest identification interaction effects were found, indicating the consistency of the pattern across observers and applicants. Correlations between condition, condition guess, and interpersonal treatment variables appears in Table 8.

We then examined the effects of manifest ethnic identification on the specific positive evaluations and specific nonverbal behaviors that made up the two composites.

We found that manifest ethnic identification in same-race interactions led to less nodding [$F(1, 29) = 5.12, p = .03, \eta^2 = .15$], less smiling [$F(1, 29) = 6.05, p = .02, \eta^2 = .17$], and less eye contact [$F(1, 29) = 6.12, p = .02, \eta^2 = .17$]. Manifest ethnic identification in same-race interactions also led store personnel to be evaluated as less friendly [$F(1, 29) = 7.91, p = .009, \eta^2 = .21$], less helpful [$F(1, 29) = 5.69, p = .024, \eta^2 = .16$], and less enthusiastic [$F(1, 29) = 6.26, p = .018, \eta^2 = .18$].

Discussion

We began this study with the belief that when minority group members visibly display their attitudes of ethnic identification, this could further undermine the quality of interactions with prospective employers of different races. We suspect that we are not the only ones with this prediction. When the applicants in our study, who were kept blind to condition and researcher hypotheses, guessed the condition after each interaction with management, their guesses that the manipulation expressed manifest ethnic identification correlated negatively with their ratings of manager positivity. That is, when store personnel were unfriendly, applicants believed they were wearing the “Ethnic Student Association” or “Ethnic and Proud” hat.

Not only were we wrong, but our findings show that the exact opposite is true. That is, while we had hypothesized that displaying visual signs of identifying with one’s ethnicity would worsen racial discrimination, we instead found that manifesting ethnicity improved interaction with out-group members in the job applicant context. Overall, minority applicants who manifested ethnic identification (wearing either “_____ and

Proud” or “_____ Student Association” caps) during mixed-race interactions with store managers reported receiving more positivity relative to minority applicants who did not manifest ethnic identification (wearing blank caps). This finding held across Black and Hispanic, as well as Irish applicants.

Our findings shed an unexpected light on our original question of why attitudes of ethnic identification are highly positively correlated with perceived discrimination. As we have mentioned earlier, there are generally two camps as to why this relationship exists. One finds that greater attitudes of ethnic identification cause individuals to be more likely to see the same (negative) incidents as due to discrimination towards one’s group (Operario & Fiske, 2001; Shelton & Sellers, 2000). The other camp finds that the causal arrow points the other way: that experiencing a lot of discrimination towards one’s group causes individuals to identify more highly with one’s group (Branscombe, et al., 1999). We proposed our research to test a third possible mechanism for why attitudes of ethnic identification might relate to greater perceived discrimination. We believed that attitudes of ethnic identification likely lead to greater tangible signs or markers of ethnic identification, and that other-race individuals would in turn respond to these greater physical cues with more interpersonal discrimination. That is, we proposed that minority group members would perceive more discrimination because the actual behaviors directed towards them would truly be more negative (i.e. even when judged by others).

Our findings directly refute this third possible mechanism. When ethnic minority group members manifest greater ethnic identification the behaviors directed towards them were more positive, not more negative. Thus, to the extent that attitudes of ethnic identification do become manifest in cues that are observable to individuals of other

racism, this would have the effect of attenuating the relationship between attitudes of ethnic identification and perceived discrimination. That is, our findings suggest that the relationship between attitudes of ethnic identification and perceived discrimination would be even larger in magnitude, were it not for the negative relationship between manifest ethnic identification and negative actual interpersonal treatment. This would mean that the effect of experienced discrimination on ethnic identification attitudes (Branscombe, et al., 1999), or the effect of ethnic identification attitudes on labeling negative incidents as discrimination (Operario & Fiske, 2001; Shelton & Sellers, 2000), or some combination of the two effects, is larger in magnitude than previously believed.

