Racial Hierarchy-based Discrimination in a Multiracial Power Structure

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in
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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

In our work, we suggest that racial discrimination in hiring decisions can take on different forms. Specifically, we argue that when prejudiced individuals discriminate against Black job candidates, they are not only discriminating because they hold individual negative biases about Black people. They are also – and perhaps primarily – motivated to perpetuate the current racial hierarchy. And, in order to do so, they support hiring candidates – be they Black or White – who will not disrupt a system where White people continue to be systematically advantaged. In this distinct form of discrimination – which we call *racial hierarchy-based discrimination*, prejudiced individuals can display a preference for hiring a Black candidate who wants to uphold the racial hierarchy over a White candidate who wants to disrupt it. Across eight experiments, we document this type of discrimination. Our results also show evidence for biased evaluations across the racial prejudice spectrum. That is, both low and high prejudice individuals can be strategic in how they pursue their goals of disrupting or maintaining the racial hierarchy. We end with a discussion of how racial hierarchy-based discrimination can lead to the appearance of racial progress, all the while keeping in place a racial power structure that systematically disadvantages Black Americans.

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Introduction

The "new racism," like all previous racial orders, has evolved, and today we are witnessing (…) a "multiracial White supremacy." In this highest stage of White supremacy, a selected and vetted segment of the minority population participates fully in the political system, which legitimizes the order racially and otherwise.

The nature of racism in America has changed over time. Increased support for principles of equality regardless of race (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997), along with racial progress such as a growing Black middle class (Wingfield, 2013) have led many to believe that racial discrimination is now in the past (Wilson, 1978; Heckman, 1998). Yet Black Americans have been and remain disadvantaged across key dimensions of social life (Sears, Hetts, Sidanius, & Bobo, 2000; Quillian, Pager, Hexel, & Midtboen, 2017). Persistent racial disparities in housing practices (Massey & Denton, 1993), healthcare opportunities and outcomes (National Healthcare Quality and Disparities Reports, 2019), and police brutality and mass incarceration rates (Ross, 2015) confirm that racism in the United States is alive and well. In the labor market, Black employees continue to earn less than their White counterparts at every educational level (Day & Newburger, 2002), remain overrepresented in low-level positions (Pomer, 1986; Waddoups, 1991), and are widely underrepresented in managerial and higher-level positions (Cohen & Huffman, 2006). Despite the sharp decline in Americans' explicit endorsement of racist beliefs after the Civil Rights Act, a large number of audit studies show that racial discrimination against Black people in labor markets has not decreased

since 1989 (Quillian et al., 2017). When applying for the same jobs, Black candidates remain less likely to receive callbacks (i.e., invitations to interviews) relative to their equally qualified White counterparts (Pager & Quillian, 2015; Quillian et al., 2017).

Audit studies have been crucial in documenting the persistence of racial discrimination in the labor market, but they reflect a research tradition based on an understanding of racial discrimination as the product of individual biases *against* Black people. Indeed, most psychology research addressing racism has characterized it as an individual-level problem (Trawalter, Bart-Plange, & Hoffman, 2020). This research has contributed major insights to our understanding of racism, showing the many different ways that prejudiced individuals quickly categorize, stereotype, and discriminate against Black people. For example, even the status of "American" itself is readily granted to White Americans and often denied to Black Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005). But it assumes that discrimination occurs when a prejudiced individual discriminates *against* an individual Black candidate. This assumption lies at the core of an interpersonal view of racism, grounded on the idea that racism is a product of one person discriminating *against* another person. This interpersonal view leads to an understanding of racial discrimination in hiring decisions as based exclusively on racial category cues (e.g., skin color) and necessarily entailing a preference for White over Black candidates. That is, racial prejudice tends to be understood as negative attitudes

towards Black people and discrimination always works to disadvantage Black candidates.

Yet racism in America goes far beyond individual racist attitudes and beliefs. Racism in America is systemic. It is embedded in an institutional structure that produces and reproduces socioeconomic advantages and disadvantages based on race. But American society is just starting to reckon with the structural nature of racism. It has taken the Merriam-Webster dictionary fifty-six years since the Civil Rights Act to update the definition of racism to include "the systemic oppression of a racial group to the social, economic, and political advantage of another; specifically: White supremacy" (Merriam-Webster, 2020). And, despite a rich research tradition on social dominance and systemic oppression, psychologists have only recently started focusing on the study of racial prejudice through a systemic lens, going beyond an interpersonal approach to the psychology of racism. To this point, Trawalter and colleagues (2020, p. 47) have called for more work that reflects the view that "racism is a multi-level construct, from individual bias to institutional racism."

