How Racial and Ethnic Stereotypes Lead to Context Dependent Patterns of Hiring Discrimination

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Abstract

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Racial and ethnic minority groups are not stereotyped uniformly. While some groups are viewed as "not American enough," other groups are stereotyped as less competent or lazy. Present research on labor market discrimination shows that stereotypes can be the basis for discrimination in the U.S. However, little work has compared *when* a given set of stereotypes will have an impact. The congruence between stereotypes about racial or ethnic groups and beliefs about who is a "good fit" may play an important role in which groups appear more qualified – particularly when employers are hiring for jobs with stereotype-relevant

qualifications (e.g. – English fluency). This dissertation examines how stereotype-driven perceptions of applicants relate to and predict hiring decisions for hypothetical jobs stereotyped as American and High-status. Study 1 found that participants were more likely to hire Black men relative to Asian men for a hypothetical American job and that these differences were mediated by cultural foreignness stereotypes. Study 1b expanded the applicant pool to include Latino candidates and replicated these findings. Latino and Asian men were seen as less hirable for the American job even when applicant first names were anglicized. Across intersections of racial and gender identities, Studies 2 and 3 found lower hireability for both an American and a high-status job were predicted by groups specific stereotypes. Asian, Arab, and Latine applicants were seen as less hireable than Black applicants, who were perceived as less hireable than White applicants, for stereotypically American jobs. However, when the same job favored stereotypically highstatus characteristics (e.g., technical skills, advanced education), Black, Latine, and Arab applicants were perceived as less hireable than Asian and White applicants. Finally in Study 4, Black and Asian applicants both anticipated discrimination for a stereotypically American job, while only Black applicants anticipated discrimination for a stereotypically high-status job. Findings illuminate when and why exclusion from the American identity may contribute to racial inequities in the U.S. labor market. This dissertation provides evidence that discrimination in occupational contexts that emphasize stereotypically American or high-status characteristics is experienced across race and gender intersections and paves the way for tailored interventions to reduce discrimination based on exclusion from the American identity and improve racial equity in the labor market.

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Self

I would like to first acknowledge my positions and my biases. I am a queer nonbinary person of primarily African descent. However, for most of my life I have easily passed as a straight Black man. Access to that automatic male privilege has undoubtedly shaped my worldview and has unquestioningly impacted how I have been treated and the opportunities I have received. I therefore want to acknowledge first that none of this work would be possible if not for the support of women. Though my name alone is at the top of this document, much of the support I received with data collection, data entry, data checking, analysis, writing, editing, ideation, and presenting has been from women. This work would *simply not be possible* without their labor, friendship, mentorship, brilliance, determination, and integrity.

I want to acknowledge that I am descended from those who, having been kidnapped from the shores of Africa centuries ago, survived. I have subsequently been impacted by the very forces that I write about here. This is part of my bias, as someone who has experienced the harm and erasure of structural racism. Indeed, I want to acknowledge that to do this work can be mildly retraumatizing. I have not always loved it. That said, my education and opportunities have been created, in part, through mechanisms of structural violence. Much of my early education took place in the Department of Defense system of education, courtesy of the United States military. I will never forget living in Korea (Corea) and hearing the chanting of activists over the gate of a military base that has now been reclaimed by the city of Busan, “Yankee go home.” I want to acknowledge that I may be here because I was somebody’s “Yankee.” In a similar sense, I am also complicit in the University of Washington’s occupation of the ancestral homelands and traditional territories of the indigenous people who are very much *still here*. I want to

acknowledge that despite the incredible privilege that comes with this education, I am only just learning to interrogate my new relationship to that privilege.

Finally, I also want to acknowledge that by my own definition, *I am racist*. I am also anti-racist. I don't believe these things are contradictions. Indeed, by my own logic, I am also sexist and ableist. I don't say these things lightly, though I wish I lived in a world where all of us could say them more easily and openly. That said, this work is not about pointing the finger at other people. I want to acknowledge that I too have work to do. For this reason, I also want to acknowledge my debt to, and gratitude for, the radical Black & Feminist intellectual traditions that have encouraged me to dream of and work towards the collective liberation of all marginalized peoples from systems of oppression.

Others

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Finally, I would like to acknowledge how fortunate I feel to still be here, alive at the time of this writing. While I have been working on my education, I have lost several people important to my life at various points. Rest in power and rest in peace to my great grandmother Doris Walker, my grandmother Midgenet Pope, and to my two close friends Joshua Bailey aka Cubbiebear and Noah Scialom. I wish I'd had the time to get to know you better.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"*Note: Only Born US Citizens [White] who are local within 60 miles from Dallas, TX [Don't share with candidates]. Client: HTC Global/Berkshire Hathaway.*" - AGT[1], 2023

Racial and ethnic groups face different patterns of discrimination in life. Therefore, amalgamating the experiences of diverse racial groups into a singular narrative of discrimination negatively impacts our capacity to address issues of discrimination effectively. Hiring discrimination against minoritized racial and ethnic groups has been primarily documented within a subset of jobs, such as low-wage jobs (Pager et al., 2009) or those in retail (King & Ahmad, 2010) or STEM (Eaton et al., 2020). A smaller body of research, comparing different jobs, reveals that people of color are more likely to face discrimination in roles requiring greater skill, higher occupational status (Derous & Pepermans, 2019; Gaddis, 2015), and direct customer interaction (Gorzig & Rho, 2022; Timming, 2017). As a result, it is likely that they also face different patterns of discrimination for different jobs. Why might different racial and ethnic groups face different patterns of discrimination in the labor market? Hiring discrimination often results from a perceived mismatch between applicant and job characteristics (Heilman, 1983; Rudman & Glick, 1999; Sy et al., 2010). In the present study, we aim to go beyond merely documenting the existence (or lack thereof) of hiring discrimination. Instead, we explore the types of jobs

[1] In 2023, an IT company specializing in digital transformation services for federal, commercial, state and local customers – Arthur Grand Technologies (AGT) – posted an ad on several online job boards that appeared to target White applicants (Naylor, 2023, pp 1-2). The posting, which was later taken down, was for a business analyst position and contained a note flagging that the post was intended for "Only Born US Citizens [White]" (Naylor, 2023, [image]). The post advertised a position working with companies HTC Global and Berkshire Hathaway, owners of brands such as Geico and BNSF, at the competitive rate of $75/hr. AGT responded by removing their social media presence and explaining that a "new junior recruiter" had posted the advertisement, before shifting blame again to a "former employee" who allegedly uploaded the posting from a private account. To date, no legal action has been successfully taken against the company.

and reasons why various racial and ethnic groups in the United States are most prone to discrimination. We hypothesize that such patterns of differential discrimination across jobs, and corresponding responses by applicants of color, contribute to occupational segregation, in which different racial and ethnic groups are underrepresented in different segments of the labor market.

The present work also broadly explores the history of racial and ethnic discrimination within the U.S. labor market, with a particular emphasis on the complex dynamics of occupational segregation. I first present an overarching narrative of systemic racial disparity and its profound implications on labor market outcomes. Then, I situate the work within the broader context of racial disparities in America, emphasizing the critical need for a nuanced understanding of occupational segregation. I also provide a retrospective analysis of the systemic underpinnings of this issue, elucidating the enduring structures that perpetuate racial disparities. Finally, I look at the operative processes underpinning occupational segregation, with an emphasis on the role of racial and ethnic stereotypes in shaping hiring decisions and the varied manifestations of discrimination across different job types, supplementing theoretical exposition with empirical data from laboratory experiments and real-world employment discrimination court cases.

I conclude the present work by scrutinizing the role of "racial logic" and stereotypes in the maintenance of racial hierarchy in America, weaving empirical findings into a broader sociological discourse on racial disparities and discrimination. This reflective exploration serves not only to consolidate the empirical findings of our research but also to advance a deeper understanding of the systemic nature of structural racism. Throughout this dissertation, my goal is to contribute to the ongoing discourse on racial disparities in the labor market and elsewhere,

and to highlight what I see as a gradual shift from discrimination based on demographics to discrimination based on stereotypes.

A Brief History of Labor Market Discrimination

In 1927, decades before the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the establishment of the U.S Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), labor market discrimination was the norm. Records show that employers of the time openly advertised dual wage scales that differentiated between White and "colored" workers (Johnson, 1930). Prior to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, there was little change in the relative wage gap between Black and White workers (U.S. Census, 1960). In addition to being twice as likely as White workers to be unemployed, Black people were also far more likely to occupy low-skill, low-wage positions (Dickerson, 2007; Greene, 1989). This time also contains the period of Asiatic Exclusion (1910-1960) where a new generation of Chinese and Japanese Americans had found themselves, like their parents before them, "narrowly bound to the same peripheral economic niches into which their parents were funneled: track farming, gardening, domestic labor, restaurants, and laundries" (Wu, 2014, p. 2). For low-skill workers, as America rapidly changed between the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (circa 1876) and the birth of progressive multiculturalism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Hollinger, 1995), overt forms of racial and ethnic discrimination had already begun to reshape the labor market.

Between 1950 and 1966, non-white workers were increasingly beginning to migrate from primarily agricultural work into new occupational categories with higher earning potential but lower pay (Ashenfelter, 1970). Migration into the coastal cities created a larger population of potential laborers, which in turn enabled companies to drive down wages and easily lay off

workers. Workers of color prior to the EEOC had little choice but to offer their labor at lower wages to compensate for the broad preference of employers for White workers. This 'sorting' of workers of color into low wage craft, service, and sales work helped to drive the growing wage gap between White and workers of color by driving down real wages. At the same time, where these applicants competed directly – such as in professional and technical occupations – White workers were more likely to be hired and were paid as much as 30% more on average, relative to workers of color (U.S. Census, 1960).

Consequently, a principal aim of the 1964 act was to put an end to the discriminatory practices arising from these preferences. Since then, it has been illegal under title VII of the Civil Rights Act (1964) to offer employment selectively based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin. Yet, as Rev Dr. Martin Luther King once noted, "you've got to change the heart and you can't change the heart through legislation" (1963). While overt discrimination was a problem, workers of color had already begun to see how racism was playing a role in shaping their fortunes. For example, President Roosevelt's 1936-1939 "New Deal," a series of programs, reforms, and regulations meant to lift America out of the Great Depression (1929-1939) had effectively begun to write occupations dominated by workers of color out of the law.

Despite championing low-wage workers, the New Deal often excluded certain people to accommodate hostile legislators predominantly from the South (Norrell, 1991). Southern "Dixiecrats" in the Senate had already begun the practice of conditioning their votes in ways that specifically exploited the labor of persons of color. Dixiecrats also saw that household workers, field hands, and "domestic help" were excluded from laws setting minimum wages, limiting the

work week to 40 hours, and allowing the formation of unions, effectively designating the work as “cheap labor” (Cassedy, 1997; Fredrickson, 2020). Similarly, the Social Security Act directly excluded farm and domestic workers from retirement and unemployment insurance, clearly targeting the African Americans who filled these jobs. Despite the illegality of discrimination, Congress also left out a category of workers where people of color are overrepresented. By narrowly defining “employee” as well as applying the laws only to businesses over a certain size, the New Deal legislation handed business a strategy to avoid coverage by the laws (Caughey, 2018; Fredrickson, 2020).

In the 1960 census — covering the time directly preceding the Civil Rights Act of 1964 — occupations were grouped into categories that included professional occupations such as Managers, Clerical occupations like office workers, and several others including Agricultural, Service, and Sales work (U.S. Census, 1960). Contemporary analysis of census data (Ashenfelter, 1970) from the period between 1950-1966 suggests that several novel contextual factors may contribute to the observed differences in the wages of white workers relative to workers of color. These factors included the differentiation between skilled and unskilled labor, discrimination in the education of people of color, and rapidly changing occupational structures. Among them, changing occupational structures appeared to provide the most compelling explanation for the differences between the two groups of workers in the post-war period. The kind of work performed by workers of color, particularly immigrants, became increasingly differentiated in both wages and in the types of occupations they held (Enchautegui, 1998).

In 2004, Bertrand & Mullainathan published the results of a large-scale investigation of labor market discrimination showing evidence of selective hiring practices. The experiment involved sending responses to job ads posted in the newspapers of two major US cities. They found that resumes with White-coded applicant names were 50% more likely than resumes with Black-coded names to receive a response, controlling for employer variables like industry and size. Although legally prohibited from refusing to hire workers of color, employers as early as the 1950s started selecting applicants based on secondary qualifications that indirectly signaled racial preference. Another body of work that includes surveys and interviews with employers describes the reluctance of some employers to hire young minority men, whom they perceived to be dishonest, unreliable, or lacking intelligence (Holzer, 1996; Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991; Moss & Tilly, 2001; Waldinger & Lichter, 2003) suggesting that stereotypes about workers were themselves a latent set of qualifications that employers were using to sort out undesirable applicants, using what are known as illegitimate criteria (Norton et al., 2006) elsewhere in the literature. Indeed, when assumptions such as these are a part of how candidates are selected, hiring discrimination isn't being explicitly motivated by race but rather the stereotypes that circumscribe our view of racial groups in America.

Leslie Miley, a former engineer at Twitter, describes in his writing how this manifested itself in hiring committee meetings where candidates of color were penalized for seemingly trivial qualities (e.g. – not solving problems fast enough or having taken too long to finish their degrees) even though, when some managed to get hired, they performed well on the job (Miley, 2015). This is consistent with audit studies that show how applicants of color are either disqualified quickly or hired more reluctantly and channeled into less visible positions than their

White counterparts (Pager, Western, & Bonokowski, 2009). It also hints at something pernicious, which is that over time, the repeated selection of certain groups for certain kinds of work based loosely on stereotypes that employers hold about applicants can become a self-reinforcing process.

Unpacking Labor Market Discrimination

The gradual shift from discrimination based on demographics to discrimination based on stereotypes means that talking about labor market discrimination became more difficult. Indeed, the racial progress in the decades since the Civil Rights movement is still only part of the story. For many Americans, the fight against employment discrimination has become central to their struggle to be fully included in American society (Burstein, 1994). In the post-Industrial labor market, race has become a "badge of vulnerability," signaling to employers that they are not adequately protected from interference (Costa, 2019). Yet, despite evidence in the literature there is still little consensus on what constitutes evidence of labor market discrimination. It is possible that as prejudicial ideas become widespread their influence becomes harder, rather than easier, to detect.

When prejudice becomes widespread it has several consequences for detecting discrimination. One structural consequence is that many researchers do not often compare differences across groups. In a sense, much of the research to date has been descriptive in nature. Little research explores whether the experiences between different racial groups are meaningfully distinct. There is also an issue that many prejudiced actions do not involve physical coercion, threats, or overt forms of discrimination (Costa, 2019). This necessitates an expansion beyond targeting forms of discrimination that seem *prima facie* about race. One possible solution to this problem

is to pair racial categories with measurable psychological phenomena. In the case of racial discrimination, stereotypes play an important role in shaping the schemas we rely on to understand race (Dovidio et al., 2010; Fiske, 1993; Hilton & von Hippel, 1996).

One primary objective of this study is to expand the purview of labor market research to accommodate the role of stereotypes in the hiring process. In part, because no law can force an employer to *not* hire someone that they feel is qualified. The reality that some forms of life experience are more accessible to dominant group members means that it is not enough. If the goal of equal employment requires equal opportunity, then it must necessarily grapple with the unequal distribution of opportunity. To eliminate labor market discrimination would be to make good on the promise of equal opportunity employment. That anyone has the opportunity to be hired and that the criteria for hiring do not produce the de facto exclusion of groups based on stereotypes associated with their identities. The present research underscores that the forms of labor market discrimination faced by various racial and ethnic groups are not uniform. It identifies a significant source of labor market discrimination: stereotypes about cultural foreignness, which disproportionately affect certain communities of color.

Predicting Labor Market Discrimination

One compelling explanation for how labor market discrimination has evolved over time is that it has shifted from a focus on racial groups to a focus on "illegitimate criteria" (Norton et al., 2006). The hypothesis is that employers filter applicants using secondary criteria that has roughly the same consequence as targeting White applicants directly. One important bottleneck for applicants is the hiring process. It is much more difficult to assert that a business is unwilling to hire applicants of color if they accept applications and review them alongside other applicants.

However, if there was no bias in the process why would the literature be rife with examples of it? One possible explanation is that employers don't discriminate indiscriminately. That is, employers may be making different decisions about which racial groups to discriminate against based on both their personal opinions of the applicant and their personal opinion about who will be best suited for the particular job. In other words, employers may compare stereotypes they hold about applicants to stereotypes they hold about the occupation to decide which candidates are most qualified.

An important early framework for understanding how stereotypes function is the Stereotype Content Model (SCM) (Fiske, 1998; Fiske et al., 2002). The SCM is an organizational paradigm that locates stereotypes along two dimensions; one of warmth and one of competence. Traits associated with warm groups include being nice or sincere, while traits associated with competence include being skilled, able, and confident. The paper highlights, among other things, the envious anti-Asian prejudice stemming from their perceived position as highly competent but cold, and the contemptuous prejudices facing African Americans who are seen as low-moderate on both competence and warmth. Building on this work, the racial position model defined two independent, yet interacting, dimensions of stereotyping – status and cultural foreignness (Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

Stereotypes

Racial minority groups are stereotyped in unique ways that are associated with different forms of discrimination. People of color in the U.S. are routinely positioned as “not American enough” (Devos & Banaji, 2005) through interpersonal discrimination experienced in their daily lives (Cheryan & Monin, 2005) as well as structural discrimination perpetrated through legislation and

policy (Ngai, 2004). They are also, to varying degrees, stereotyped as lower-status relative to White Americans. This, in part, is due to how race functions in America as a system of social class. That is, racial stereotypes allow for the relative orientation of different groups to one another in a way that reflects a general preference for the qualities associated with White Americans. As a result, stereotypes can create the conditions for discrimination by justifying prejudicial attitudes about people of color.

This work continues to expand upon the Stereotype Content Model (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008) by including empirical data on the stereotyping dimension of cultural foreignness (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). The Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002) posits that stereotypes can be mapped onto two dimensions: warmth and competence. Warmth is determined by whether the outgroup is seen as cooperative or competitive, while competence is determined by the perceived status of the outgroup. This model suggests that different combinations of warmth and competence generate four distinct types of stereotypes (i.e., pity, contempt, envy, and admiration). Importantly, the SCM is not race-specific and aims to account for stereotypes about a wide range of social groups. The consequence is that while conceptually useful, it does not capture the nuances of America's racial system. The Racial Position Model (Zou & Cheryan, 2017) is designed explicitly to understand racial dynamics within the United States, highlighting the historical and systemic context of race relations. This model suggests that perceived foreignness is a critical dimension in the racial hierarchy in the U.S., which is not explicitly addressed by the SCM.

This unique dimension of stereotyping describes a person's distance from the American

prototype, defined broadly as being perceived to share cultural, linguistic, and nationalistic values with groups perceived as highly American (e.g. – White Americans). Black Americans, Asian Americans, Arab Americans, Latine Americans, and Native Americans all very to the extent that they are perceived as culturally foreign, with some groups (e.g. – Asian Americans & Latin Americans) occupying a position further away from the prototype than others who more are perceived as more likely sharing a common birthplace and language (e.g. – African Americans).