On some level, our findings should perhaps not come as a total surprise. Shelton (2003) found that when Whites interacted with Blacks in a getting-to-know-you conversation, Whites who were told to try not to appear prejudiced succeeded in making themselves more liked by the Black conversation partners relative to Whites who were not given any prejudice-avoidance instructions. In our study, out-group store personnel may have read signs of ethnic identification as an implicit instruction to avoid appearing prejudiced. That our pretesting revealed the manifest ethnic identification manipulation to be perceived as group activism supports this. When individuals are aware that their interaction partner might perceive them negatively, they often pursue compensatory strategies (i.e. smiling, nodding) designed to elicit more favorable responses (e.g., Hilton & Darley, 1985; Ickes, Patterson, Rajecki, & Tanford, 1982; Swann, 1987; Swann & Ely, 1984; Swann & Read, 1981). The increased positivity of the other-race store personnel in this study may have been such attempts.

Our findings can also be interpreted as congruent with the documented effects of acknowledgment of a visible stigma. For example, in Hastorf, Wildfogel, and Cassman (1979), individuals who acknowledged their physical disabilities were viewed more positively than physically disabled individuals who did not (see also Hebl & Kleck, 2000). The effectiveness of acknowledgment has also been shown for individuals who stutter (Blood & Blood, 1982) and for obese individuals (Hebl & Kleck, 2000). Furthermore, the positive effects of acknowledgment are particularly pronounced when the target's stigma was caused by circumstances beyond the target's control (Hebl & Kleck, 2000). Clearly, race or ethnicity are from birth, and fit this description. Given that little is known about why acknowledgment of visible stigma is effective, an acknowledgment-based explanation for our findings is not necessarily distinct from an explanation based on increased motivation to avoid appearing prejudiced.

The findings that Black and Hispanic store personnel showed less positivity toward applicants of the same race who manifested ethnic identification relative to same-race applicants who did not, was also unexpected. One possibility is that managers may have believed that applicants knew the manager's race before coming into the stores. Managers may have seen the applicants' manifestations of ethnic identification as appeals for preferential treatment because of their common group membership. That is, the response by same-race managers may have been negative because they saw the ethnically identifying hats as an attempt by applicants to manipulate them.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

First, given our findings of more positive interpersonal treatment towards Black and Hispanic applicants, we were surprised that a similar effect was not found for Arab

applicants. One reason for this may have been methodological. Because the proportion of Arab individuals in the local area is relatively small, when Arab applicants did not manifest identification (i.e. when they wore blank hats) store personnel may have simply not realized that the applicants were Arab. Based on their complexion, and given that the study was conducted in an area where there is a large Hispanic population, store personnel may have believed the Arab applicants to be Hispanic. Thus, for our Arab applicants, perceived ethnicity and manifest ethnic identification may have been confounded. Because “passing” as another ethnicity may have been possible for Arabs in the area where this study was conducted, manifest ethnic identification may have not been beneficial because it served to “out” them.

While we tried to get around this problem by having our applicants introduce themselves by their full name, store personnel may have not been sufficiently familiar with Arab last names (other than, perhaps, Bin Laden or Hussein) to distinguish their ethnicity. Future research might investigate the effect of manifest ethnic identification in a more heavily Arab area (e.g., Michigan), where individuals are more likely to distinguish Arab ethnicity, at least if a more recognizable Arab name were used across conditions.

We note that our Arab applicants were the only applicants that showed any significant ability to guess which hats they were wearing (i.e. for Arab applicants, the correlation between manifest identification and manifest identification guess was .65, while for most other ethnicities there was essentially no relationship between condition and condition guess whatsoever). This would make sense if the Arab applicants were the only group for whom wearing the “___ Student Association” or “_____ and Proud” hats

meant being outed, and perhaps outed as belonging to a particularly strongly stigmatized group.

Second, we have described how the effect of manifest ethnic identification on interpersonal treatment in mixed-race interaction may actually suppress the observed effect between attitudes of ethnic identification and perceived discrimination. This theoretical relationship is predicated on the idea that individuals with stronger attitudes of ethnic identification actually do manifest their ethnic identification more frequently to out-group members than individuals with weaker attitudes of ethnic identification. Although our pretesting of the hats clearly showed that the manifest identification used in our study is perceived by out-group members as indicative of greater attitudes of ethnic identification, we did not directly test the extent to which minority group member's attitudes of ethnic identification are related to manifestations of ethnic identification. Future research is needed to document the extent of the relationship between attitudinal and manifest ethnic identification.

Third, and most importantly, we believe the interactions included in our study represent maximum, rather than typical performance by other-race managers. Though this distinction is typically made with respect to how applicants behave in the selection context as opposed to on a daily basis on-the-job (Sackett, Zedeck, & Fogli, 1988), we believe it applies to managers also. That is, during the selection process, the managers who interact with prospective employees are likely on their best behavior as well. Particularly for retail jobs, for which pay is low and turnover is high, the interactions with applicants represented a much-needed opportunity for recruitment. It is possible that, once ethnic minorities are on-the-job, manifest ethnic identification would not be met

with more positive interpersonal behavior from supervisors or co-workers. Even if manifest ethnic identification can be thought of as an instruction to avoid appearing prejudiced (as in Shelton, 2003), outside of the maximal performance domain of selection, individuals of other races may not be motivated to heed such instructions. Future research is needed to explore whether the positive effects of manifest ethnic identification found in pre-hire interactions generalize to interactions once minority individuals are on the job.

Practical Implications

Nevertheless, our study findings have clear applied implications for ethnic minority members who are applying for jobs, and must interact with individuals of different races during the (formal or informal) interview process. Our study findings that Irish, Hispanic, and Black applicants who manifest ethnic identification receive more positive interpersonal treatment in interactions with prospective employers of other races is far from trivial.

Even nonverbal positive behaviors have been shown to affect, not just nonverbal, but verbal behavior of applicants. When interviewees are exposed to a “warmer” interviewer (i.e. who smiles, makes eye contact, and leans towards the applicants), the subsequent verbal responses of interviewees have been shown to be rated more positively by independent raters (blind to interviewer behavior) than applicants exposed to an interviewer who uses less positive nonverbal behavior (Liden, Martin, & Parsons, 1993). Word, Zanna, and Cooper’s (1974) study in which some interviewers sat further away from targets, had more speech dysfluencies, and conducted shorter interviews also shows

applicants subject to “colder” interviewers to be rated more poorly (by independent judges).

Clearly, manifest ethnic identification is not limited to “Ethnic and Proud” or “Ethnic Student Association” hats. Manifest ethnic identification includes any behavior or cue that makes the centrality of one’s ethnicity concretely known to others. One could very easily manifest a high level of ethnic identification while wearing a standard suit and no headgear. This might mean pronouncing one’s ethnic name with the accent of one’s native language. This might mean making a point to bring up ethnicity-specific experiences while answering interview questions. Results from the broader literature on acknowledgment of visible stigma suggest that the positive effects for targets are quite robust. Even when acknowledgment is made “nervously” (while running hands through hair, avoiding eye contact, and clasping hands together tightly), stigmatized targets who acknowledge their stigma are still viewed more positively than those who make no mention (Hastorf, Wildfogel, & Cassman, 1979). Thus, our results suggest that minority applicants who believe their ethnic identity is an important part of who they are, should not feel they have to keep that view to themselves within a mixed-race context.

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Table 1

Effects of Two Operationalizations of Manifest Ethnic Identifications on Perceived Ethnic Identification and Group Activism Attitudes (Cohen's d)

	Blank vs. Association	Blank vs. Proud	Association vs. Proud
Ethnic identification (self-directed)	-1.84***	-2.30***	-0.58***
Ethnic identification (in group-directed)	-1.79***	-1.96***	-0.26*
Ethnic identification (out group-directed)	-1.99***	-2.19***	-0.42*
Group activism	-1.53***	-1.57***	-0.18

***p<.001; *p<.05

Table 2

Correlations between condition and condition guess, in other-race and same-race interactions, by ethnicity

Ethnicity	Other-race interactions (n)	Same-race interactions (n)
Irish	.24 (n=17)	.25 (n=21)
Asian	.07 (n=55)	--
Hispanic	-.04 (n=22)	.00 (n=6)
Arab	.65* (n=18)	--
Black	.09 (n=33)	.22 (n=10)

*p<.05

Table 3

Correlations between condition, condition guess, and applicant-rated interpersonal treatment, for ethnic applicants with other-race personnel

	M	(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Condition	.69	.46	--						
Guess	.63	.49	.14	--					
Negativity	1.43	1.28	-.09	.25*	--				
Positivity	3.80	1.35	.12	-.27*	-.79*	--			
Nonverbal Pos	3.31	1.32	.18*	-.23*	-.73*	.86*	--		
Length (log sec)	1.75	.32	.16	-.31*	-.32*	.38*	.41*	--	
Words spoken (log)	1.88	.39	.13	-.26*	-.21*	.30*	.33*	.84*	--