In terms of their explanatory power for discrimination in the United States., both models provide valuable insights but from different angles. The Stereotype Content Model's strength lies in its ability to explain variations in discrimination against different groups based on their perceived warmth and competence. For instance, it can explain why some racial groups might be the target of more paternalistic or contemptuous discrimination (low status groups), while others might be targets of envious or competitive discrimination (high-status groups) (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2007). On the other hand, the Racial Position Model's strength lies in its attention to historical and systemic factors in American race relations. It elucidates how perceived foreignness can amplify discrimination against certain racial groups, particularly those deemed as 'perpetual foreigners' regardless of their generational status (e.g., Asian Americans). The Racial Position Model can also explain the unique forms of discrimination faced by racial groups perceived as high in status but high in foreignness, a combination not accounted for by the Stereotype Content Model.

Cultural Foreignness

One major contribution of this work is that we investigate patterns of labor market discrimination due to stereotypes about groups' perceived distance from the American identity. American identity is perceived by Americans to involve multiple defining components, including attachment to American values of liberty and individualism (e.g., liberalism), civic and political engagement (e.g., civic republicanism), and, crucially, adherence to Anglo-European culture and traditions such as speaking English and practicing Christianity (e.g., ethnoculturalism) (Devos & Banaji, 2005; Huynh et al., 2015; Schildkraut, 2007; Wright et al., 2012). Distinct from stereotypes about a person's status, racial groups differ in the degree to which they are viewed as congruent with this prototypical view of an American. In the U.S., the American prototype reflects the cultural, linguistic, and nationalistic values of White Americans (e.g., Eagly & Kite, 1987; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Miller et al., 1991). Cultural foreignness stereotypes reflect the extent to which groups are perceived to deviate from the American national prototype (Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

Racial groups occupy different relative positions along this dimension of cultural foreignness, with some groups (e.g. – Arab Americans) occupying a position further away from the prototype than others (e.g. – Native Americans). White Americans are considered the most prototypically "American" among racial and ethnic groups, while Black Americans are perceived as less American than White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005). Arab, Latine, and Asian Americans are perceived as so distant from the American prototype that they are seen as belonging to a foreign category instead, and associated with foreign languages, cultures, and modes of being (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). While all racial minority groups draw some distance from the American

prototype, this additional kind of stereotyping arises due to perceived congruence with a foreign prototype.

Status

The Racial Position Model argues that racial groups are positioned hierarchically in terms of perceived societal status (similar to the competence dimension of Stereotype Content Model) as well as perceived foreignness (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Indeed, beliefs about a person's intelligence, competence, and education vary based on the relative social status of their group (Fiske et al., 2007; Cuddy et al., 2009). Theoretically, patterns of labor market discrimination due to stereotypes about groups' cultural foreignness would differ in nature to patterns of discrimination due to stereotypes about perceived social status (i.e., perceived socioeconomic, educational, and occupational prestige) (Koch et al., 2016). Furthermore, high-status groups are stereotyped as hard working, highly competent, and highly educated; while low status groups by contrast are thought of as lazy, less competent, and poorly educated. Conversely, groups that are stereotyped as low status are seen as less educated and professionally skilled. One goal of this paper is to look more deeply at how patterns of status-based discrimination differ from those of foreignness-based discrimination.

Key to this question is the observation that along the stereotyping dimension of status, racial minorities occupy distinct relative positions. Black, Arab, and Hispanic Americans – relative to Asian and White Americans – are stereotyped as lower status and this are commonly stereotyped as lazy, and untrustworthy. (Cuddy et al., 2009; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Though beliefs about status and beliefs about foreignness correlate to some degree, the two dimensions of stereotyping are not only distinct, but also intersect in ways that further distinguish the position of racial

groups relative to one another. While White Americans are perceived as both American and high-status, Asian Americans are perceived as high-status but culturally foreign and high-status, and Black Americans are perceived as low status but relatively American (though not as American as White Americans) and low status (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Thus, a two-dimensional model of racial positioning will allow for a more nuanced understanding of the experiences of different racial and ethnic minorities in the labor market.

Job Characteristics

While research into labor market discrimination has long looked towards exogenous factors for answers, few have considered the role of occupational stereotypes. Criticisms of early labor market research noted the need to consider factors no directly related to markets or prices (Loury, 1998; Arrow, 1998). The occupational stereotype perspective (Comer et al., 1998; King et al., 2006; Knight et al., 2003; Lipton et al., 1991; Terpstra & Larsen, 1980; Watson et al., 2011), holds that attitudes about members of specific social groups influence the belief that an otherwise qualified applicant would be successful at a given job. It's possible that patterns of racial distribution in the labor market may be due in part to the persistence of occupational stereotypes that build on the attributes and statuses of those who hold the jobs (Comer et al., 1998) further supporting that occupational stereotypes are influenced by association with highly identifiable groups of workers. Employers and recruiters may unconsciously develop a mental schema (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) about the attributes of the future employee. One contribution of this work will be to extend this hypothesis to the occupations themselves.

According to the occupational stereotype incongruence hypothesis, occupational stereotypes may lead to occupational segregation. Researchers found evidence that occupations could be

organized into groups based on ratings of status and warmth (He et al., 2019). Jobs like CEO and lawyer were rated as high in competence and low in warmth, while jobs like secretary and childcare specialized were rated as high in warmth and low in competence. A follow up analysis of BLS data (U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018) also showed that women were more represented in occupations characterized by high warmth and low competence; Asian people were more represented in occupations characterized by high competence; and Black and Hispanic workers were more represented in occupations characterized by low competence.

One goal of the current work is to test whether congruence between racial stereotypes and occupational stereotypes predicts unique patterns of discrimination. Extending previous work on the dimension of competence we predict that African Americans, a group positioned relatively closer to the American prototype than Asian Americans and Latine Americans, should have more positive responses from employers in jobs where stereotypically American qualities (e.g. – English speaking ability) are required as African Americans are assumed to speak English as a first language. Conversely, Asian Americans (a stereotypically high-status group) should have more positive responses from jobs where high levels of competence and intelligence are required.

The Role of Stereotypes in Labor Market Discrimination

Stereotyping may explain how racial discrimination is still a fundamental part of the explanation of labor market disadvantage. In the current paper, we refer to discrimination against people of color based on the perception that they are as less American than White Americans as discrimination based on exclusion from the American identity. Importantly, we hypothesize that hiring discrimination results from a perceived incongruence between occupational requirements

and applicant characteristics (King et al., 2006). People of color, who are consistently perceived as less American than White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005, Cheryan & Monin, 2005, Zou & Cheryan, 2017), may be systematically precluded from stereotypically American jobs. Based on this conception of discrimination Arab, Latine, and Asian applicants would be considered especially unsuitable for stereotypically American jobs due to stereotypes about their cultural foreignness.

Evidence from the labor market suggests that in the United States some candidates are impacted by cultural foreignness stereotypes. Arab, Latine, and Asian job applicants are more likely to be passed over by employers due to concerns about their English-speaking ability and cultural differences (Oreopoulos, 2011), accents (Timming, 2017, Hosoda et al., 2012), styles of religious dress (Bartkoski et al., 2018), or doubts about their American loyalties (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010). Asian and Arab Americans may also face more discrimination for jobs perceived as requiring stereotypical American characteristics (e.g., English language skills, loyalty to the U.S.) than jobs perceived as requiring high-status (e.g., education, professional skill). Such jobs may include national security jobs (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010), high-level government positions like the people of President (Devos & Ma, 2013), and positions that emphasize English fluency (Timming, 2017) or enthusiasm (Bencharit et al., 2019). In addition, Asian Americans are perceived as relatively more suited for high- than low-status jobs (Dupree et al., 2021; King et al., 2006). Arab Americans may also be seen as more suited for high- than low-status jobs based on their prominent representation in higher status jobs and higher education than in the total U.S. population (Access, 2015). Stereotypes that Arab, Latine, and Asian applicants are more culturally foreign than Black applicants, who themselves are

stereotyped as more culturally foreign than White applicants, may mediate perceptions of them as less hireable for stereotypically American jobs[2].

In contrast, there is also evidence that some candidates are impacted by stereotypes about their competence. Black Americans may face more discrimination for stereotypically high-status jobs compared to stereotypically American jobs. Such jobs may include managerial and leadership positions (Derous et al., 2009), or jobs in medical, business, or engineering domains (Derous et al., 2016; King et al., 2006). Indeed, Black Americans are perceived as less suited for stereotypically high-status jobs (e.g., doctor, scientist) and more suited for stereotypically low-status jobs (e.g., janitor, cashier) (Dupree et al., 2021; King et al., 2006). Latine Americans may be likely to face discrimination for both types of jobs. Latine Americans, like Black Americans, are perceived as less suited for high-status jobs (e.g., doctor, scientist) and more suited for low-status jobs (Dupree et al., 2021; King et al., 2006). At the same time, Latine Americans also face discrimination based on not being seen as American (Rivera et al., 2010). Low status stereotypes may be an important way that groups such as Black and Latine Americans are precluded from stereotypically high-status jobs.

Consequences of Labor Market Discrimination

Discrimination in the labor market causes racial disparities in employment and earnings (Pager, 2009) and has significant moral and economic costs (Level Playing Field Institute, 2007; Pager, 2016). Most research documenting discrimination in the labor market finds that Black applicants

[2] Arab Americans are also perceived as culturally foreign and low status but we predict that their representation in high status occupations (Pew Research Center, 2017) combined with the extremity of their perceived cultural foreignness in U.S. society (see Hiltan et al., 2007) will result in greater discrimination for a stereotypically American than high-status job.

fare worse during the hiring process compared to equally qualified White applicants (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Nunley et al., 2014; Pager et al., 2009; Quillian et al., 2017). Extensions to other groups have similarly found that Latine (Bendick Jr. et al., 1991; Pager et al., 2009; Quillian et al., 2017), Asian (Banerjee et al., 2018; Kang et al., 2016; Oreopoulos, 2011), and Arab (Derous et al., 2014; Widner & Chicoine, 2011) applicants encounter hiring discrimination when compared to White applicants.

In addition to shaping employers' decisions, the extent to which a job is seen as incongruent with racial stereotypes may also determine people of color's strategies when applying for jobs (Kang et al., 2016; Pager & Pedulla, 2015). Applicants of color may justifiably elect not to pursue a job if they anticipate that members of their racial or ethnic group will face discrimination for that job based on racial stereotypes. This results in an applicant pool with a relative absence of certain communities of color, exacerbating occupational segregation. Furthermore, according to stratification economics, while discrimination is unjust, it also serves the functional role of preserving hierarchy. Therefore, persistent racial inequality arises when a dominant group seeks to maintain the hierarchy that affords it some degree of social or economic privilege. Under this framework, identity can be structured so that investing in, or associating with, a group identity can lead to economic returns and benefits (Swinton, 1978; Wilson & Darity, 2022). The long-term consequence of this being that all workers are incentivized to make decisions that maintain current patterns of occupational segregation.

Occupational Redlining

The long-term consequences of occupational segregation may be similar to the consequences of redlining. Redlining is a form of housing segregation wherein lines drawn on a map designate

parts of the city where certain ethnic groups are "permitted" to live (Hillier, 2003). These decisions may have been due to beliefs about the adverse impact racial and ethnic groups would have on the space. Indeed, the 1938-1950s Federal Housing Authority's underwriting manuals noted that Blacks had an adverse influence on property values and instructed that they limit loans to racially homogenous White neighborhoods (Gotham, 2000). These practices have not only segregated people of color from opportunity, they have contributed to a highly racialized pattern of wealth accumulation in the United States (Akresh, 2011; Oliver & Shapiro, 1995) and in *Milliken v. Bradley* was used to justify segregation in other areas (Menendian et al., 2008). It is likely that long term associations between stereotyped groups and occupations has a similar effect on both our perception of specific occupations as well as groups of laborers.

Looking Across Jobs

Disaggregating racial and ethnic groups may reveal that different groups are precluded from different types of jobs. Discrimination based on exclusion from the American identity may be stronger in some occupational contexts compared to others. For example, Milkman et al. (2012) found that women and racial minorities were similarly less likely to hear back from academic faculty relative to whites. However, when Milkman et al. (2012) separated their findings by domain in a post hoc analysis, they found that Chinese applicants were granted access to faculty in STEM fields more often relative to other races. The authors speculated that Chinese students heard back from STEM faculty more often due to positive stereotypes around competence. Conversely, in a study of US born African Americans and foreign-born African Americans, employers showed a preference for American born African Americans in jobs that were public facing (Krieger et al., 2011). This suggests that in some cases, being seen as stereotypically "American" made it more likely to get hired. Importantly, in both cases it may have been the

congruence between the stereotype and the characteristics of the job that drove the effect however not much work has compared across jobs in this way.

Current Work

Presently, we investigate whether different racial and ethnic groups face different patterns of hiring discrimination for different jobs and examine people of color's own decisions to avoid those jobs. This work goes beyond previous work research that tends to compare the outcomes of people of color to White Americans in isolation and has focused primarily on men (for another exception, see Booth et al., 2012). We do so by comparing the outcomes of Asian, Arab, Black, and Latine Americans and examining discrimination against women. We also experimentally manipulate job characteristics while controlling for job title (to ensure that effects are not due to knowledge of racial representation in actual jobs) and investigate mechanism while controlling for alternative explanations. All experiments were carefully controlled, preregistered, and included extensively pretested applicant names and job descriptions (see Appendix B).

Five studies (all preregistered) bring together controlled laboratory experiments (N = 1192) with real-world employment discrimination court cases (N = 330) to reveal the consequences of being excluded from the American identity on hypothetical and real labor market outcomes. We make several contributions to the study of discrimination by: (i) empirically establishing exclusion from the American identity as a source of labor market discrimination targeting both job applicants as well as employees, (ii) disaggregating communities of color to identify who is particularly likely to face this form of discrimination, (iii) identifying specific occupational contexts that increase the likelihood of discrimination based on exclusion from the American identity, (iv) empirically establishing cultural foreignness stereotypes as an important mechanism

underlying this form of discrimination, (v) identifying occupational contexts (e.g., stereotypically high-status jobs) that lead to different patterns of discrimination across racial and ethnic groups, (vi) testing effects across intersections of applicants' race and gender, and (vii) testing effects with both White participants and participants of color.

Chapter 2: Do Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes Predict Unique Patterns of Hiring Discrimination?

This chapter explores the influence of racial stereotyping and cultural markers in the selection process for a stereotypically American job. The research extends beyond the scope of previous studies by examining the role of Anglicized first names in shaping perceptions of Latino and Asian male applicants. Participants, consisting of White adults, were presented with resumes that were identical except for the names - Anglicized Latino (e.g., Martin Gonzalez), Anglicized Asian (e.g., Tony Wang), and Black (e.g., Tyrone Jefferson). The participants were by a researcher to select the candidate they would hire for a job role, the same as used in Study 1, that encapsulates stereotypically American characteristics. Prior to data collection, the target sample size, procedures, hypotheses, and analysis plan were all pre-registered to ensure the rigor of the study. This chapter thus provides a nuanced understanding of the intersection between cultural assimilation, perceived foreignness, and race, and how these factors can influence hiring decisions in a stereotypically American context.

Analytic Decisions

Throughout the manuscript, Welch's *t*-tests and *d*s are reported for between-subject comparisons, and d_{av}s are reported for within-subject comparisons (Delacre et al., 2017; Lakens, 2013). In ANOVAs with repeated measures, Greenhouse-Geiser estimates are used when sphericity assumptions are violated (Maxwell & Delaney, 2004). Within-subjects mediation analyses are conducted using the SPSS MEMORE macro with 10,000 bootstrapped samples (Montoya & Hayes, 2017).

Pilot Study & Procedures

To gather initial evidence that communities of color face different patterns of discrimination for stereotypically American and stereotypically low status jobs, we investigated patterns of racial representation within different types of occupations. We focused on comparing the representation of Asian and Black employees, due to these groups' contrasting stereotypes. In the United States, Asian Americans are stereotyped as culturally foreign and higher status, whereas Black Americans are stereotyped as relatively American and lower status (Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

A list of occupation titles (N = 331) were retrieved from the Bureau of Labor Statistics Current Population Survey (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). Three research assistants rated each occupation for the extent to which it required American or high-status knowledge, experiences, or traits. Raters were provided a list of stereotypically American characteristics (e.g., verbal English communication, political service) and stereotypically high-status characteristics (e.g., advanced math skill, intellectual abilities) and rated each occupation on a scale from 1 (no qualifications listed are required) to 7 (most of or all qualifications listed are required). Raters were instructed that they could look up an occupation title to learn about it if needed. Raters exhibited sufficient reliability, α_{American} = .79; $\alpha_{\text{High-status}}$ = .84.

Five occupations were rated above the midpoint of 4 on requiring American characteristics (e.g., judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers), and five occupations were also rated above the midpoint of 4 on requiring high-status characteristics (e.g., computer network architects; Table S1). American and high-status ratings were not significantly correlated, $r(331) = .10$, $p = .06$. See

Table 1 for the proportion of Black and Asian employees in each of the 10 occupations. Of the five occupations coded by research assistants as requiring the most stereotypically American characteristics, four had a higher proportion of Black than Asian employees. In all five of the occupations coded as requiring the most stereotypically high-status characteristics, the proportion of Asian employees was higher than the proportion of Black employees. We note that discrimination may not be the only possible explanation for such patterns of racial representation (e.g., preference-based U.S. immigration policies have created a selection bias favoring the admission of highly educated Asian professionals) (Wu, 2014).

Study 1: Do Job Characteristics Influence the Perceived Hireability of Applicants from Two Differently Stereotyped Racial and Ethnic Groups?

We used a controlled laboratory experiment to test whether Black and Asian American

Table 1. Percent of Black and Asian employees in occupations rated as the most American and high status.

Category	Occupation	Total Employees	Black Employees		Asian Employees	
		N	*N*	*Percent of total*	*N*	*Percent of total*
American	Judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers	78,000	12,950	16.6	4,446	5.7
	Media and communication	23,595	1,815	7.7	1,050	4.5
	Lawyers	1,183,000	80,444	6.8	61,516	5.2
	Postsecondary teachers	1,156,000	75,140	6.5	129,472	11.2
	Public relations specialists	145,000	15,950	11.0	4,930	3.4
High Status	Computer network architects	107,000	15,836	14.8	16,585	15.5
	Medical scientists	112,000	4,256	3.8	1,050	37.4
	Architectural and engineering managers	171,000	5814	3.4	61,516	9.5
	Statisticians	61,000	4,819	7.9	129,472	28.0
	Mechanical engineers	357,000	17,850	5.0	4.930	11.5

Note. Occupations were retrieved from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (5) and data for each occupation was retrieved from the Bureau of Labor Statistics (23).

applicants would be selected at different rates for a pair of jobs based on their differing job descriptions. White undergraduate students were asked to play the role of a hiring manager for a "Program Response Specialist" position. They were responsible for reviewing the resumes of the two applicants before evaluating them on several dimensions. We predicted that Asian

Americans would be seen as less hireable than Black Americans for a stereotypically American job, while Black Americans would conversely be viewed as less hireable than Asian Americans for a stereotypically low-status job. We expect that the degree of alignment between job characteristics and stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups will influence who is seen as most hirable for a given role. To test this conclusion, we also examine whether cultural foreignness and low status stereotypes mediate the effects of race on perceived hireability, even after controlling for alternative explanations (e.g., perceived warmth).

Method

Participants

To determine sample size, parameters for G*power 3.1 were set based on the findings of a pilot study using methods similar to those described above ($N = 217$). A 3 (condition) x 2 (race) mixed-methods ANOVA showed a significant interaction between job type and race for ratings of hireability, $F(2, 212) = 4.44$, $p = .013$, $\eta^2 = .040$. This power calculation estimated a sample size of 240. We subsequently used G*Power 3.1 to calculate the sample size required to detect the predicted simple effect as a way of generating a more conservative estimate, $F(1, 212) = 3.26$, $p = .035$, $\eta^2 = .021$. This calculation generated a sample size of 160. Adjusting the estimate for our research design we calculated a sample size of $N = 480$ for which we planned to collect 500 participants.

Participants were self-identified White undergraduate students and completed the study in exchange for course credit. Students were recruited from the psychology participant pool at the University of Washington. All participants were asked to come into the laboratory and were

presented with a packet including all study materials. 110 participant's data were excluded (71 who identified as White on the prescreen but not later on the demographic form, 34 who incorrectly identified the race of at least one candidate, 4 who received the same resume twice, and 1 who saw the same racial group twice). Effects described below are similar when including all participants. The final sample consisted of 500 participants (308 women, 188 men, 2 non-binary, 2 other).

Materials & Procedure

Participants were asked to play the role of a hiring manager for a "Program Response Specialist" position. Participants were randomly assigned to receive a job ad (Figure 1) for a stereotypically American job (e.g., "dedicated to democracy and happiness for all Americans"), stereotypically high-status job (e.g., "skilled, high-status, and highly-educated"), or a neutral job (e.g., "looking for an employee"). See Appendix C for resume and name pretests for all studies.

Participants received two resumes, one paired with a stereotypical Asian name and the other with a stereotypical Black name. Four names were used to represent each race (see Appendix C). Name order, resume order, and their pairings were counterbalanced. Experimenters were White.

After seeing each resume, participants rated each applicant on three-item measures of perceived hireability (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire this applicant for this job?"; α_{Asian} = .87, α_{Black} = .87; adapted from Moss-Racusin et al., 2012), perceived cultural foreignness (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is familiar with American culture?"; reverse-scored; α_{Asian} = .81, α_{Black} = .82; adapted from Semrow et al., 2020), and perceived low status (e.g., "How likely is it that

this applicant will be competent in this position?"; reverse-scored; $\alpha_{Asian} = .79$, $\alpha_{Black} = .80$). After rating both applicants, participants indicated which applicant they would recommend for the position (open-ended). Finally, participants completed manipulation checks in which they selected what race they believed each applicant to be and filled out demographic information. All continuous items were on a scale from 1 (not at all likely) to 7 (extremely likely).

Additional Stereotype Measures

Two-item measures assessed perceived warmth (i.e., "How likely is it that this applicant is friendly/moral?"; $\rho_{Asian} = .88$, $\rho_{Black} = .90$). The two items measuring perceived political orientation (i.e., "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal/conservative?") were not highly correlated ($\rho_{Asian} = .54$, $\rho_{Black} = .68$) and were not combined in the analysis.

Results

Descriptive statistics for all studies are reported in Table 2.

Patterns of Hiring Discrimination

A 3 (job: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) chi-square test of independence revealed that Asian and Black applicants were hired at different rates for the different jobs, $\chi^2(2, N = 494) = 19.81$, $p < .001$ (Figure 1). Follow-up exact binomial tests with Bonferroni corrections found that, consistent with our preregistered hypothesis, for the stereotypically American job, White participants chose to hire Asian applicants significantly less often (24%) than Black applicants (76%), $p < .001$. There was no significant difference in hiring of Asian (48%) and Black (52%) applicants for the control job, $p = 1.00$. Contrary to previous literature (Dupree et al., 2021; King et al., 2006), for the

stereotypically high-status job, White participants hired Asian applicants (38%) significantly less often than Black applicants (62%), $p = .007$, a finding we discuss below.

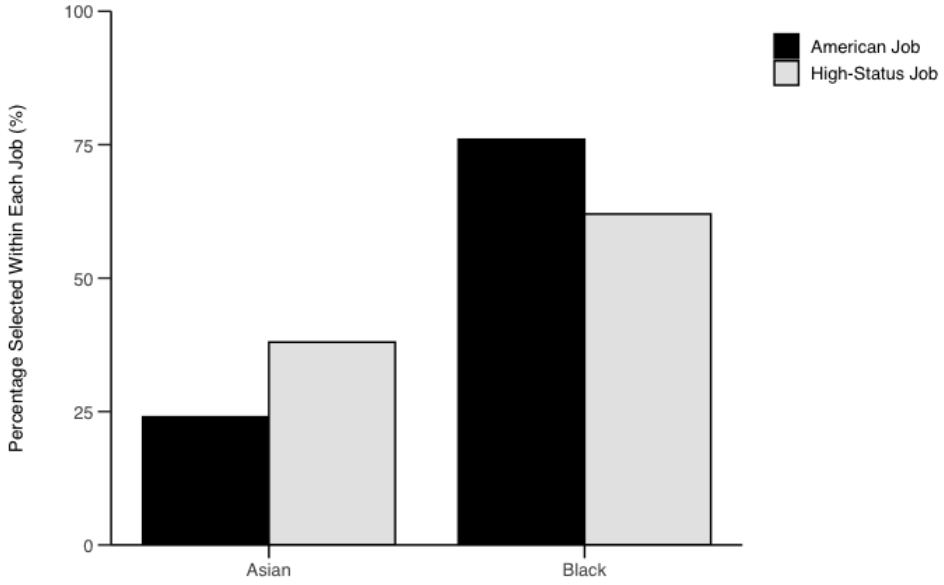

Fig. 2.
Applicants selected to be hired for the stereotypically American job and the stereotypically high-status job in Study 1.

Perceived Hireability

A 3 (job: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed a main effect of job, $F(2, 497) = 33.37$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.12$, a main effect of applicant race, $F(1, 497) = 6.84$, $p = .009$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, and a significant interaction, $F(2, 497) = 12.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.05$. Consistent with our preregistered hypothesis, White participants rated Asian applicants as less hireable than Black applicants for the stereotypically American job. There were no significant differences in perceived hireability for the stereotypically high-status job or the control job.

Seen the other way, Asian applicants were seen as less hireable for the American than high-status job (*ps* < .001, d_{av}s = 0.82). In contrast, Black applicants were perceived as less hireable for the high-status than American job (*ps* < .001, d_{av}s = 0.49; Table 2).

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and within-subjects ANOVA results from Studies 1-4.

Measure	Study	ANOVA results	Arab *M* (*SD*)	Latinx *M* (*SD*)	Asian *M* (*SD*)	Black *M* (*SD*)	White *M* (*SD*)
American job	1	$F(1, 174) = 21.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.11$			5.17_a (1.15)	5.46_b (1.07)	
	2	$F(4, 296) = 114.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .61$	3.61_a (1.32)	4.19_b (1.26)	3.83_c (1.39)	4.80_d (1.38)	5.69_e (1.18)
	3	$F(4, 299) = 153.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .67$	3.50_a (1.16)	4.14_b (1.18)	3.53_a (1.22)	4.55_c (1.19)	5.70_d (1.05)
	4	$F(1, 499) = 1.01$, $p = .315$			2.98_a (1.61)	3.12_a (1.57)	
High-status job	1	$F(1, 160) = 0.61$, $p = .437$			5.98_a (.78)	5.94_a (.89)	
	2	$F(4, 296) = 75.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .51$	4.71_a (1.27)	4.21_b (1.22)	5.50_c (1.14)	4.27_b (1.34)	5.10_d (1.24)
	3	$F(4, 299) = 91.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .55$	4.47_a (1.24)	3.66_b (1.10)	5.41_c (1.13)	3.80_b (1.13)	4.61_a (1.12)
	4	$F(1, 499) = 30.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$			2.37_a (1.36)	3.13_b (1.69)	
Control job	1	$F(1, 163) = 0.14$, $p = .708$			6.02_a (.80)	6.00_a (.80)	
Cultural foreignness stereotypes	1	$F(1, 497) = 678.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.58$			3.45_a (1.14)	2.07_b (.87)	
	2	$F(2.08, 620.55) = 247.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$	4.69_a (1.50)	4.18_b (1.41)	4.36_b (1.64)	2.72_c (1.46)	2.00_d (1.19)
	3	$F(2.48, 749.57) = 370.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .55$	5.12_a (1.37)	4.58_b (1.33)	4.97_a (1.58)	3.05_c (1.41)	1.80_d (1.10)
	4	$F(1, 499) = 40.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$			3.45_a (1.41)	2.63_b (1.47)	
Low-status stereotypes	1	$F(1, 499) = 1.10$, $p = .295$			2.09_a (0.80)	2.11_a (0.80)	
	2	$F(3.12, 933.07) = 89.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$	3.55_a (1.19)	3.73_b (1.13)	2.89_c (1.22)	3.56_a (1.25)	2.57_d (1.17)
	3	$F(3.21, 968.38) = 111.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$	3.80_a (1.10)	4.04_b (1.05)	2.99_c (1.29)	3.85_a (1.15)	2.64_d (1.11)
	4	$F(1, 499) = 48.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$			2.61_a (1.49)	3.62_b (1.72)	

Note. For Studies 1-3, the measures "American job" and "high-status job" refer to perceived hireability and the simple effects of participant race for each job are reported. For Study 4, the measures "American job" and "high-status job" refer to anticipated discrimination and the simple effects of participant race for each job are reported. For Study 4, the measures "cultural foreignness stereotypes," and "low-status stereotypes" refer to anticipated impact and the main effects of participant race are reported. Within each measure, means across the same row that do not share a letter subscript differ at $p < .05$. Bonferroni corrections were used

The Mediating Role of Racial Stereotypes

A 3 (job: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived cultural foreignness revealed a main effect of job, $F(2, 497) = 3.58$, $p = .029$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, the predicted main effect of applicant race, $F(1, 497) = 678.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.58$, and no significant interaction, $F(2, 497) = 1.08$, $p = .340$. As predicted, Asian applicants were rated as significantly more culturally foreign than Black applicants.

Contrary to previous literature on stereotypes (Zou & Cheryan, 2017), a 3 (job: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on low- status stereotypes revealed no main effect of job, $F(2, 497) = 2.62$, $p = .073$, no main effect of applicant race, $F(1, 497) = 1.10$, $p = .295$, and no significant interaction, $F(2, 497) = .60$, $p = .548$. White participants may have been reluctant to explicitly express negative stereotypes of Black applicants (Apfelbaum et al., 2016).

Consistent with our preregistered hypothesis, greater cultural foreignness stereotypes significantly mediated the lower perceived hireability of Asian compared to Black applicants for the stereotypically American job, $B = -.34$, $SE = .08$, 95% CI [-.51, -.18] (Table S4). Perceived cultural foreignness remained a significant mediator after controlling for the perceived status, warmth, and political orientation of the applicants (see Table S5).

However, greater low-status stereotypes did not significantly mediate the relationship between applicant race and perceived hireability for the stereotypically high-status job, B = -.01, SE = .03, 1, 95% CI [-.04, .071] (see Table S5 for parallel mediation results).

Additional Stereotype Measures

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) ANOVA on perceived warmth revealed a main effect of applicant race, $F(1, 429) = 5.49$, $p = .02$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$, such that Asian applicants (M = 5.06, SD = .96) were rated as less warm than Black applicants (M = 5.13, SD = 1.01). There was no main effect of job characteristics, $F(2, 429) = .86$, $p = .42$, and no significant interaction, $F(2, 429) = 1.00$, $p = .37$.

In nonpregistered analyses, two 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) ANOVAs on political orientation stereotypes revealed main effects of applicant race, liberal: $F(1, 425) = 27.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.06$, conservative: $F(1, 427) = 10.01$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$ such that Asian applicants were rated as less liberal (M = 4.41, SD = .94) and more conservative (M = 3.58, SD = .95) than Black applicants (liberal: M = 4.66, SD = 1.07; conservative: M = 3.43, SD = 1.04). There were no effects of job characteristics, liberal: $F(2, 425) = .86$, $p = .42$; conservative: $F(2, 427) = .10$, $p = .90$, and no interactions between job characteristics and applicant race, liberal: $F(2, 425) = 1.68$, $p = .19$; conservative: $F(2, 427) = .75$, $p = .48$.

Participant Gender Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed that participant gender did not significantly moderate the job characteristics × applicant race interaction, $F(2, 429) = 1.68$, $p = .19$.

Order effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, we tested whether the presentation order of applicant race moderated the interaction between applicant race and job characteristics on perceived hireability. A 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) x 2 (race order: Asian first, Black first) ANOVA revealed a significant three-way interaction, $F(5, 429) = 7.53$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.08$. In both race orders, the applicant race x job characteristics interaction was significant though stronger when Asian applicants were presented first: $F(2, 208) = 8.27$, $p < .001$, $\eta_G^2 = .07$, compared to when Black applicants were presented first, $F(2, 221) = 6.58$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.06$.

In a non-preregistered analysis, we tested whether the presentation order of resume order moderated the interaction between applicant race and job characteristics on perceived hireability. A 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian, Black) x 2 (resume order: A first, B first) ANOVA revealed a significant three-way interaction, $F(5, 429) = 5.73$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.06$. In both resume orders, the applicant race x job characteristics interaction was significant though stronger when A was presented first,

$F(2, 227) = 10.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.08$, compared to when B was presented first, $F(2, 202) = 3.43$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$.

Stimulus Effects

Following recommendations for the testing of stimulus effects (Judd et al., 2012), in a non-preregistered analysis, we conducted a linear mixed-effects model with applicant race, job characteristics, and the applicant race x job characteristics interaction entered as fixed effects, and both participant and stimulus included as random intercepts. When stimulus was included as a random effect, the interaction of applicant race and job characteristics remained significant, $F(2, 432) = 12.88$, $p < .001$.

Manipulation Checks

The vast majority of participants accurately identified the intended race of applicants with stereotypically Black (91%) and Asian (99%) names.

Preregistration Deviations

Our preregistration included slightly different questionnaire wording than was used in the study. In the preregistration, we indicated that applicants' names would be specified in the questions (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire <applicant name> for this job?"). In the actual questionnaires, we did not specify the applicant's name (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire this applicant for this job?"). There were no other deviations from the preregistration.

Discussion

When job roles required stereotypically American attributes, Asian male candidates were less frequently chosen for employment than their Black male counterparts. This lower perceived

hireability of Asian applicants relative to Black applicants was mediated by stereotypes about their greater cultural foreignness. Stereotypes of cultural foreignness continued to play a significant mediating role, even after taking into account potential alternate factors such as perceived warmth and political orientation.

In contrast to the findings of previous research (King et al., 2006), Black male candidates were not viewed as less employable than Asian male candidates for high-status roles that are stereotypically American. This may be attributable to more prevalent norms against expressing bias towards Black Americans (Crandall et al., 2002). We address this in Studies 2 and 3.

In this study, the stereotypically American job explicitly included a requirement of U.S. citizenship, a restriction found in many jobs (e.g., certain state and federal jobs, or jobs that require a security clearance). However, citizenship rates vary across racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Asian Americans are more likely to be foreign-born compared to Black Americans; Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). The next studies removed this particular requirement to examine whether applicants of color that are stereotyped as culturally foreign are excluded from stereotypically American jobs even in the absence of citizenship restrictions.

This study also used foreign language first names to represent Asian names. Although many people of color in the U.S., particularly those who are immigrants or children of immigrants, have foreign language first names, some parents give their children Anglicized names (i.e., English language names) that sound more “American” to signal greater cultural assimilation (Gerhards & Hans, 2009). This raises questions as to whether employment discrimination against

Asian applicants bearing Anglicized first names (e.g., Tony Wang) would reflect the patterns observed in this study. Indeed, is the effect of race on hiring discrimination driven by apparent cultural markers, or do the cultural markers simply provide an easy entryway into one's internal model of stereotyping.

Study 1b: Does the Influence of Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes on the Perceived Hireability Depend on Having A Racially Distinct Name?

This study focused on a stereotypically American hypothetical job context and tested whether Latino and Asian male applicants with Anglicized first names would nonetheless be selected to be hired less relative to Black male applicants. White adults were presented with resumes paired with Anglicized Latino (e.g., Martin Gonzalez), Anglicized Asian (e.g., Tony Wang), and Black names (e.g., Tyrone Jefferson) and chose which of the three applicants they would hire for the same stereotypically American job used in Study 1. Target sample size, procedures, hypotheses, and analysis plan were preregistered prior to data collection.

Method

Participants

White Prolific users (N = 1039, 576 women, 438 men, 19 non-binary, 3 who preferred a different term, and 3 who selected multiple options) participated in the study online. All participants viewed a job ad for the stereotypically American job previously used in Study 1. Next, participants viewed three newly created resumes presented in randomized order (Figure 8). Each resume was randomly paired with Anglicized Latino, Anglicized Asian, or Black applicant names. Three unique names were used to represent each racial group (Table S1).

Materials & Procedure

After seeing each resume, participants rated each applicant on their perceived hireability (3 items, $\alpha_{Asian} = .90$, $\alpha_{Latino} = .89$, $\alpha_{Black} = .88$) and perceived cultural foreignness (3 items, $\alpha_{Asian} = .90$, $\alpha_{Latino} = .89$, $\alpha_{Black} = .90$) using the same measures as in Study 1. After rating all three applicants, participants indicated which of the three applicants they would recommend for the position. Finally, participants completed manipulation checks in which they selected what race they believed each applicant to be and filled out demographic information.

Results

Patterns of Hiring Discrimination

A chi-square goodness of fit test revealed that hiring preference was not equally distributed among Latino, Asian, and Black applicants, $\chi^2(2, N = 1039) = 259.97$, $p < .001$. Supporting our preregistered hypotheses, White participants hired Latino (23%) and Asian (21%) applicants at lower rates for a stereotypically American job compared to Black applicants (57%).

Perceived Hireability

A repeated-measures ANOVA revealed significant overall differences in the perceived hireability of Latino, Asian, and Black applicants, $F(1.84, 1914.61) = 67.35$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.06$. Supporting our preregistered hypotheses, Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons revealed that White participants perceived Latino ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.28$) and Asian ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.35$) applicants to be significantly less hireable than Black applicants ($M = 5.54$, $SD = 1.15$), ps $< .001$, $d_{av} = 0.22$ and $d_{av} = 0.22$. In a non-preregistered analysis, there was no significant difference between the perceived hireability of Asian and Latino applicants, $p = 1.00$.

The Mediating Role of Racial Stereotypes

A repeated-measures ANOVA revealed overall differences in cultural foreignness stereotypes about Latino, Asian, and Black applicants, $F(1.61, 1666.83) = 485.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.32$. As predicted but not preregistered, Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons revealed that both Latino ($M = 2.51$, $SD = 1.19$) and Asian ($M = 2.59$, $SD = 1.29$) applicants were stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than Black applicants ($M = 1.72$, $SD = 0.87$), ps $< .001$, $d_{av} = 0.75$ and $d_{av} = 0.79$. Asian applicants were stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than Latino applicants, $p = .001$, $d_{av} = 0.06$.