N=255 (145 for guess; 149 for length; 139 for words spoken); *p<.05

Table 4

Correlations between condition, condition guess, and applicant-rated interpersonal treatment, for ethnic applicants with other-race personnel (Arab applicants excluded)

	M	(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Condition	.70	.46	--						
Guess	.63	.48	.07	--					
Negativity	1.49	1.38	-.12	.27*	--				
Positivity	3.68	1.44	.15*	-.32*	-.79*	--			
Nonverbal Pos	3.19	1.41	.22*	-.25*	-.74*	.87*	--		
Length (log sec)	1.73	.30	.30*	-.38*	-.42*	.42*	.45*	--	
Words spoken (log)	1.83	.34	.26*	-.30*	-.31*	.32*	.36*	.82*	--

N=255 (145 for guess; 149 for length; 139 for words spoken); *p<.05

Table 5
Effects of Manifest Ethnic Identification on Nonverbal Positivity (Applicant and Observer-Rated) from Other-Race Personnel, by Applicant Ethnicity

ethnicity	F	error df	eta ²
Irish	4.52	21	.177*
Asian	0.44	53	.008
Arabs	1.68	59	.028
Hispanic	7.58	58	.116*
Black	2.29	54	.041

*p<.05

Table 6
Effects of Manifest Ethnic Identification on Applicant-Rated Nonverbal Positivity from Other-Race Personnel, by Applicant Ethnicity

ethnicity	F	error df	eta ²
Irish	4.62	21	.180*
Asian	0.43	53	.004
Arabs	0.38	59	.006
Hispanic	5.93	58	.093*
Black	8.83	54	.140*

*p<.05

Table 7
Effects of Manifest Ethnic Identification on Interaction Length, by Applicant Ethnicity

ethnicity	F	error df	eta ²
Irish	0.17	9	.018
Asian	0.58	15	.037
Arabs	0.64	45	.014
Hispanic	2.38	34	.065
Black	9.42	26	.266*

*p<.05

Table 8

Correlations between condition, condition guess, and applicant-rated interpersonal treatment, for Black and Hispanic applicants with same-race personnel

	M	(SD)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Condition	.65	.49	--						
Guess	.63	.50	.15	--					
Negativity	1.17	1.08	.23	.11	--				
Positivity	4.16	1.48	-.35	.01	-.72*	--			
Nonverbal Pos	3.80	1.39	-.40*	.17	-.76*	.88*	--		
Length (log sec)	1.75	.14	-.34	.52	-.11	.25	.34	--	
Words spoken (log)	1.76	.33	-.42	.42	-.02	.20	.40	.84*	--

N=31 (16 for guess; 17 for length and words spoken); *p<.05

Appendix: Racial Activism Scale

Work for group benefits

1. I insist on improving the status of Hispanic individuals.
2. I vigorously support issues of importance to Hispanic individuals.
3. I look for ways to better the situation of Hispanic individuals.
4. I ensure that the interests of Hispanic individuals are represented.
5. I voice the interests of Hispanic individuals.
6. I consider myself an activist when it comes to furthering the interests of Hispanic individuals.
7. I stand up to promote issues important to the Hispanic community.
8. I aim to gain benefits for the Hispanic community.

Work against assimilation

1. I try to preserve the distinct culture of Hispanic individuals.
2. I stand up against attempts to assimilate Hispanic individuals.
3. I chastize Hispanic individuals who don't act Hispanic enough.
4. I let Hispanic individuals know when they have forgotten where they came from.
5. I express what makes Hispanic culture unique.
6. I consider myself an activist when it comes to preserving separate Hispanic culture.
7. I assert what makes Hispanic individuals different from others.
8. I forcefully affirm what differentiates Hispanic individuals.

Confront discrimination/ prejudice

1. I confront people head on when they say something offensive to Hispanic individuals.
2. I react when Hispanic individuals are being unfairly treated.
3. I challenge people's conceptions about Hispanic individuals.
4. I try to change people's perceptions of Hispanic individuals.
5. I tell people when their views towards Hispanic individuals are offensive.
6. I call people on their stereotypes of Hispanic individuals.
7. I make sure discrimination against Hispanic individuals gets noticed.
8. I consider myself an activist when it comes to confronting prejudice against Hispanic individuals.