Supporting our preregistered hypothesis, greater cultural foreignness stereotypes significantly mediated the lower perceived hireability of Asian compared to Black applicants, indirect effect: $b = -0.43$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [-0.51, -0.36], as well as the lower perceived hireability of Latino compared to Black applicants, indirect effect: $b = -0.35$, $SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [-0.42, -0.28]. For both models, non-preregistered analyses found that perceived cultural foreignness remained a significant mediator after controlling for the perceived status, warmth, and political orientation of the applicants (Table S5).

Additional Stereotype Measures.

In a series of non-preregistered analyses, a repeated-measures ANOVA revealed overall differences in White participants' low status stereotypes about Latino, Asian, and Black applicants, $F(1.91, 1981.43) = 20.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$. Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons revealed that Black ($M = 1.95$, $SD = .90$) and Latino ($M = 1.99$, $SD = .92$) applicants were stereotyped as significantly more low status than Asian applicants ($M = 1.86$,

SD = .91), *p*s < .001, d_{av} = 0.10 and d_{av} = 0.14. There was no significant difference in ratings of Black and Latino applicants, *p* = .16.

A repeated-measures ANOVA revealed no overall differences in the perceived warmth of Latino (*M* = 5.19, *SD* = 1.07), Asian (*M* = 5.18, *SD* = 1.08), and Black (*M* = 5.21, *SD* = 1.07) applicants, $F(1.91, 1981.76) = 1.91$, $p = .15$.

Finally, a repeated-measures ANOVA found overall differences in the political orientation stereotypes about Latino, Asian, and Black applicants, $F(1.97, 2049.50) = 46.68$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.04$. Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons revealed that Black applicants were stereotyped as significantly more liberal (*M* = 4.51, *SD* = .89) than Latino applicants (*M* = 4.32, *SD* = .76), *p* < .001, d_{av} = 0.23, and Asian applicants (*M* = 4.28, *SD* = .73), *p* < .001, d_{av} = 0.29. Latino applicants were not stereotyped as significantly more liberal compared to Asian applicants, *p* = .17.

Participant Gender Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 3 (applicant race: Latino, Asian, Black) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed that participant gender did not significantly moderate the effect of applicant race, $F(1.84, 1864.69) = 0.32$, $p = .71$.

Order Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, we tested whether the presentation order of resumes moderated the effect of applicant race on perceived hireability. A 3 (applicant race: Latino, Asian, Black) ×

6 (resume order) ANOVA revealed no significant two-way interaction, $F(9.22, 1904.10) = 0.50$, $p = .88$.

We also tested whether the presentation order of applicant race moderated the effect of applicant race on perceived hireability. A 3 (applicant race: Latino, Asian, Black) × 6 (applicant race order) ANOVA revealed a significant two-way interaction, $F(9.21, 1902.83) = 4.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.02$. Latino and Asian applicants were perceived as less hireable than Black applicants in all applicant race presentation orders except two.

When a Black applicant was presented first, followed by a Latino applicant and then an Asian applicant, the Latino candidate was perceived as less hireable than the Black candidate, but there was no difference in the perceived hireability of the Black and Asian candidates. When a Black applicant was presented first, followed by a Latino applicant and then an Asian applicant, there were no differences in perceptions of hireability across the three applicants.

Manipulation Checks

The vast majority of participants accurately identified the intended race of applicants with stereotypically Black (95.3%), Asian (97.8%), and Latino (97.6%) names.

Preregistration Deviation

Using the same measures as in Study 1, Study 1b assessed low status stereotypes ($\alpha_{Latino} = .92$, $\alpha_{Asian} = .92$, $\alpha_{Black} = .92$), perceived warmth (2 items,$\rho_{Asian} = .90$, $\rho_{Latino} = .91$, $\rho_{Black} = .90$), and perceived political orientation (2 items, $\rho_{Asian} = .61$, $\rho_{Latino} = .69$, $\rho_{Black} = .76$; items were aggregated such that higher scores indicate more liberal).

Discussion

While it seems true that names can be strong cues for identifying the race of an applicant, they seem to – on their own – be insufficient to explain the differences among applicants, suggesting that bias against those perceived as foreigners has less to do with the degree of linguistic familiarity in someone's name than the underlying beliefs that one has about the group more broadly. In this study, we found that Asian applicants with Anglicized first names were still selected less often than Black male applicants for a stereotypically American job. This follow up study also included Latino applicants, finding that Latino applicants with Anglicized first names were also selected less often than Black applicants for a stereotypically American job.

Chapter 3: Comparing Stereotype-Congruent Discrimination at the Intersection of Race and Gender

Study 2: How Do Job Characteristics Influence the Perceived Hireability of Applicants from a Broader Range of Racial and Ethnic Groups?

Study 2 examined hiring discrimination against a wider range of racial and ethnic groups. Study 2 participants were MBA students of different racial and ethnic identities, the majority of whom were current or former hiring managers. We also developed more ecologically valid job ads using words and phrases that were collected from real job listings and pretested as being stereotypically American or low-status characteristics (Figure 3). Study 2 examined evaluations of male applicants who were asked to report on what others (i.e., U.S. hiring managers in general) would do, in order to reduce participants' social desirability concerns about appearing personally racist (Norton et al., 2006).

Open Practices Statement

Target sample size, exclusion criteria, procedures, hypotheses, and analysis plan were preregistered prior to data collection (https://osf.io/3tfw9/?view_only=60c578a290bc49218ce59180c9c45f58). Materials and data will be publicly available prior to publication.

Method

Participants

In this study, 304 MBA students (165 men, 129 women, 3 non-binary, 7 unidentified; 130 White, 121 Asian, 12 Latine, 12 Multiracial, 8 unidentified, 7 Black, 7 Middle Eastern, 2 Native

American, 5 selecting another group) in three business schools were administered paper (n = 273) or online (n = 31) questionnaires. Nearly 80% of participants (n = 243) were currently employed full time and the majority (n = 180) reported having been responsible for hiring employees.

Materials & Procedure

Participants were presented with job ads (Figure 3) for two positions with the same job title and company name as Study 1 (job order counterbalanced). Participants then saw the names of five applicants representing five different races (i.e., Arab, Latine, Asian, Black, and White) for the first job and the same five names for the second job. Three pretested names were used to represent each racial group. Name order varied across participants using a balanced Latin Square design.

For each of the five applicants, participants completed a two-item measure of hireability for each job (e.g., "Based on his name, how interested do you think U.S. hiring managers would be in hiring this applicant for Job #1?"; all ρs > .79).

Next, participants rated each applicant's perceived cultural foreignness ("Based on his name, how American do you think U.S. hiring managers would perceive this applicant to be?"; reverse-scored) and perceived low status ("Based on his name, how competent do you think U.S. hiring managers would perceive this applicant to be?"; reverse-scored). Participants completed manipulation checks in which they answered the extent to which each job required stereotypically American or high-status characteristics on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very*

much). All other continuous items were administered on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Finally, participants filled out demographic information.

Results

For the stereotypically American job, we compared the perceived hireability of Arab, Latino, and Asian applicants to Black applicants, and then compared Black applicants to White applicants. For the stereotypically high-status job, we compared the perceived hireability of Arab, Latino, and Black applicants to both Asian and White applicants. Overall, these analyses are consistent with the bulk of hiring discrimination literature in which the outcomes of people of color are compared to those of White Americans, and also go beyond much of this work by comparing outcomes *among* different communities of color. Of the five preregistered hypotheses, all were supported.

Patterns of Perceived Hireability

Two 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latino, Asian, Black, White) repeated-measures ANOVAs on perceived hireability revealed a main effect of job characteristics ($F(1, 299) = 83.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.22$), a main effect of applicant race ($F(3.03, 907.27) = 126.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.30$), and supporting our preregistered hypotheses, significant interactions ($F(2.80, 837.32) = 224.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.43$).

Consistent with our preregistered hypotheses, Arab, Latino, and Asian male applicants were perceived as less hireable for the stereotypically American job than Black male applicants (*ps* $< .001$, d_{av}s > 0.45). As predicted, Black male applicants were also perceived as less hireable

than White male applicants for the stereotypically American job ($p < .001$, $d_{av} = 0.69$) (Figure 4; Table 2).

Consistent with our preregistered hypotheses, Black, Latino, and Arab male applicants were perceived as less hireable for the stereotypically high-status job than Asian male applicants, *ps* < .001, d_{av}s > 0.65, and White male applicants, *ps* < .001, d_{av}s > 0.31 (Figure 4; Table 2).

Seen the other way, Arab and Asian male applicants were seen as less hireable for the American than the high-status job (*ps* < .001, d_{av}s > .85). In contrast, Black and White male applicants were perceived as less hireable for the high-status than American job (*ps* < .001, d_{av}s > .39). Latino applicants were not perceived significantly differently across the two jobs ($p = .81$) (Figure 4; Table 2).

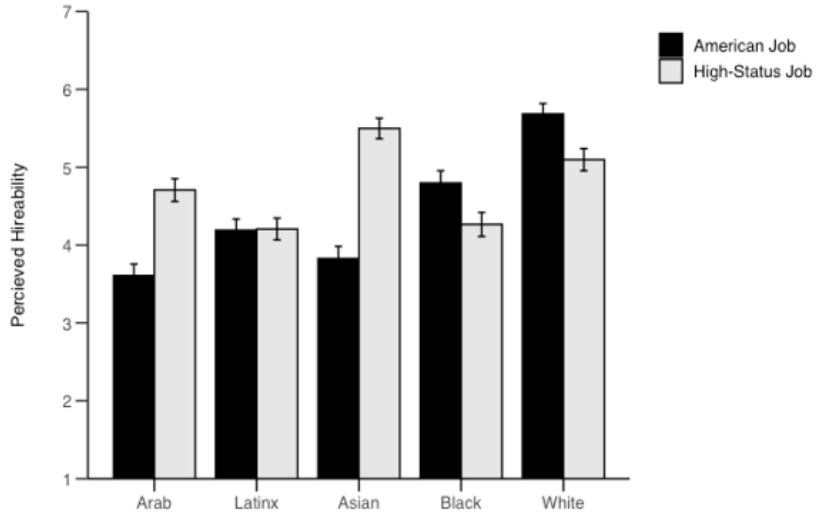

Fig. 4.
Perceived hireability of male applicants for the stereotypically American job and the stereotypically high-status job in Study 2. Error bars show 95% CI.

The Mediating Role of Racial Stereotypes

Repeated-measures ANOVAs revealed overall differences in cultural foreignness stereotypes and low-status stereotypes about Arab, Latino, Asian, Black, and White applicants (Table 2). First, consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, Arab, Asian, and Latino applicants were stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than Black applicants ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 1.02). Black applicants were also stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than White applicants ($p < .001$, $d_{av} = 0.54$). Next, consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, Black, Latino, and Arab applicants were stereotyped as having significantly lower status than White applicants ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.81), and Asian applicants ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.53).

Consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, for the stereotypically American job, greater cultural foreignness stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Arab relative to Black applicants, Latino relative to Black applicants, and Asian relative to Black applicants. In addition, greater cultural foreignness stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Black relative to White applicants (Table 2). For each model, perceived cultural foreignness remained a significant mediator after controlling for perceived low status (different warmth and political orientation were not measured), with the exceptions of Black male applicants compared to Latino and White male applicants (see Appendix B).

In line with our pre-registered hypotheses, for the stereotypically high-status job, greater low-status stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Arab relative to Asian applicants, Latino relative to Asian applicants, and Black relative to Asian applicants. Greater low-status stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Arab relative to White applicants, Latino

relative to White applicants, and Black relative to White applicants. Perceived low status remained a significant mediator for each model after controlling for perceived cultural foreignness (see Appendix B).

Participant Gender Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high- status) × 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latino, Asian, Black, White) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed that participant gender did not significantly moderate the job characteristics × applicant race interaction, $F(2.83, 822.58) = 1.13$, $p = .34$.

Order Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, we tested whether the presentation order of jobs moderated the interaction between applicant race and job characteristics on perceived hireability. A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latino, Asian, Black, White) x 2 (job order: stereotypically American first, stereotypically high-status first) ANOVA revealed a significant three-way interaction, $F(2.78, 827.00) = 2.78$, $p = 0.04$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.01$.

In both job orders, the applicant race x job characteristics interaction was significant, stereotypically American first: $F(2.95, 447.81) = 116.47$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.43$, stereotypically high-status first: $F(2.51, 366.47) = 112.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.44$. Patterns of racial and ethnic groups' perceived hireability were generally the same across the two orders, with small differences in which groups were rated as significantly different from one another (e.g., when the

stereotypically American job was presented first, Asian and Arab applicants were not perceived as significantly different on hireability for the stereotypically American job, but when the high-status job was presented first, Asian applicants were perceived as significantly more hireable than Arab applicants for the American job).

Stimulus Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, we conducted a linear mixed-effects model with applicant race, job characteristics, and the applicant race x job characteristics interaction entered as fixed effects, and both participant and stimulus were included as random intercepts. When the stimulus was included as a random effect, the interaction of applicant race and job characteristics remained significant, $F(4, 2690.94) = 163.38$, $p < .001$.

Manipulation Checks

In a non-preregistered analysis, paired sample t-tests revealed that the stereotypically American job was perceived as requiring more stereotypically American characteristics ($M = 5.84$, $SD = 1.32$) than the stereotypically high-status job ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.58$), $t(297) = 24.38$, $p < .001$, $d_{av} = 1.86$. The stereotypically high-status job was perceived as requiring more stereotypically high-status characteristics ($M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.45$) than the stereotypically American job ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 1.69$), $t(298) = 11.18$, $p < .001$, $d_{av} = 0.92$.

Preregistration Deviations

The final sample included two extra participants who were run to account for two earlier participants who did not answer all the questions. There were no other deviations from the pre-registration.

Discussion

Distinct types of jobs cause distinct racial and ethnic groups to come into focus as the targets of hiring discrimination. These patterns of discrimination were found to affect men of color. When a job emphasized stereotypically American characteristics, Arab, Latino, and Asian applicants were rated by participants as less hireable compared to Black and White applicants. This lower perceived hireability was mediated by greater stereotypes of their cultural foreignness. When stereotypically high-status job characteristics were emphasized instead, Black, Latino, and Arab applicants were perceived as less hireable than Asian and White applicants. Greater stereotypes of their low status mediated this lower perceived hireability.

Study 3: Do Job Characteristics Influence the Perceived Hireability of Women in Ways Similar to Men?

Study 3 extended the findings about hiring discrimination against a wider range of racial and ethnic groups to female applicants. Our goal was to extend previous work on discrimination that has focused on men of color (for exceptions, see Booth et al., 2012; Milkman et al., 2012). Like previous studies, this experiment asked participants to report on what others (i.e., U.S. hiring managers in general) would do, to reduce participants' social desirability concerns about appearing personally racist (Norton et al., 2006).

Open Practices Statement

Target sample size, exclusion criteria, procedures, hypotheses, and analysis plan were pre-registered prior to data collection

(https://osf.io/ahzcq/?view_only=06617034d0b145809de99bf800ef3408). Materials and data will be publicly available prior to publication.

Method

Participants

In this study, undergraduates (N = 303, 172 women, 130 men, 1 non-binary; 147 Asian; 106 White, 21 Latine; 20 Multiracial; 4 Black; 4 Arab; 1 selecting another group) were recruited from the university undergraduate online psychology subject pool (n = 165) and one business school (n = 138).

Materials & Procedure

Like the previous study, participants saw job ads (Figure 3) for two positions with the same job title and company name as Study 1 (job order counterbalanced). Participants again saw the names of five applicants representing five different races (i.e., Arab, Latina, Asian, Black, and White) for the first and second jobs. Three pretested names were used to represent women from each racial group. Name order varied across participants using a balanced Latin Square design.

For each of the five applicants, participants again completed a two-item measure of hireability for each job (e.g., “Based on her name, how interested do you think U.S. hiring managers would be in hiring this applicant for Job #1?”; all ρs remained above .79).

Next, participants rated each applicant’s perceived cultural foreignness (“Based on her name, how American do you think U.S. hiring managers would perceive this applicant to be?”; reverse-scored) and perceived low status (“Based on her name, how competent do you think U.S. hiring

managers would perceive this applicant to be?"; reverse-scored). Participants completed manipulation checks in which they answered the extent to which each job required stereotypically American or high-status characteristics on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very much*). All other continuous items were administered on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*). Finally, participants filled out demographic information.

Results

For the stereotypically American job, we compared the perceived hireability of Arab, Latina, and Asian applicants to Black applicants, and then compared Black applicants to White applicants. For the stereotypically high-status job, we compared the perceived hireability of Arab, Latina, and Black applicants to both Asian and White applicants. These analyses go beyond the scope of the work thus far by comparing outcomes *among* women of color, a historically underrepresented group in labor market research. Of the five pre-registered hypotheses, four were supported. (The exception was that Arab female applicants were not perceived as less hireable than White female applicants for the stereotypically American job).

Patterns of Perceived Hireability

Two 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) $\times$ 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latina, Asian, Black, White) repeated-measures ANOVAs on perceived hireability revealed main effects of job characteristics ($F(1, 302) = 8.31$, $p = .004$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.03$), main effects of applicant race (Study 3: $F(3.32, 1003.90) = 131.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.30$), and supporting our preregistered hypotheses, significant interactions (Study 3: $F(2.73, 823.48) = 273.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = 0.48$).

Consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, for the stereotypically American job, Arab, Latina, and Asian female applicants were perceived as less hireable than Black female applicants ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.34). As predicted, Black female applicants were also perceived as less hireable than White female applicants for the stereotypically American job ($p < .001$, $d_{av} = 1.03$) (Figure 5; Table 2).

Consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, Black, Latina, and Arab female applicants were perceived as less hireable than Asian female applicants for the stereotypically high-status job, ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.78). Black and Latina female applicants were also perceived as less hireable than White female applicants for the stereotypically high-status job, ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.71). Contrary to the pre-registered hypothesis, Arab female applicants were not perceived as less hireable than White female applicants, $p = 1.00$ (Figure 5; Table 2).

Conversely, Arab and Asian applicants were seen as less hireable for the American than high-status job ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.67), while Black and White female applicants were perceived as less hireable for the high-status than American job (ps .001 < , d_{av}s > 0.65). Latina applicants were not perceived significantly differently across the two jobs ($ps < .001$, d_{av}s > 0.42) (Figure 5; Table 2).

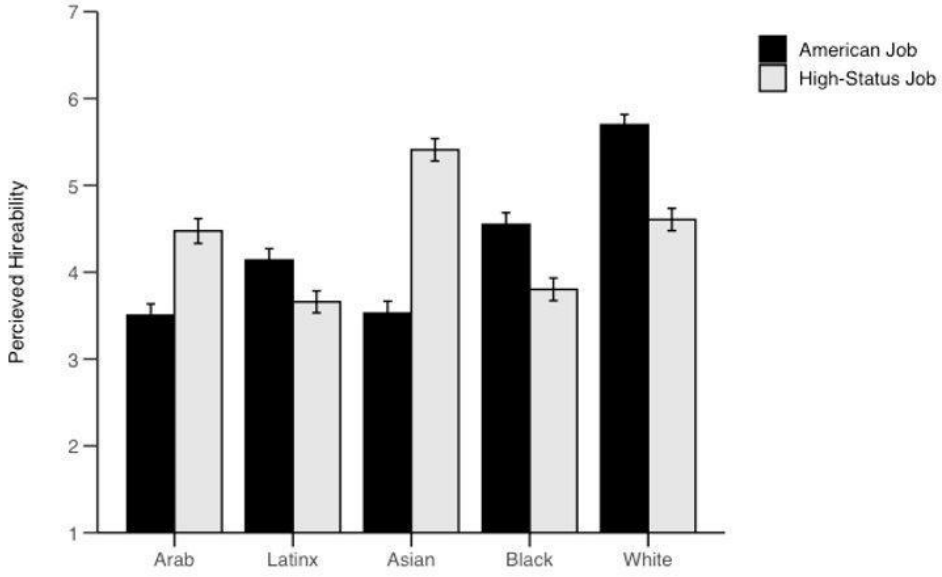

Fig. 5.
Perceived hireability of female applicants for the stereotypically American job and the stereotypically high-status job in Study 3. Error bars show 95% CI.

The Mediating Role of Racial Stereotypes.

Repeated-measures ANOVAs revealed overall differences in cultural foreignness stereotypes and low-status stereotypes about Arab, Latina, Asian, Black, and White applicants (Table 2). First, consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, Arab, Asian, and Latina applicants were stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than Black applicants (*ps* < .001, d_{av}s > 1.11). Black applicants were also stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than White applicants ($p < .001$, $d_{av} = 0.99$). Next, consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, Black, Latina, and Arab applicants were stereotyped as having significantly lower status than White applicants (*ps* < .002, d_{av}s > 1.05), and Asian applicants (*ps* < .001, d_{av}s > 0.67).

Consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, for the stereotypically American job, greater cultural foreignness stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Arab relative to

Black applicants, Latina relative to Black applicants, and Asian relative to Black applicants. In addition, greater cultural foreignness stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Black relative to White applicants (Table 2). For each model, perceived cultural foreignness remained a significant mediator after controlling for perceived low status (perceived warmth and political orientation were not measured) (see Appendix B).

Consistent with our pre-registered hypotheses, for the stereotypically high-status job, greater low-status stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Arab relative to Asian applicants, Latina relative to Asian applicants, and Black relative to Asian applicants. In addition, greater low-status stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Arab relative to White applicants, Latina relative to White applicants, and Black relative to White applicants. Perceived low status remained a significant mediator after controlling for perceived cultural foreignness in each model (see Appendix B).

Participant Gender Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latina, Asian, Black, White) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed that participant gender did not significantly moderate the job characteristics × applicant race interaction, $F(2.72, 816.20) = .84$, $p = .46$.

Participant Race Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latina, Asian, Black, White) × 2 (participant race: Asian,

White) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed no three-way interaction, $F(2.96, 741.71) = 1.15$, $p = .33$.

Order Effects

We tested whether the presentation order of jobs moderated the interaction between applicant race and job characteristics on perceived hireability in a non-preregistered analysis. A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) ✕ 5 (applicant race: Arab, Latina, Asian, Black, White) x 2 (job order: stereotypically American first, stereotypically high-status first) ANOVA revealed no significant three-way interaction, $F(2.71, 816.80) = 1.45$, $p = 0.23$.

Stimulus Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, we conducted a linear mixed-effects model with applicant race, job characteristics, and the applicant race x job characteristics interaction entered as fixed effects. Both participant and stimulus were included as random intercepts. When the stimulus was included as a random effect, the interaction of applicant race and job characteristics remained significant, $F(4, 2708.04) = 236.92$, $p < .001$.

Manipulation Checks

In a non-preregistered analysis, paired sample t-tests revealed that the stereotypically American job was perceived as requiring more stereotypically American characteristics ($M = 5.69$, $SD = 1.29$) than the stereotypically high-status job ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.57$), $t(302) = 22.23$, $p < .001$, $d_{av} = 1.71$. The stereotypically high-status job was perceived as requiring more stereotypically high-status characteristics ($M = 5.94$, $SD = 1.15$) than the stereotypically American job ($M = 3.81$, $SD = 1.42$), $t(302) = 21.33$, $p < .001$, $d_{av} = 1.65$.

Pre-registration Deviations

The final sample included an extra participant who was collected in the subject pool of the business school. There were no other deviations from the pre-registration.

Discussion

Different jobs cause distinct racial and ethnic groups to come into focus as the most likely targets of hiring discrimination. Similar to previous studies, we used the same job titles and manipulated only characteristics associated with each job. These patterns of discrimination were found to have affected both men and women of color. When a job emphasized stereotypically American characteristics, Arab, Latina, and Asian applicants were perceived as less hireable compared to Black and White applicants. This lower perceived hireability was mediated by greater stereotypes of their cultural foreignness. When stereotypically high-status job characteristics were emphasized instead, Black, Latina, and Arab applicants were perceived as less hireable than Asian and White applicants. This lower perceived hireability was mediated by greater stereotypes of their low status.

Studies 1, 1b, and 2 used the same job titles and manipulated only characteristics associated with each job. This approach ensured that results were not driven by participants' prior knowledge of the racial composition of various jobs (e.g., Dupree et al., 2021). However, our methodological choices might be limited in that we used a single job title that is not common in the real world (i.e., program response specialist). We address this in the next study by choosing different common job titles across the two jobs.

Chapter 4: How the Awareness of Stereotype-Congruent Discrimination Shapes Applicant Choices

Study 4: How Do Job Characteristics and the Awareness of Stereotypes Influence the Choices of Black and Asian Applicants?

In Studies 1-3, applicants of color were considered less hireable for jobs that were incongruent with how their racial and ethnic groups are stereotyped. Applicants of color themselves may correspondingly anticipate facing discrimination and avoid such stereotype-incongruent jobs. We predicted that Asian Americans would be less likely to apply for a stereotypically American job and anticipate more discrimination compared to Black Americans, while Black Americans would be less likely to apply for a high-status job and anticipate more discrimination compared to Asian Americans.

Open Practices Statement

Target sample size, exclusion criteria, procedures, hypotheses, and analysis plan were pre-registered prior to data collection (https://osf.io/wv52u/?view_only=e1221ac3a02b454e84a7437646fb1b87). Materials and data will be publicly available prior to publication.

Method

Participants

Black and Asian Americans (N = 501; 263 men, 233 women, 4 non-binary, 1 who selected both man and woman; 251 Asian, 250 Black) were recruited through Prolific. Consistent with our pre-registration, 17 people were excluded for requesting to have their data withdrawn, and 13

participants were excluded for not identifying as monoracially Black or monoracially Asian on the demographic form.

Materials & Procedure

Participants were given two job ads (job order counterbalanced; Figure 6). Job ads were identical to those used in Studies 2 and 3 but paired with new job titles based on real occupations that were coded as stereotypically American or high-status (see Appendix B). We selected ecologically valid job titles from real job listings that were pretested in a pilot study as being stereotypically American or high-status (see Appendix B). For the stereotypically American job ad, we adapted the second highest-rated American job title ("Media Communications Workers"). We skipped over the highest-rated title ("Judges, Magistrates, and Other Judicial Workers") because hiring for this position does not typically occur through job ads. For the stereotypically high-status job ad, we used the highest rated high-status job title, "Computer Network Architect."

Participants chose which of the two jobs they would be more likely to apply for if they were qualified for both. After each job ad, participants also completed three-item measures of anticipated discrimination (e.g., "I expect to be discriminated against due to my race"; $\alpha_{American\ job}$ = .95, $\alpha_{high\text{-}status\ job}$ = .96), anticipated impact of cultural foreignness stereotypes ("I expect that my racial group being stereotyped as unfamiliar with American culture would count against me as an applicant for this job."; $\alpha_{American\ job}$ = .93, $\alpha_{high\text{-}status\ job}$ = .92), and anticipated impact of low-status stereotypes (e.g., "I expect that my racial group being stereotyped as unskilled would count against me as an applicant for this job"; $\alpha_{American\ job}$ = .95, $\alpha_{high\text{-}status\ job}$ = .97). Items were administered on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Participants completed

a manipulation check in which they were asked to identify a requirement of each job from a multiple-choice list. Finally, participants filled out demographic information.

Additional Stereotype Measures

Two-item measures assessed the anticipated impact of warmth stereotypes (e.g., "I expect that my racial group being stereotyped as unfriendly would count against me as an applicant for this job"; reverse scored; $\rho_{American\ job}$ = .76, $\rho_{high\text{-}status\ job}$ = .76). The two items measuring the anticipated impact of political orientation stereotypes (e.g., "I expect that my racial group being stereotyped as liberal/conservative would count against me as an applicant for this job"; conservative reverse-scored) were not highly correlated ($\rho_{American\ job}$ = -.53, $\rho_{high\text{-}status\ job}$ = -.55) and were not combined. Items were administered on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*).

Results

Choice to Apply.

Consistent with our pre-registered hypothesis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) chi-square test of independence revealed that Asian and Black Americans indicated that they would apply for the different jobs at significantly varying rates, $\chi^2(1, N = 501) = 11.28$, $p < .001$ (Figure 9). A lower proportion of Black Americans (45%) than Asian Americans (55%) applied to the stereotypically high-status job. In contrast, a lower proportion of Asian Americans (39%) than Black Americans (61%) applied to the stereotypically American job.

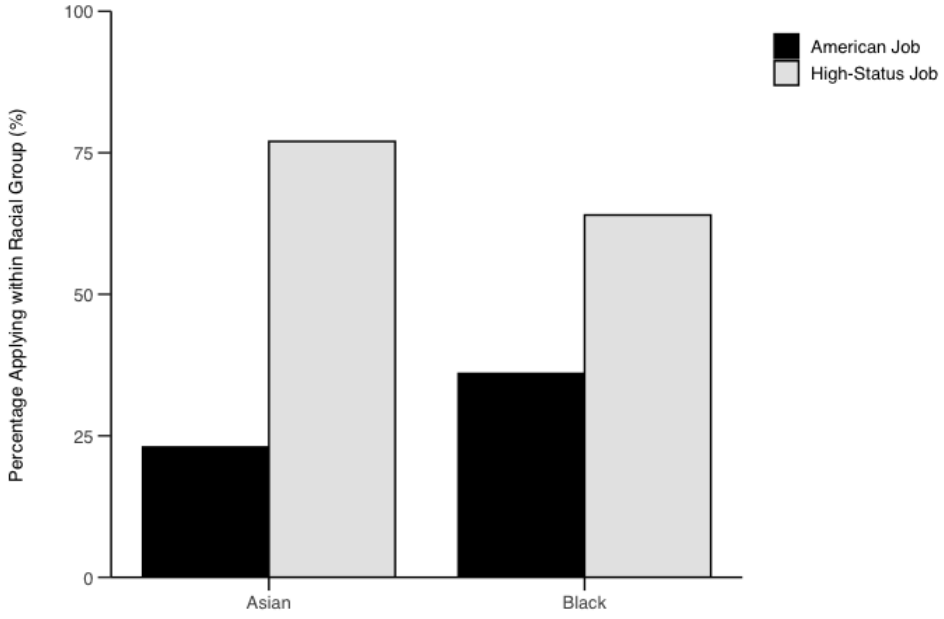

Fig. 9.
Rate of application for the stereotypically American job and the stereotypically high-status job among Black and Asian Americans in Study 4.

Patterns of Anticipated Discrimination.

A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) ✕ 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated discrimination revealed a main effect of job characteristics, $F(1, 499) = 24.59$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 499) = 12.84$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .03$, and consistent with our pre-registered hypothesis, a significant interaction, $F(1, 499) = 25.03$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. As predicted, Black Americans anticipated experiencing more discrimination than Asian Americans for the stereotypically high-status job, $F(1, 499) = 30.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Inconsistent with our pre-registered hypothesis, there was no difference in anticipated discrimination between Asian and Black Americans for the stereotypically American job, $F(1, 499) = 1.01$, $p = .315$, a finding we return to below.

Seen the other way, Asian Americans anticipated experiencing more discrimination for the stereotypically American job than the stereotypically high-status job, $F(1, 499) = 49.72$, $p < .001$. Black Americans anticipated the same level of discrimination across the two jobs, $F(1, 499) = .001$, $p = .976$.

The Mediating Role of Racial Stereotypes.

A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated impact of cultural foreignness stereotypes revealed a main effect of job characteristics, $F(1, 499) = 142.77$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .22$, a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 499) = 40.42$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, and a significant interaction, $F(1, 499) = 11.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$. Asian Americans expected to be more negatively impacted by cultural foreignness stereotypes than Black Americans for both jobs, but this expectation disparity was significantly larger for the stereotypically American job, $F(1, 499) = 45.80$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .08$, than the stereotypically high-status job, $F(1, 499) = 18.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated impact of low-status stereotypes revealed no main effect of job characteristics, $F(1, 499) = 1.20$, $p = .275$, a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 499) = 48.94$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, and a significant interaction, $F(1, 499) = 19.93$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$. Black Americans expected to be more negatively impacted by low-status stereotypes than Asian Americans for both jobs, but this expectations disparity was

significantly higher larger for the stereotypically high-status job, $F(1, 499) = 65.67$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, than the stereotypically American job, $F(1, 499) = 19.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .04$.

Consistent with our pre-registered hypothesis, anticipated impact of cultural foreignness stereotypes significantly mediated the relationship between participant race and anticipated discrimination for the stereotypically American job, $B = .46$, $SE = .08$, 95% CI [.30, .63] (Table S4). The anticipated impact of cultural foreignness stereotypes remained a significant mediator after controlling for the anticipated impact of low-status, warmth, liberal, and conservative stereotypes (see Appendix B).

Consistent with our pre-registered hypothesis, anticipated impact of low-status stereotypes significantly mediated the relationship between participant race and anticipated discrimination for the stereotypically high-status job, $B = -0.68$, $SE = 0.11$, 95% CI [-0.89, -0.48] (Table S4). The anticipated impact of low-status stereotypes remained a significant mediator after controlling for the anticipated impact of cultural foreignness, warmth, liberal, and conservative stereotypes (see Appendix B).

Additional Stereotype Measures

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) $\times$ 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated impact of warmth stereotypes revealed a main effect of job characteristics, $F(1, 499) = 48.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .09$, a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 499) = 4.26$, $p = .040$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 499) = 1.05$, $p = .306$. Americans expected to be more negatively impacted by warmth stereotypes in the stereotypically high-status job (M = 5.36, SD = 1.56) than the

stereotypically American job (M = 4.93, SD = 1.73). Asian Americans (M = 5.28, SD = 1.41) expected to be more negatively impacted by warmth stereotypes than Black Americans (M = 5.01, SD = 1.57) for either job.

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated impact of liberal stereotypes revealed a main effect of job characteristics, $F(1, 499) = 12.46$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, no main effect of participant race, $F(1, 499) = 0.83$, $p = .364$, and a significant interaction, $F(1, 499) = 6.39$, $p = .012$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$. The anticipated impact of liberal stereotypes between Asian and Black Americans for the stereotypically American job, $F(1, 499) = 0.05$, $p = .832$, was weaker than the anticipated impact for the stereotypically high-status job, $F(1, 499) = 3.52$, $p = .061$.

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated impact of conservative stereotypes revealed a main effect of job characteristics, $F(1, 499) = 25.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$, a main effect of participant race, $F(1, 499) = 9.47$, $p = .002$, $\eta_p^2 = .02$, and no significant interaction, $F(1, 499) = 3.81$, $p = .052$. Black Americans expected to be more negatively impacted by conservative stereotypes in the stereotypically American job (M = 2.74, SD = 1.58) than in the stereotypically high-status job (M = 2.46, SD = 1.53). Asian Americans (M = 2.80, SD = 1.43) expected to be more negatively impacted by conservative stereotypes than Black Americans (M = 2.41, SD = 1.40) for either job.

Participant Gender Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, a 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on anticipated discrimination revealed that participant gender did not significantly moderate the job characteristics × participant race interaction, $F(1, 492) = 0.83$, $p = .364$.

Order Effects

In a non-preregistered analysis, we tested whether the presentation order of jobs moderated the interaction between participant race and job characteristics on anticipated discrimination. A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (participant race: Asian, Black) × 2 (job order: stereotypically American first, stereotypically high-status first) ANOVA revealed no significant three-way interaction, $F(1, 497) = .02$, $p = .894$.

Manipulation Checks

The vast majority of participants accurately identified one of the job requirements for the stereotypically American (97%) and stereotypically high-status (95%) jobs.

Preregistration Deviations

We requested exactly 530 participants from Prolific, but 531 were allowed to complete the study.

Discussion

Black and Asian Americans made different decisions to apply for jobs and anticipated facing different patterns of discrimination. Asian Americans were less likely than Black Americans to

indicate that they would apply for a stereotypically high-status job. The relationship between participant race and anticipated discrimination was mediated by the anticipated impact of cultural foreignness and low-status stereotypes.

Unexpectedly, there was no difference in anticipated discrimination between Asian and Black Americans for the stereotypically American job. In contrast to the stereotypically American job, Black Americans were less likely than Asian Americans to apply for a stereotypically high-status job and anticipated facing more discrimination for that job than Asian Americans did. This relationship was mediated by the anticipated impact of low-status stereotypes. This study illuminates how applicants of color may anticipate employers' distinct discriminatory tendencies toward their groups and select themselves out of certain jobs.

Chapter 5: General Discussion

Much of the existing work on labor market discrimination has used field studies (e.g., sending resumes out to employers) to investigate whether a single racial or ethnic group faces discrimination compared to White Americans or whether job characteristics predict hiring outcomes (Quillian & Midtbøen, 2021). Our studies add to this body of work in three primary ways. First, we experimentally manipulated job characteristics using carefully controlled and pretested job ads, enabling us to infer that different job characteristics caused unique patterns of discrimination. Second, we investigated distinct racial stereotypes as the underlying processes driving hiring discrimination. Third, we brought multiple racial and ethnic groups into the same studies and examined men as well as women. Comparisons of outcomes across communities of color are increasingly important as the proportion of people of color in the U.S. labor market increases and employers are tasked with making choices between people of color (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020).

This work may also help explain conflicting patterns in the literature around which racial and ethnic groups face more discrimination. For example, some work finds that Black Americans face labor market discrimination at higher rates than Latine Americans (Pager et al., 2009, Decker et al., 2015), while others have found no difference in employer preferences for Black, Latine, and White applicants (Darolia et al., 2016). Outside of the labor market, some studies show more discrimination against Black than Latine and Asian Americans (Gaddis & Ghoshal, 2020, Gaddis, 2017), some show more discrimination against both Black and Latine than Asian Americans (Eaton et al., 2020), some show more discrimination against Asian than Black and Latine Americans (Milkman et al., 2012), and still others find more discrimination against Asian

and Latine Americans than Black Americans (Gell-Redman et al., 2018). Our findings highlight the importance of attending to job context when investigating labor market discrimination so as to not "flatten" experiences with discrimination across communities of color.

From a practical standpoint, this work enables organizations and individuals who are interested in improving racial equity to make predictions about when they may need to be most vigilant for discrimination. In contexts where loyalty to the U.S. or English abilities may be prioritized (e.g., U.S. government organizations), Arab, Latine, and Asian Americans may be at greater risk for encountering hiring discrimination than Black and White Americans (Gell-Redman et al., 2018). In contrast, in contexts where advanced education or technical skills are valued (e.g., STEM fields), Black, Latine, and Arab Americans may face greater hiring discrimination than Asian and White Americans (Eaton et al., 2020).

These findings further suggest how societies can intervene to reduce labor market discrimination and improve equity. Changing stereotypes (e.g., using the media or information campaigns) or preventing those stereotypes from being applied in workplaces may be a promising avenue for change. However, organizational efforts to reduce discrimination in the workplace must be attentive to the particular ways in which racial and ethnic groups are being stereotyped. For example, training or policies aimed at reducing the impact of stereotyping in hiring decisions must address both cultural foreignness stereotypes as well as low status stereotypes.

We consider two alternative explanations for our findings. One is that participants may have made their decisions not due to racial animus ("taste-based discrimination") but because they

used accurate base-rate information about racial and ethnic groups (e.g., "statistical discrimination") (Phelps, 1972). While it is true that a greater proportion of Arab, Latine, and Asian Americans are not U.S. citizens compared to Black and White Americans (Brittingham & de la Cruz, 2005; Vespa et al., 2018), the question of whether discrimination is taste-based or statistical (and thereby "rational" and "justified") (Tilcsik, 2021) focuses attention on the motivation behind an act of discrimination rather than on its impact. Dependence on racial or ethnic group membership by employers to evaluate applicants is both illegal in the U.S. (e.g., Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972) and morally problematic as it relies on racial profiling or the determination of the deservingness of a single individual based on how their group is stereotyped (Quillian & Midtbøen, 2021). Whether driven by animus or perceived base-rate information (which itself may be false or imagined) (Lu et al., 2020), labor market discrimination results in not only inequitable short-term outcomes across racial and ethnic groups but can also contribute to long-term racial disparities in the labor market.

A second viable alternative explanation is that the names we selected were biased. One strength of the work was the extensive pretesting to determine names and the use of multiple names to designate a particular racial or ethnic group. However, the names used reflect who is perceived as most representative of the racial or ethnic group rather than all members of that group. For example, the names pretested as the most "Asian American" and used in Studies 1-3 were Chinese names (e.g., Wang). These Chinese names may have been selected during pretesting because Chinese Americans are seen as prototypical Asian Americans (Lee & Ramakrishnan, 2020). Applicants with names associated with other ethnic subgroups (e.g., Vietnamese) may face different outcomes for stereotypically American jobs, to the extent that those ethnic

subgroups are subject to distinct cultural foreignness stereotypes than the broader pan-ethnic group. In addition, none of the Arab, Latine, and Asian names that were pre-tested as the most representative of the group were Anglicized (offering further evidence that these groups are perceived as culturally foreign). However, consistent with previous work (Cheryan & Monin, 2005), we found that Latine and Asian men with Anglicized names were still stereotyped as more culturally foreign than Black Americans.

Five preregistered studies, including controlled laboratory experiments and ecologically valid employment discrimination cases, demonstrate that people of color's exclusion from the American identity is a significant source of labor market discrimination. The tendency to discriminate based on these stereotypes may compound over time and develop into larger disparities in labor market composition, wages and wealth, and well-being (Pager, 2009). Addressing these sources of discrimination may help remedy disparities and move the labor market closer towards one of equal opportunity.

Chapter 6: The Power of Stereotypes

Foreword

I have included this section in the paper because I felt it necessary to try to grapple with a few ideas that didn't belong in the main body of the paper. First is to make the argument that stereotyping — borne of the psychological co-conspirators: learning and meaning making — can become oppressive when institutionalized. The second is that the paper lacked a strong message about *why* this form of occupational "sorting" happens in the first place. The widespread omission of such narratives in experimental psychology is, in part, an economy-of-space issue. So, with this space I wanted to attempt to leave a trail of ideas behind for any other researchers inclined to question structural problems alongside more granular psychological ones. In this chapter I look briefly at the sociohistorical construction of Whiteness and reflect on the roots of America's racial hierarchy. The paragraphs that follow also both critique and broaden the APA's definition of racism. I do so to make the argument that racism in America is part of a racial project within which labor market discrimination is but one expression. It is also an example of how seemingly benign racial stereotypes can have structural consequences. It is my view that constructing people as racial categories without interrogating the logic of race, limits our ability to understand the mechanisms of oppression – a critique that extends to parts of this paper. In that sense, I am inviting you to critique my ideas and methods as but one interpretation of an inherently complicated subject. Please think of this chapter as an attempt to meaningfully participate in the discussion about systemic racism.

> "I think we have to constantly make connections… In many ways I think we have to engage in an *exercise* of intersectionality; of always foregrounding those connections so that people remember that nothing happens in isolation." (Davis, 2015, pp. 46–47)

Racism in America

America has a problem with racism. To say this requires establishing a definition of racism that can be the basis of a discussion about race throughout this chapter. For racism to be a useful concept it must grapple with what Schwalbe et al. (2000) referred to as the "processes that produce and perpetuate it." Understanding the history, logic, and processes that produce racial discrimination helps to explain how racial and ethnic stereotypes take on the power that they do in American society. This paper provides evidence that stereotypes shape our expectations about labor outcomes. However, it is out of the scope of this research to truly interrogate the reason stereotypes function in American institutions as they do. In the brief *coda* to this work that follows, I will attempt to describe a theory of stereotypes as a tool for shaping reality. In this paper I argue that stereotypes shape the occupational paths and labor market outcomes for people of color in ways that enrich White Americans. They do so by helping to justify the many self-reinforcing processes that make discrimination more likely. Furthermore, I argue that this is not an accident but a predictable consequence of the social and institutional reality that America has a problem with racism.

The American Psychological Association (APA, *n.d*; cites) defines racism as:

> …a form of prejudice that assumes that the members of racial categories have distinctive characteristics and that these differences result in some racial groups being inferior to others. Racism generally includes negative emotional reactions to members of the group, acceptance of negative stereotypes, and racial discrimination against individuals; in some cases it leads to violence.

This definition is limited in its usefulness because it also contains a moral judgment that narrows how it can be applied. Defining racism as a form of prejudice too readily assumes that reason or experience cannot produce racism (see statistical discrimination above). It also focuses (though generally so) on negative reactions, negative stereotypes, and racial discrimination against individuals. However, a growing body of literature has shown that positive stereotypes produce negative outcomes when applied broadly to members of racial groups (Cheryan & Bodenhausen, 2000; Czopp et al., 2015), dispelling the notion that only negative stereotypes are impactful. Furthermore, structural racism is missing entirely. To define racism as prejudicial, arrogant, and negative is to fail to acknowledge the complex and interacting forces that produce the disparate outcomes associated with discrimination.

Race is an amalgamation of phenotype, ancestry, culture, geography, and social context (APA, *n.d.*). It is also constantly changing. As a result, it is not immediately intuitive where to locate oneself in the system of race. One consequence of the flexibility of racial categories is that ethnic groups are variously consolidated into racial groups in ways that may differ from a person's internally held sense of racial or ethnic identity (Ray, 2021). A 2020 report published by the Pew Research Center shows how different race, origin, and ethnic categories such as 'Latine'

consolidated as many as 28 ethnic groups in the country – a population that includes more than 30 million people (Brown, 2020; Pew Research Center, 2020). This raises two questions, the first being why America continues to rely on these categories despite lobbying within the country (Pew Research Center, 2020) and the reality that other White-majority Anglo-sphere countries have moved away from such widespread reliance on racial categories. Second is whether the continued reliance on racial categories at all is *inherently* racist? From a purely definitional perspective, the answer may be yes. For what is race but a socially constructed set of stereotypes? Paradoxically, the denial of the social realities of race – colorblindness – can itself be a form of discrimination and erasure (Siy, 2013). Indeed, were I to write a definition of racism it would need to contain something along the line of the following,

a) The application of the logic of race (or one's understanding of race) to other people or situations; to racialize.
b) The use of racial logic in cultures, systems, institutions, standards, practices, & beliefs to either explicitly or implicitly influence thoughts and/or behavior.

To become an American in the United States is to become racialized; to internalize race is to become racist. In their book *Racial Formation in the United States* (2004), sociologists Omi and Winant define a racial formation as "...the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (2004, p. 13). Within the context of the United States, these racial categories became first institutionalized through the US census in 1790 (Brown, 2020), and were theorized to have been part of the development of the colonial process that established White racial hierarchy in the west (Luther et al., 1996). Whiteness as a concrete

racial identity may have emerged on the American continent as an ecumenical self-expression of the imperialist eurocentrism that swept the world during the post-Industrial period of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This may explain why some groups of American immigrants – such as Italians and Germans – were eventually able to transition into and internalize new identities as White Americans, while others – such as Japanese and Chinese immigrants – were not (Wu, 2014). It may be that ethnic groups began legislatively to organize into racial blocs under umbrella terms like Asian (1968) and Hispanic (1980s) as acts of survival and consolidation that were in direct response to this process. Yet, in doing so they were necessarily building on the amalgamation of stereotypes and slurs that helped determine the contours of those identities. This is also evidence of the most important point, that Whiteness *involves* "White people," but is not fundamentally *about* their experiences[3].

In a sense the "New World" can be thought of not *only* as a landmass sought by Spanish et al. sailors, but also as an *ideological* territory to be conquered. The erasure that race perpetuates is a necessary part of that project — both for the Europeans becoming White *and* the ethnic groups disappearing into larger racial blocs. This is propagated through cultural and historical narratives that help shape our understanding of the past, present, and future — which is why so many efforts have been made throughout US history to control that narrative (Eason et al., 2020; Kendi, 2020). For example, consider the many efforts throughout history to "re-educate" Americans, such as the *ongoing efforts* to provide "impartial" – albeit racist and sexist – accounts of history and identity through the legislative silencing of college professors about White supremacy as a focus of discussion (*vis a vis* 'Critical Race Theory') in *Pernell* v. *Florida*

[3] This is also why critiques of Whitenness are not about white people *per se* but about the consequences of white people engaging with Whiteness as an expression of racial power/dominance.

Board of Governors of the State University System (2022; H.B. 377, 2021; for a review of law concerning the free speech of professors see Euben, 2002) and of school teachers about sexual identity (Parental Rights in Education, 2022), or the *ongoing efforts* to re-educate Native American children (Briggs, 2021; Davis, 2001; Woods, 2020), or the *ongoing efforts* of the Daughters of the Confederacy to reproduce White American historical fiction (Cox, 1997; Chamberlain & Yanus, 2021; Waite, 2020), or the pushback against alternative narratives that attempt to shine new light on America's racial history as seen with the 1619 Project (Schwartz, 2021; Hannah-Jones, 2019), or the *ongoing legislative efforts* to ban contemporary historical textbooks (Jesen, 2022).

As a refuge for would-be kings and queens, Whiteness is an ideology that attempts to interpret the world based on the history, virtues, values, and fears of a powerful global minority (see also, 'Anti-Blackness,' Comrie et al., 2019; Martin & Lakens, 2022). For many, the United States is circumscribed by not only political borders, but those described by the cultural, institutional, and interpersonal expressions that reconstruct and center Whiteness in America. It is at these borders where identities and heritage risk being diluted into historically dominant narratives that reconstruct them as racial objects. Paradoxically, racializing *oneself* may reinforce this, for as long as the White racial hierarchy in America exists, racial identity will always at some level be *about* Whiteness. Indeed, a major utility of race is that it locates others relative to White Americans, both in terms of power and social status. This allows all Americans, no matter their ethnicity, to be "legible" within the context of America's racial proxy for "class." From its very origins, racism may be better understood as the mechanism of an underlying "project" that

functions to help both thread the ideology of Whiteness into world history *and* to identify people of color in America by distinguishing them from White Americans.

A racial project is a way of presenting and explaining race to facilitate the reorganization and redistribution of resources along particular racial lines (Omi & Winant, 2014). It describes the process in which the meaning assigned to race becomes the basis for organizing social structures or for navigating everyday experiences. What makes such a process racist is that it creates or reproduces structures of domination based on racial categories (Omi & Winant, 2014). The European immigrants of colonial America saw the subjugation, murder, and exploitation of African and Indigenous people as consistent with their purported, God granted 'manifest destiny' (Eason et al., 2020; Wilkerson, 2020; Kendi, 2017). As doctrines of the late 19th century, "manifest destiny" and the Monroe doctrine provide examples of two powerful narratives employed by colonial forces at the time who were attempting to consolidate their power and influence on the continent (Hobsbawm, 1987; 1994). The former provided justification for the restructuring of Indigenous life on the continent, while the latter effectively labeled the region property of the colonizers. These doctrines were both important national narratives that helped to justify the expansion of colonial interests and power across the continent.

National Narratives

National narratives refer to sets of culturally constructed, cohesive stories about the nation's founding and subsequent achievements that serve as examples of the nation's ideals and core values (Létourneau, 2017; Paul, 2014). For example, many national narratives in the United States focus on themes of hard work (e.g., the American Dream), bravery (e.g., stories of westward expansion), and willingness to stand up to injustices (Beasley, 2001; Lipset, 1997),

particularly those primarily impacting White men (e.g., “no taxation without representation” leading to the Boston Tea Party and ultimately the Revolutionary War). The result is that national narratives help shape and perpetuate a collective national identity that necessarily influences the process of racial formation.

In the 20th century these narratives have both been a way to organize resources among people of color and a source of conflict that help perpetuate White racial dominance. On the one hand, they foster a sense of attachment to and pride in one’s nation (i.e., identification with the nation). On the other hand, national narratives are cultural constructions designed to protect the power and prosperity of those of the dominant group, at the expense of those who are subordinated (Lloyd, 2007; Lomawaima & McCarty, 2014; Stuurman, 2007). These narratives are necessarily dynamic and as a result have adapted over time (Andrews, 2003; Arriaza & Roht-Arriaza, 2008; Hayman & Levit, 1996; Humphrey, 2000). When I say that stereotypes are not random, I mean that they are functional. They contribute to racist epistemologies that recast groups as supporting characters in the American cultural imagination. That is to say that they carry real *information*. National narratives are built on the backs of these stereotypes. Narratives about who people are and what to expect from them. These narratives gain structural power by leveraging institutions presided over by dominant groups, as has happened – for example – in academia.

On October 29th, 2021, the American Psychological Association passed several resolutions, including one that contained a formal apology to people of color for its role in perpetuating and helping to institutionalize racism (APA, 2021). In the apology, they write (emphasis added):

> Since its origins as a scientific discipline in the mid-19th century, psychology has, through acts of commission and omission, contributed to the dispossession, displacement, and exploitation of communities of color. This early history of psychology, rooted in *oppressive psychological science to protect Whiteness, White people, and White epistemologies*, reflected the social and political landscape of the U.S. at that time. Psychology developed under these conditions, helped to create, express, and sustain them, continues to bear their indelible imprint, and often continues to publish research that *conforms with White racial hierarchy* (Cummings Center, 2021; Helms, 2003; Luther et al., 1996; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2016).

Throughout the history of the social sciences, academia has been a tool for helping to shape and provide justification for the racist beliefs of White Americans. Indeed, unpacking the legacy of racist psuedo-sciences like Phrenology and Eugenics also means confronting the reality that these fields arose from an attempt to carry forward the rationale of White supremacy into the era of scientific rationality ushered in by the enlightenment of the late 17th to early 20th centuries. This time also began a slow transition away from the more overt forms of racism that persisted in U.S. society until as late as the early 1960s (Brown et al., 2003; Carr, 1997). What followed were the more covert forms of racism that followed the rise of both color-blind progressivism and racial and ethnic minority assimilationism, wherein racial and ethnic minorities were encouraged to abandon their cultural ties and embrace the values and practices of the majority group (Deaux, 2006; Frederickson, 2010; Siy, 2013). Indeed, the role of the sciences during this period was to help functionally elevate and standardize racial stereotypes through the professional

essentialization of whichever group characteristics could be leveraged to 'scientifically' distinguish people of color from White Americans.

The result of decades-long processes such as these has been a shift away from overtly hostile forms of discrimination to those forms of discrimination best captured by the concept of "anti-Blackness" or "anti-racism." In existence since the beginning of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, anti-Blackness is defined as, "the beliefs, attitudes, actions, practices, and behaviors of individuals and institutions that devalue, minimize, and marginalize the full participation of Black people" (Comrie et al., 2019). As an ideology, it refers both to discrimination against Black Americans, but also the more subtle ways that our beliefs about which forms of self-expression are good/bad, safe/unsafe, appropriate/inappropriate, or criminal/legal are rooted in and perpetuates white supremacy and racism by privileging and upholding Eurocentric values, beauty, experiences, and forms of self-expression (Comrie et al., 2019). For example, a practice now known as "dog-whistling" (Whetts & Willer, 2019; Bhat & Kline, 2008) where implicit racial appeals can build resentment towards targeted groups. The results of this shift are the emergence of various forms of *covert racism* (Coates, 2008), or prejudice that is unrelated to race that can be expressed instead as a preference for or against some set of human attributes.

While this paper has focused on how labor market discrimination adheres to predictable convergences between racial stereotypes and occupational stereotypes, it is important to acknowledge that this process is not random. Rather, it is the ordinary part of a system of functional beliefs. Stereotypes may also serve as a system legitimizing function because they can be used to justify the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 1994). In this context, the individualist rhetoric

of personal responsibility may place the burden of changing that status quo on those with the least power to broadly shape social views. The patterns of labor market discrimination articulated in this paper are just one example of how stereotypes in America the power to shape our views of others in society. Indeed, the use of covert racism to direct labor through the process of gatekeeping has had long term consequences. One consequence of this transformation is that, increasingly, racial discourse is stymied by a focus on personifications of race rather than the problems arising from racist logic, behavior, and systems.

In the book 'White Logic, White Methods' (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008), two sociologists call on researchers to be *race-conscious* and *race-affirming* rather than conduct human subjects research in ways that reproduce a system of racial categorization that is inherently racist. The difference being that the former terms do not essentialize race, but rather invites the curious mind to "[be] aware of the system of racial stratification, and to recognize the acts of survival and creativity of those marginalized by the racial hierarchy" (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008, p. 333). They argue that differential outcomes research based on these categories is as helpful as often as it is harmful. Not least because of how it reproduces and legitimizes racist constructions of ethnic groups, even as it tries to deconstruct them. Though race and ethnicity are obviously still important social categories, the future of research on race will need to adapt to the shifting reality of prejudice as based not how society views people of color, but in the ways that our views of people of color are composed of dynamic stereotypes that primarily serve to reify and justify the same racist status quo that produces labor market discrimination. Changing racism may mean turning away from thinking of race as individual or personal forms of identity and group membership; to thinking of race increasingly as a political and institutional reality while

reserving other concepts for social self-identification. Solving the problems of racism may be more achievable if race is understood as lens through which we can make sense of the consequences of *racism,* and the uncomfortable status quo that is reconstituted when we begin to internalize racial identities and, as a result, our place within America's racial hierarchy.

In conclusion, America's problem with racism is deeply rooted in its history and institutional structures. Racial stereotypes have been used to shape the occupational paths and labor market outcomes of people of color, to the advantage of White Americans. While there have been shifts from overt racism to more covert forms, the underlying power dynamics and racial projects persist. To address this issue, researchers and society can work to be more race-conscious and race-affirming, acknowledging the complexities of racial stratification and promoting awareness of the survival and creativity of those marginalized by racial hierarchy. By shifting the focus from essentializing racial categories to understanding the broader social processes that perpetuate racism, we can take steps towards dismantling these harmful systems and working towards a more just and equitable society.

> "...and the change in the behavior of those on the street, and in his own behavior, reveals the power that a mere stereotype – floating in the air like a cloud gathering the nation's history – was having on us all along." (Steele, 2010, p.7)

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Appendix A: Questionnaires and Experiment Stimuli

Job

Program Response Specialist

Job Description

If you are a citizen dedicated to **democracy and happiness for all Americans**, Edge Company Inc. can offer a satisfying opportunity. We are looking for an employee who is **familiar with American customs and traditions**.

Job Requirements

Strong English skills

American citizenship required

College education not required

Job

Program Response Specialist

Job Description

If you are **skilled**, **competent**, and **highly-educated**, Edge Company Inc. can offer a prestigious opportunity. We are looking for an employee who can **deliver superior results.**

Job Requirements

Ability to produce high-quality work

College degree required

American citizenship not required

Job

Program Response Specialist

Job Description

If you are looking for a new job, Edge Company Inc. can offer a satisfying opportunity. We are looking for an employee to be a Program Response Specialist.

Job Requirements

American citizenship not required

College education not required

Figure 1.
Job ads for the American (top), high-status (middle), and control (bottom) conditions in Study 1.

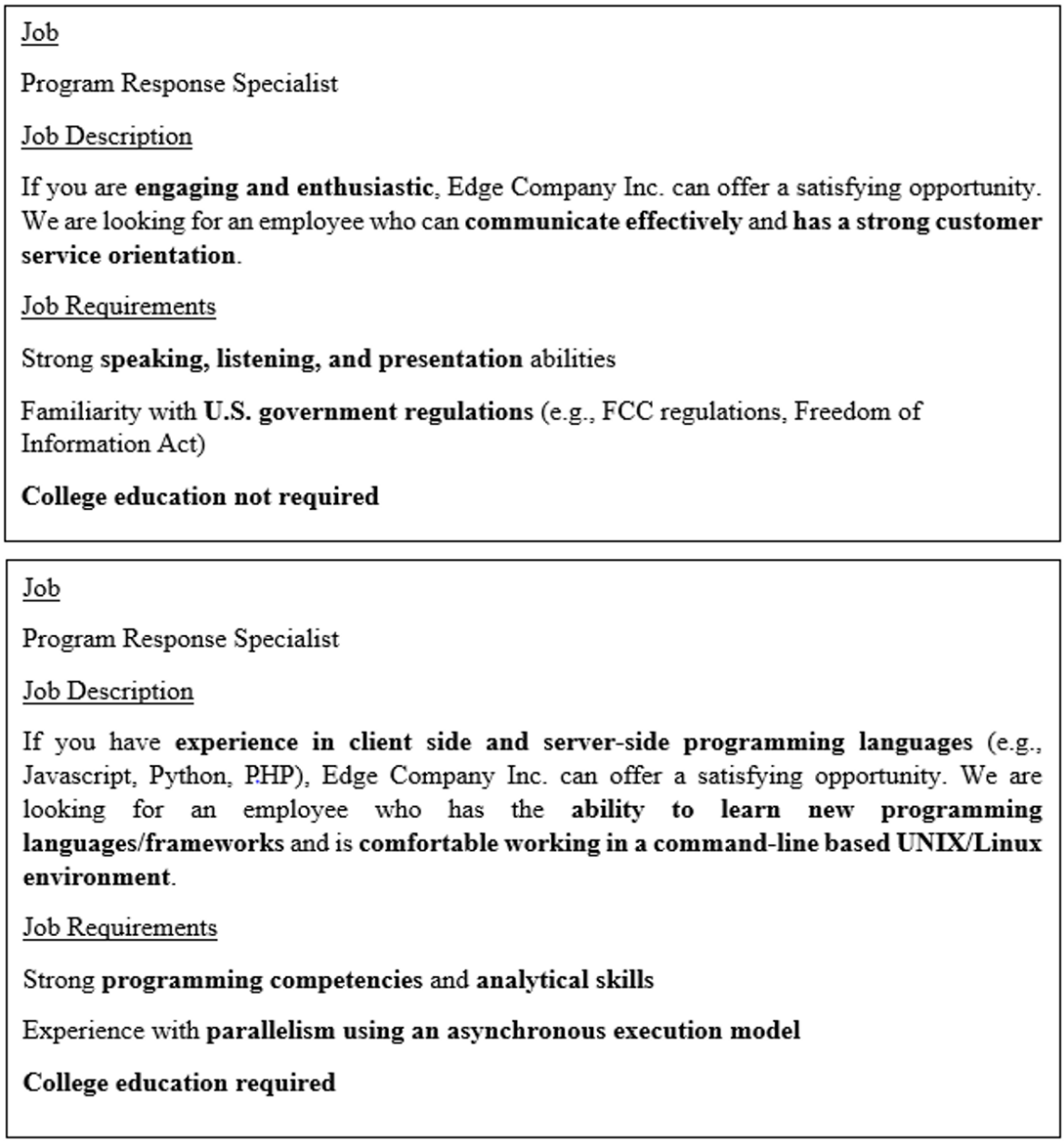

Figure 3.
Job ads for the American (top) and high- status (bottom) conditions in Studies 2 and 3.

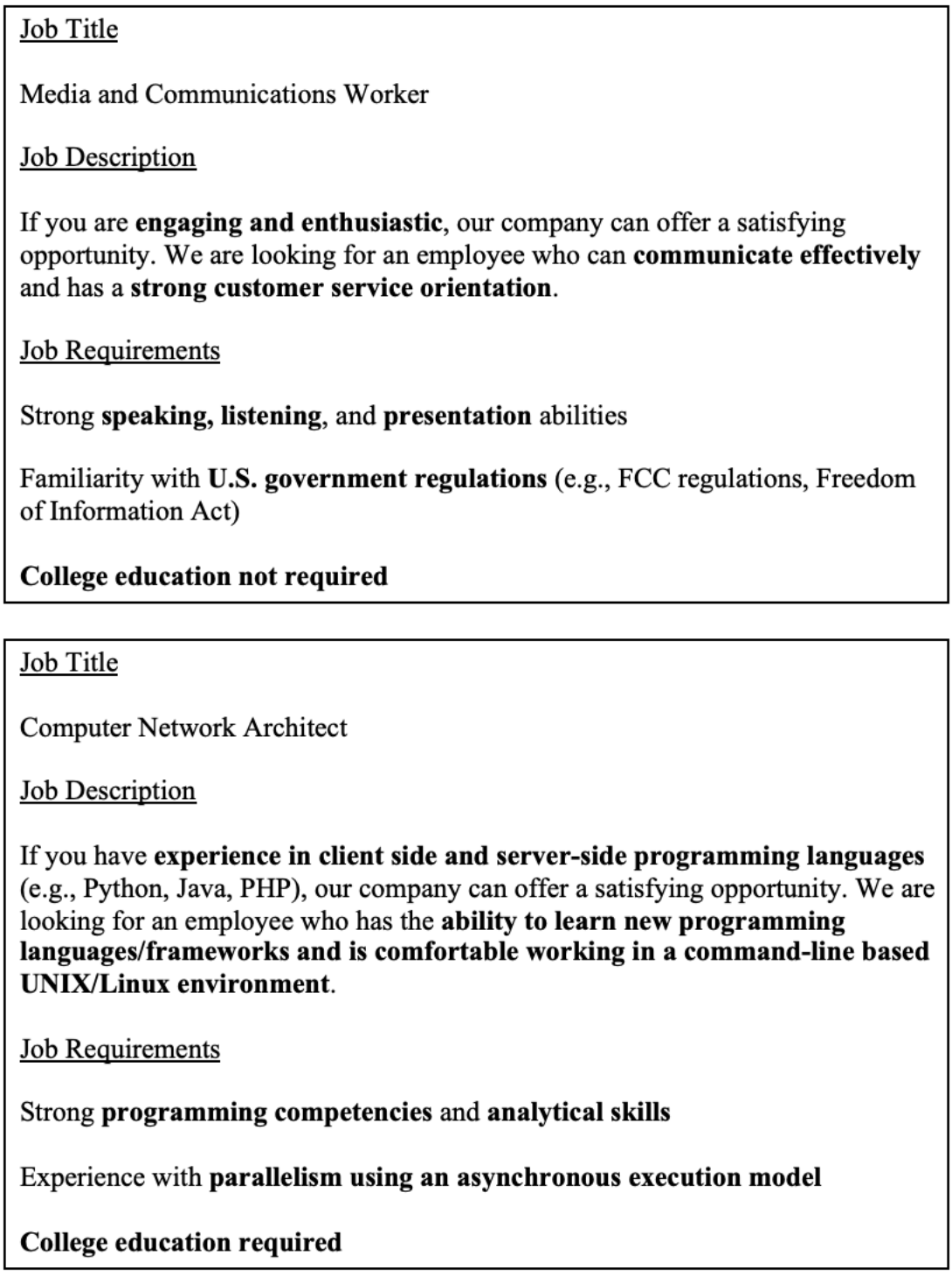

Figure 6.
Job ads for the American (top) and high-status (bottom) conditions in Study 4.

42 N Mancelona Way, Seattle WA | 4429073329 | @gmail.com

SKILLS & ABILITIES

Task Management

Microsoft Office Suite

Hiring and Training

Leadership

EXPERIENCE

June 2014 – September 2017

Project Lead, *Northern Paper Company*

- Focused on process flow improvement and worked between several company locations
- Produced budgets for the number of operations, tracked expenditures and reviewed exceptions
- Trained and handled employees and built operational principles

April 2011 – February 2014

Assistant Director, *Expo*

- Implemented new training procedure to attain improvements in productivity over time
- Managed company scheduling and oversaw temporary workforce during busy season
- Kept records of company activities to meet regulatory and safety needs

EDUCATION

2006-2010 Business Management, Watertown, NY, *Watertown University*

1729 N 11th St, Seattle WA | 2067890331 | @gmail.com

SKILLS & ABILITIES

Task Management

Microsoft Office Suite

Hiring and Training

Leadership

EXPERIENCE

June 2014 – September 2017 — Branch Supervisor, *Qualten Works*

- Conducted qualitative and quantitative research to help guide new creative efforts
- Evaluated all potential sponsorship/partnership opportunities
- Explored trends and developed volumetric sales analysis to convince company to address varied audiences across all brands

April 2011 – February 2014 — Project Manager, *Altruas Co.*

- Visited satellite company locations frequently to ensure smooth production processes
- Overhauled systems, bookkeeping operations, and interview processes
- Created productivity reports and logged weekly sales numbers

EDUCATION

2006-2010 — Business Management, Albertson, MA, *Albuquerque University*

Figure 7. Resumes for Study 1.

46 S Wallingford Ave, Seattle WA | 4429073329 | @gmail.com

SKILLS & ABILITIES

Team Leadership

Time Management

Problem Solving

Microsoft Office Suites

EXPERIENCE

June 2014 – September 2017

Associate Director, *Maplepaw Inc.*

- Managed the product development process from idea to production line
- Supervised team members for accurate data entries in a timely manner
- Trained interns on necessary abilities

April 2011 – February 2014

Project Manager, *Aloe Water Company*

- Managed project budget and ensured the company obtained the best possible pricing
- Guided and mentored the technical team on detailed tasks
- Created cost-benefit analysis that was used as the basis for decision making

EDUCATION

2006-2010

Business Management, Medford, OR, *Prescott State University*

740 Whitman Ave N, Seattle WA | 4429073329 | @gmail.com

SKILLS & ABILITIES

Leadership

Project Management

Data Analytics

MS Office Suite

EXPERIENCE

June 2014 – September 2017

Business Analyst, *Silvercoin Capital Bank*

- Analyzed clients' business requirements and evaluated risks
- Identified and reconciled errors in client data for accurate business requirements
- Compiled and distributed reports on business trends

April 2011 – February 2014

Project Manager, *Tinker Insurance Company*

- Collected and organized business data from multiple sources for input into reports provided to upper management
- Conducted market analysis research on competing companies
- Communicated updates and progress to upper management

EDUCATION

2006-2010

Business Management, Boston, MA, *Dorchester University*

304 Winona Ave N, Seattle WA | 4429073329 | @gmail.com

SKILLS & ABILITIES

Task Management

Microsoft Office Suite

Hiring and Training

Leadership

EXPERIENCE

June 2014 – September 2017

Area Coordinator, *Pacific Shipping Co.*

- Implemented and enforced updated systems, policies, and procedures for effective working conditions
- Accomplished company objectives through the supervision of staff and the enforcement of employee work regulations
- Controlled expenses by gathering and delivering budget information, scheduling expenditures, and introducing new financial procedures

April 2011 – February 2014

Project Supervisor, *Westcoast Consulting*

- Oversaw the onboarding process for new employees across site locations
- Managed financial records and created weekly budget reports
- Generated project timeline and individual employee expectations, and led bi-weekly meetings to track progress

EDUCATION

2006-2010 Business Management, Savannah, GA, *Montgomery State University*

Figure 8. Resumes for Study 1b.

Appendix B: Supplemental Information

Pretests for Studies 1-3 (Not Preregistered)

Determining Stereotypical Names

First Names. Participants on Amazon MTurk ($N = 221$; 117 women, 85 men, 17 did not specify, 1 non-binary, 1 transgender; 146 White, 17 Black, 17 did not specify, 15 Asian, 14 Multiracial, 10 Latine) were presented with 50 first names (out of 100 total first names) in random order. Sixty-six names were retrieved from six studies that used names stereotypically associated with Arab, Latine, Asian, Black, and White Americans (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Fryer & Levitt, 2004; Holbrook et al., 2016; Levitt & Dubner, 2009; Milkman et al., 2012; Oreopoulos, 2011; Widner & Chicoine, 2011).

The majority (61%) of names retrieved using this method were stereotypically Black or White names. We therefore retrieved an additional 14 Arab and 14 Latine names from two baby name websites (www.babycenter.com/baby-names and www.babynameguide.com) that listed Arab/Muslim and Spanish/Hispanic names for baby girls and boys, skipping over one name that was already on our list. An additional 6 Asian names were retrieved from http://theworldofchinese.com that listed the ten most popular Chinese male and female names, skipping over two names that were already on our list.

Participants rated first names for their stereotypical association with 5 racial groups (i.e., "Arab American", "Latino", "Asian American", "African American", "White") on a scale from 1 (n*ot associated*) to 7 (e*xtremely associated*). Participants also indicated whether each name was a stereotypically male (1) or female (2) name.

Selecting names to use in the studies involved identifying the names that were significantly associated with women and men and those that were strongly associated with only one racial group. First, one sample *t*-tests were run on the perceived gender stereotypicality of each name compared to the midpoint (1.5). We controlled for family-wise error by applying Bonferroni corrections to the *p*-values. Names that scored below an average of 1.2 were considered stereotypical men's names and those that scored above an average score of 1.8 were considered stereotypical women's names. (For the Arab and Asian stereotypical names, the upper bound was decreased to 1.7 to obtain 3 female names.) Second, we ran one-way within-subjects ANOVAs on the extent to which each name was associated with the five racial groups and used pairwise comparisons to identify names that were significantly more associated with one racial group than the other racial groups. For each racial group, we selected the women's and men's names with the highest associations with each racial group, removing names for which the race score for one racial group was not significantly higher than those for all the other racial groups.

Last Names. Participants on Amazon MTurk ($N = 102$; 55 women, 46 men, 1 more than one gender; 76 White, 9 Black, 6 Asian, 5 Latine, 4 Multiracial, 2 Native American) were presented with 51 last names (in random order) retrieved from lists of last names published online. Ten stereotypical Latine, Black, and White and 11 stereotypical Asian last names were retrieved from https://names.mongabay.com that published lists of the most common surnames by race using 2000 U.S. Census data. Six Arab last names were retrieved from a field study that used stereotypical Arab surnames (Widner & Chicoine, 2011), and four additional last names were collected from https://stepfeed.com/here-are-the-arab-world-s-most-common-family-names-4565 that listed common Arab last names. Participants rated each last name for its

stereotypical association with the same five racial groups used in the first name pretest on a scale from 1 (*not associated*) to 7 (*extremely associated*). Last names that were stereotyped as racially distinct (as defined by the process described in the first names pretest) were selected.

Pairing First and Last Names. First and last names were randomly paired in Study 1. In Studies 2-4, middle position names (e.g., "Xiu" in "Wang Xiu Wong") were dropped for consistency across racial groups. We searched name pairings and reshuffled first and last names if they were names of celebrities or if we did not find a single instance of a name (suggesting that that name pairing may not be culturally appropriate). See Table S2 for the names used across studies.

Study 1 Pretests

Jobs. Participants on Amazon MTurk (N = 150; 91 women, 59 men; 99 White, 21 Black, 15 Asian, 10 Latine, 2 Multiracial, 1 Native American, 1 Middle Eastern) saw one of the three job ads. The stereotypically American job emphasized American characteristics (e.g., "looking for an employee who is familiar with American customs and traditions;" Figure S1), the stereotypically high-status job emphasized skill and education (e.g., "looking for an employee who can deliver superior results"), and the control job did not state any requirements (e.g., "looking for an employee"). Participants were asked to rate how much the job would ideally be filled by someone stereotypically American (e.g., "How much would this job ideally be filled by someone with knowledge of American customs and culture?"; 3 items, $\alpha = .94$), high-status (e.g., "How much would this job ideally be filled by someone who is well-educated?"; 3 items, $\alpha = .90$; adapted from Fiske et al., 2002), warm (e.g., "How much would this job ideally be filled by someone who is friendly?"; 2 items, $\rho = .86$; adapted from Leach et al., 2007), politically liberal (i.e., "How much would this job ideally be filled by someone who is liberal?"), and

politically conservative (i.e., "How much would this job ideally be filled by someone who is conservative?"). Participants were also asked how appealing the job seemed (e.g., "How interesting is this job?"; two items, $\rho = .88$).

A one-way ANOVA revealed significant overall differences in the perceived Americanness of the ideal applicant, $F(2, 147) = 31.70$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .30$. As expected, Tukey HSD tests revealed that the stereotypically American job was perceived to require someone more American ($M = 6.09$, $SD = 1.24$) than the stereotypically high-status job ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 1.71$), $p < .001$, $d_s = 1.32$, and control job ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.66$), $p < .001$, $d_s = 0.16$.

A one-way ANOVA revealed significant overall differences in the perceived high-status of the ideal applicant, $F(2, 147) = 19.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. As expected, Tukey HSD tests revealed that the stereotypically high--status job was perceived to require someone more high-status ($M = 5.28$, $SD = 1.42$) than the stereotypically American job ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 1.50$), $p < .001$, $d_s = 0.74$, and the control job ($M = 3.42$, $SD = 1.56$), $p < .001$, $d_s = 1.25$.

One way ANOVAs revealed no significant effects of job ad on perceptions of the ideal applicant's warmth, $F(2, 147) = 2.36$, $p = .098$, liberal political orientation, $F(2, 147) = 0.86$, $p = .425$, or conservative political orientation, $F(2, 147) = 1.47$, $p = .233$. Liberal and conservative political orientation were analyzed separately because they were not significantly correlated, $r(148) = .08$, $p = .36$. The three job ads also did not significantly differ on perceptions of how appealing they were, $F(2, 147) = 2.58$, $p = .079$.

Resumes. We created two nameless resumes with similar skills, work history, and educational backgrounds (Figure S2). Resumes were pretested on Amazon MTurk ($N = 101$; 73 men, 28 women; 70 White, 11 Black, 6 Asian, 5 Latine, 5 Native American, 4 Multiracial). Participants were randomly assigned to rate one of the resumes on cultural foreignness (e.g.,

"How likely is it that this applicant has native English skills?"; reverse-scored; 6 items, α = .84), low status (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is competent?"; reverse-scored; 7 items, α = .88, warmth (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is friendly?"; 2 items, ρ = .68), and liberal and conservative political orientation (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal?"). Participants were also asked to rate how likely they would be to consider this applicant based on their perceived attractiveness and desirability with a single question. There were no significant differences between the two resumes on cultural foreignness (M = 2.49, SD = 0.89 vs. M = 2.61, SD = 0.93), t(98.52) = -0.66, p = .511, warmth (M = 5.18, SD = 1.04 vs. M = 5.18, SD = 0.94), t(98.32) = -0.02, p = .986, liberal political orientation (M = 4.96, SD = 1.39 vs. M = 4.54, SD = 1.09), t(94.67) = 1.70, p = .093, or conservative political orientation (M = 4.47, SD = 1.21 vs. M = 4.64, SD = 1.17), t(99.00) = -0.72, p = .476. However, one resume was stereotyped as lower status than the other (M = 2.31, SD = 0.80 vs. M = 2.67, SD = 0.84), t(98.52) = -2.22, p = .029, d_s = -0.44. We addressed this perceived status difference by randomizing resumes to condition in Study 1 and using new resumes in Study 2. Finally, there was no significant difference between the two resumes in how likely participants would be to consider the applicant based on attractiveness and desirability (M = 5.39, SD = 1.06 vs. M = 5.20, SD = 1.07), t(98.92) = 0.91, p = .367.

Study 1b Pretests

Resumes. We created three nameless resumes with similar skills, work history, and educational backgrounds (Figure S3). Participants on Amazon MTurk (N = 152; 95 men, 57 women; 108 White, 16 Black, 11 Asian, 11 Latine, 5 Multiracial, 1 Native American) were randomly assigned to rate one of the resumes on the same measures as the Study 1 resume pretest (cultural foreignness, α = .75; low status, α = .87; warmth, ρ = .60). One-way ANOVAs

revealed no significant overall differences in cultural foreignness, $F(2, 149) = 0.74$, $p = .479$, low status, $F(2, 149) = 0.69$, $p = .504$, warmth, $F(2, 149) = 0.56$, $p = .575$, liberal political orientation, $F(2, 149) = 0.47$, $p = .628$, or conservative political orientation, $F(2, 149) = 0.70$, $p = .499$. There was no significant overall difference in how likely participants would be to consider the applicant based on perceived attractiveness and desirability across resumes, $F(2, 149) = 0.41$, $p = .663$.

Anglicized applicant names. To identify Anglicized names for Latino and Asian American applicants, we referenced a dataset of American first names derived from mortgage applications and corresponding racial group information (Tzioumis, 2018). We identified the 25 most common Hispanic American men's names (e.g., Javier), and the 25 most common Asian or Pacific Islander men's names (e.g., Tony). Six names appeared on both lists, for a total of 44 unique names.

These 44 names were pretested on Amazon MTurk ($N = 100$; 64 men, 35 women, 1 non-binary; 70 White, 12 Black, 7 Latine, 5 Asian, 4 Multiracial, 2 Native American) for the degree to which each name was Anglicized (i.e., "How Anglicized is this name?"). Six names that could be pronounced in multiple ways (i.e., Jaime) were dropped from analysis. The three Hispanic names that were rated as most Anglicized (i.e., Victor, Edwin, Martin) and the three Asian names that were rated as most Anglicized (i.e., Tony, Jimmy, Henry) were used in the current study. These first names were randomly paired with last names from Study 3, eliminating any name combinations that were associated with celebrities (Table S1). As a conservative test of our hypothesis, we did not use this Anglicizing procedure on Black names (which may have made participants more likely to perceive the Black applicants as White) and used the same Black names as Study 2.

Studies 2 and 3 Pretests

Creating Job Ads. To create ecologically valid ads, 1835 job listings were pulled from the official student jobs pages of 30 U.S. universities that had publicly available student job databases. These student job ads were then coded by three coders for how many of the qualifications referenced stereotypically American characteristics (i.e., strong communication skills; written and verbal communication skills; grammar or punctuation skills; outgoing or engaging personality; enthusiasm or energetic; political service; public speaking; knowledge of American laws, customs, politics, history or culture) (Schildkraut, 2007; Wright et al., 2012; Zou & Cheryan, 2017) and stereotypically high-status characteristics (e.g., attention to detail; time management skills; intellectual; computer programming or programming languages; analytical; advanced math skills; physics, chemistry, engineering, etc.; GPA; STEM course requirements; accounting, financial advising) (Fiske et al., 2002; Zou & Cheryan, 2017) on a scale from 1 (*0% of qualifications listed mention one of the following*) to 7 (*100% of qualifications listed mention one of the following or strongly mention many of the following*). Results were then averaged across the three coders ($\alpha_{American}$ = .79, $\alpha_{high\text{-}status}$ = .79). Words and phrases were pulled from job ads that generated a difference between Americanness and high-status scores that were greater than or equal to 2 points (Figure S4).

Job ads were then pretested for the extent to which they were stereotyped as American and high-status. Participants on Amazon MTurk (N = 99; 52 women, 46 men, 1 other; 63 White, 15 Black, 10 Asian, 5 Latine, 3 Multiracial, 2 Native American, 1 Middle Eastern) answered questions about one of the two job ads using a procedure identical to the Study 1 job pretest, except that no control job was included (Americanness, α = .88; high-status, α = .79; warmth, ρ = .66; job appeal, ρ = .89).

The stereotypically American job was perceived to require significantly more American characteristics (M = 5.62, SD = 1.10) than the stereotypically high-status job (M = 4.65, SD = 1.36), $t(95.76) = 3.92$, $p < .001$, $d_s = 0.78$. Consistent with past research (Bencharit et al., 2019; Tsai et al., 2006), using more ecologically valid job ads revealed that the ideal applicant for the stereotypically American job was also perceived to be significantly higher in warmth (M = 5.48, SD = 1.04) than the ideal applicant for the stereotypically high-status job (M = 4.75, SD = 1.37), $t(94.26) = 2.99$, $p = .004$, $d_s = 0.59$, and significantly more liberal (M = 4.53, SD = 1.04) than the ideal applicant for the stereotypically high-status job (M = 4.02, SD = 1.49), $t(91.39) = 2.00$, $p = .048$, $d_s = 0.40$. There was no significant effect of job characteristics on perceptions of the ideal applicant's conservative political orientation, $t(83.52) = 0.85$, $p = .398$, or on perceptions of how appealing the job was, $t(96.84) = 0.91$, $p = .364$. The stereotypically high-status job was perceived to require significantly more high-status characteristics (M = 5.73, SD = 1.07) than the stereotypically American job (M = 4.78, SD = 1.31), $t(88.97) = 3.92$, $p < .001$, $d_s = 0.80$.

Table S1. Names used across Studies 1-3.

Study	Race of Job Applicant				
	Asian American	Black American	Latine American	Arab American	White American
1	Zhang Wei Chan	DeShawn Jefferson			
	Chen Yang	Terell Jackson			
	Dong Huang	Tyrone King			
	Wang Xiu Wong	Lamar Washington			
1b	Tony Wong	Tyrone Jefferson	Martin Gonzalez		
	Jimmy Chan	Terrell Washington	Victor Lopez		
	Henry Yang	DeShawn Jackson	Edwin Sanchez		
2	Chen Wong	Tyrone Jefferson	Santiago Gonzalez	Mohammed Irshad	Brett Scott
	Zhang Chan	Terrell Washington	Diego Lopez	Mamuod Mohamed	Michael Allen
	Wang Yang	DeShawn Jackson	Alejandro Sanchez	Ahmed Ahmad	Todd Miller
3	Lei Wong	Latonya Jefferson	Juanita Gonzalez	Fatima Irshad	Emily Scott
	Mei Chan	Lakisha Washington	Maria Lopez	Imani Mohamed	Sarah Allen
	Li-Na Yang	Tanisha Jackson	Luciana Sanchez	Sharifah Ahmad	Carrie Miller

Note: Eighteen questionnaires in Study 2 misspelled "Gonzalez" as "Gonalez."

Table S2. Correlations between all stereotype measures.

Stereotype Measure	Study	Applicant Race	Low Status	Warmth	Liberal Political Orientation
Cultural Foreignness	1	Asian	.461***	-.251***	-.026
		Black	.355***	-.431***	-.367***
	1b	Latino	.584***	-.375***	.134
		Asian	.605***	-.334***	.165*
		Black	.577***	-.411***	-.268**
	2	Arab	.465***	--	--
		Latino	.666***	--	--
		Asian	.236***	--	--
		Black	.531***	--	--
		White	.644***	--	--
	3	Arab	.359***	--	--
		Latina	.554***	--	--
		Asian	.169**	--	--
		Black	.346***	--	--
		White	.540***	--	--
Warmth	1	Asian	-.362***	--	.225***
		Black	-.358***	--	.408***
	1b	Latino	-.522***	--	.171*
		Asian	-.417***	--	-.003
		Black	-.478***	--	.266**
Liberal Political Orientation	1	Asian	-.076	--	--
		Black	-.155**	--	--
	1b	Latino	-.017	--	--
		Asian	.073	--	--
		Black	-.029	--	--

Note. In Study 1, perceived liberal political orientation is represented by a single item, "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal?" In Study 1b, perceived liberal political orientation was assessed using the aggregate of two items, "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal/conservative [reverse-scored]?" *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$.

Table S3. Simple mediation results from Studies 1-4.

Study	Comparison	M	DV	Total effect	IV → M	M → DV	Direct effect	Indirect effect	
				B (SE)	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	95% CI
1	AS v. B	F	AM	-.32*** (.07)	1.45*** (.10)	-.26* (.05)	.05 (.10)	-.37 (.08)	[-.55, -.21]
1b	AS v. B	F	AM	-.17** (.06)	.63*** (.08)	-.43*** (.06)	.10 (.07)	-.27 (.06)	[-.39, -.15]
1b	L v. B	F	AM	-.15* (.06)	.66*** (.08)	-.40*** (.05)	.11 (.06)	-.26 (.05)	[-.35, -.17]
2	AR v. B	F	AM	-1.18*** (.08)	1.98*** (.13)	-.19*** (.04)	-.80*** (.11)	-.38 (.09)	[-.56, -.22]
2	L v. B	F	AM	-.60*** (.07)	1.48*** (.11)	-.16*** (.04)	-.36*** (.09)	-.24 (.07)	[-.38, -.10]
2	AS v. B	F	AM	-.96*** (.09)	1.64*** (.14)	-.22*** (.04)	-.60*** (.11)	-.36 (.08)	[-.52, -.21]
2	B v. W	F	AM	-.89*** (.08)	.72*** (.07)	-.52*** (.06)	-.52*** (.08)	-.37 (.07)	[-.51, -.25]
3	AR v. B	F	AM	-1.05*** (.07)	2.07*** (.12)	-.16*** (.04)	-.72*** (.10)	-.33 (.08)	[-.48, -.17]
3	L v. B	F	AM	-.41*** (.06)	1.53*** (.10)	-.20*** (.03)	-.11 (.08)	-.31 (.06)	[-.42, -.19]
3	AS v. B	F	AM	-1.02*** (.09)	1.92*** (.13)	-.13*** (.04)	-.77*** (.12)	-.26 (.10)	[-.45, -.07]
3	B v. W	F	AM	-1.15*** (.08)	1.25***(.08)	-.29*** (.06)	-.79***(.10)	-.36 (.08)	[-.53, -.20]
2	B v. AS	S	HS	-1.23*** (.09)	.66*** (.09)	-.52*** (.05)	-.89*** (.08)	-.34 (.07)	[-.49, -.22]
2	L v. AS	S	HS	-1.29*** (.08)	.84*** (.07)	-.60*** (.05)	-.79*** (.08)	-.50 (.07)	[-.64, -.36]
2	AR v. AS	S	HS	-.79*** (.06)	.65*** (.06)	-.48*** (.05)	-.48*** (.06)	-.31 (.06)	[-.43, -.20]
2	B v. W	S	HS	-.83*** (.08)	.99*** (.08)	-.68*** (.04)	-.16* (.07)	-.67 (.09)	[-.85, -.50]
2	L v. W	S	HS	-.89*** (.08)	1.16*** (.08)	-.62*** (.05)	-.17* (.08)	-.72 (.10)	[-.91, -.53]
2	AR v. W	S	HS	-.39*** (.09)	.98*** (.09)	-.47*** (.05)	-.07*** (.09)	-.46 (.09)	[-.64, -.29]
3	B v. AS	S	HS	-1.61*** (.10)	.86*** (.10)	-.46*** (.05)	-1.21*** (.09)	-.40 (.07)	[-.54, -.26]
3	L v. AS	S	HS	-1.75*** (.09)	1.05*** (.09)	-.45*** (.05)	-1.28*** (.10)	-.47 (.09)	[-.64, -.30]
3	AR v. AS	S	HS	-.94*** (.08)	.81*** (.08)	-.50*** (.05)	-.53*** (.08)	-.40 (.07)	[-.53, -.27]
3	B v. W	S	HS	-.80*** (.08)	1.22*** (.08)	-.58*** (.04)	-.10 (.08)	-.70 (.07)	[-.84, -.56]
3	L v. W	S	HS	-.95*** (.08)	1.41*** (.08)	-.51*** (.05)	-.23* (.09)	-.72 (.09)	[-.88, -.54]
3	AR v. W	S	HS	-.13 (.10)	1.16*** (.09)	-.59*** (.06)	-.55*** (.11)	-.68 (.09)	[-.86, -.52]

Note. AR, L, AS, B, and W are "Arab," "Latine," "Asian," "Black," and "White," respectively. Within mediators (M), F is perceived cultural foreignness and S is perceived low status. Within dependent variables (DV), AM is perceived hireability for a stereotypically American job and HS is perceived hireability for a stereotypically high-status job. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .005$, *** $p < .001$.

Table S4. Multiple mediation results from Studies 1-3.

Study	Comparison	M	Total effect	IV → M	M → DV	Direct effect	Indirect effect	
			B (SE)	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	*B (SE)*	95% CI
1	AS v. B	M1	-.31*** (.07)	-1.45*** (.11)	.24*** (.05)	.02 (.10)	-.34 (.08)	[-.50, -.19]
		M2		0 (.05)	.45*** (.10)		0 (.02)	[-.05, .05]
		M3		-.03 (.05)	-.03 (.10)		0 (.01)	[-.02, .02]
		M4		-.14 (.09)	-.13* (.05)		.02 (.01)	[-.01, .05]
1b	L v. B	M1	-.15* (.06)	.66*** (.08)	-.38*** (.06)	.09 (.07)	-.25 (.04)	[-.33, -.16]
		M2		.02 (.04)	.07 (.10)		.001 (.01)	[-.01, .02]
		M3		.07 (.05)	.33** (.09)		.02 (.02)	[-.01, .07]
		M4		-.15* (.06)	.11 (.07)		-.02 (.01)	[-.05, .01]
	AS v. B	M1	-.17** (.07)	.63*** (.08)	-.40*** (.06)	.07 (.07)	-.25 (.06)	[-.37, -.13]
		M2		-.05 (.06)	-.15 (.08)		.01 (.01)	[-.01, .04]
		M3		.02 (.05)	.28** (.09)		.01 (.01)	[-.03, .03]
		M4		-.26*** (.07)	.04 (.07)		-.01 (.02)	[-.05, .02]
2	AR v. B	M1	-1.18*** (.08)	-1.98*** (.13)	.14*** (.03)	-.91*** (.10)	-.28 (.08)	[-.44, -.12]
		M2		.01 (.07)	.39*** (.06)		0 (.03)	[-.06, .06]
	L v. B	M1	-.60*** (.07)	-1.47*** (.10)	.07 (.04)	-.42*** (.08)	-.10 (.07)	[-.24, .04]
		M2		-.17** (.06)	.49*** (.07)		-.08 (.03)	[-.16, -.02]
	AS v. B	M1	-.96*** (.09)	-1.64*** (.14)	.17*** (.04)	-.92*** (.11)	-.27 (.08)	[-.44, -.13]
		M2		.66*** (.09)	.35*** (.05)		.23 (.05)	[.13, .34]
	B v. W	M1	-.89*** (.08)	-.72*** (.07)	.06*** (.06)	-.21** (.07)	-.05 (.06)	[-.16, .06]
		M2		-1.00*** (.08)	.63 (.06)		-.63 (.09)	[-.83, -.45]
	AR v. B	M1	-1.05*** (.07)	-2.07*** (.12)	.15*** (.03)	-.75*** (.10)	-.31 (.08)	[-.47, -.16]
		M2		.06 (.07)	.26*** (.05)		.02 (.02)	[-.02, .05]

3	L v. B	M1	-.41*** (.06)	-1.53*** (.10)	.15*** (.04)	-.12 (.08)	-.23 (.06)	[-.35, -.12]
		M2		-.19** (.06)	.31*** (.06)		-.06 (.02)	[-.11, -.02]
	AS v. B	M1	-1.02*** (.09)	-1.92*** (.13)	.12** (.04)	-.93*** (.13)	-.23 (.09)	[-.42, -.05]
		M2		.86*** (.10)	.15** (.05)		.13 (.07)	[-.01, .27]
	B v. W	M1	-1.15*** (.08)	-1.25*** (.08)	.15* (.06)	-.57*** (.10)	-.19 (.09)	[-.36, -.02]
		M2		-1.22*** (.08)	.32*** (.06)		-.39 (.09)	[-.58, -.23]

Note. AR, L, AS, B, and W are "Arab," "Latine," "Asian," "Black," and "White," respectively. Perceived hireability for a stereotypically American job was the DV in all studies. Within mediators (M), M1 is perceived cultural foreignness, M2 is perceived low status, M3 is perceived warmth, and M4 is perceived liberal political beliefs. In Study 1, perceived liberal political orientation was assessed through a single item, "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal?" In Study 1b, perceived liberal political orientation was assessed using the aggregate of two items, "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal/conservative [reverse-scored]?" * $p < .05$, ** $p < .005$, *** $p < .001$.