Thus, most theories of racism help to explain how biased individuals rely on racial prejudice and stereotypes to discriminate against Black candidates in the labor market. By precluding Black people from having access to different types of jobs, biased individuals support the current racial hierarchy where White people are systematically advantaged. In our work, we suggest that this interpersonal approach to the psychology

of racism has led researchers to overlook how racial discrimination in hiring decisions can take on different forms, leading prejudiced individuals to go beyond the use of racial category cues. Under certain conditions, this means that they will discriminate against White job candidates as a means of upholding the racial hierarchy. We build upon the tenets of Social Dominance Theory (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, 2004) to uncover how systemic motives related with the desire to maintain the current racial hierarchy can drive discrimination in hiring practices. Specifically, we argue that when prejudiced individuals discriminate against Black candidates, they are not only discriminating because they hold individual negative biases about Black people. They are also – and perhaps primarily – motivated to perpetuate the current racial hierarchy. And, in order to do so, they support hiring candidates – be they Black or White – who will not disrupt a system where White people continue to be systematically advantaged. In this distinct form of racial discrimination – which we call *racial hierarchy-based discrimination*, prejudiced individuals can display a preference for hiring a Black candidate who wants to uphold the racial hierarchy over a White candidate who wants to disrupt it. This type of discrimination can lead to the appearance of racial progress, all the while keeping in place a racial power structure that systematically disadvantages Black Americans. And it can give rise to what has been called the next stage of racial domination: a multiracial White supremacy where "a

selected and vetted segment of the minority population participates fully in the political system" without disturbing the American racial order (Bonilla-Silva, 2015).

Chapter 1: Racial Hierarchy-based Discrimination in a Multiracial Power Structure

1.1 Preface

This first chapter is organized as follows. In the first section (*The changing nature of racism*), we provide a brief review of how the nature of racism in the United States has changed since the Civil Rights era. We focus on an overview of the theories and methods that were developed to help understand the new nature of racism, and how these theories enabled researchers to make major advancements in racism scholarship. Yet we also highlight how these theories paved the way for the study of racial discrimination in psychology through an interpersonal lens, focusing on individual-level stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination in the form of prejudiced individuals discriminating *against* Black people. Then, in the second section (*Documenting racial discrimination*), we discuss how researchers have empirically documented racial discrimination – particularly in labor markets – through the lens of an interpersonal approach to the phenomenon. While this research has been crucial in providing compelling evidence of the persistence of racial discrimination in hiring practices since the 1980s, it was built on the aforementioned understanding of racial discrimination as an interpersonal phenomenon. That is, discrimination was documented through the manipulation of racial category cues of particular individuals (e.g., skin color), reflecting a conception of discriminatory behavior as the action of a high-prejudice individual against a Black individual. In this way, this tradition has remained unable to empirically test the

consequences of a more systemic understanding of the motives driving racism. In the third section (*Racial Hierarchy-based discrimination*), we build upon social dominance theory to investigate what racial discrimination can look like when we take the systemic nature of racist motives into account. More specifically, we describe how this type of discrimination is supported by a theoretical account of racism that focuses on the relevance of social hierarchies (Social Dominance Theory; Pratto et al., 1994). One of the main takeaways of racial hierarchy-based discrimination is that, although racism is a construct about race, one of the core features of racial prejudice is the belief that the *social hierarchy* should be arranged based on race, independently of who delivers the promise of arranging society in a way that maintains the racial hierarchy in place. Lastly, in the fourth section (*Overview of studies*), we provide an overview of the studies that we have conducted to document racial hierarchy-based discriminations.

1.2 The changing nature of racism

From institutionalized slavery to Jim Crow laws, to a post-Civil Rights era where seemingly nonracial practices reproduce White rule, Black Americans have been historically exploited, disadvantaged, and discriminated against (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 1999; Salter, Adams, & Perez, 2018). In the pre-Civil Rights era, racial discrimination happened openly and publicly. Schools, employers, landlords, and real estate agents discriminated based on race with impunity (e.g., Reardon & Fahle, 2017; Rothstein, 2017). This so-called old-fashioned racism was easy to spot and straightforward to

measure. It meant believing that Black people were members of a biologically inferior race who deserved different—and worse—treatment. And it assumed the form of racial segregation and formal discrimination in all domains of social life.

In the post-Civil Rights era, these old-fashioned beliefs became recognized as overtly racist and socially undesirable. They were replaced with a covert set of prejudiced beliefs that provided "raceless" explanations for race-related issues (Bonilla-Silva, 2006). This evasive form of racism was then called "new" racism. The new racism was no longer grounded on beliefs regarding race-based biological differences, but on beliefs that non-White people violate fundamental American cultural norms and moral principles.

For decades, scholars have worked to understand the "new" forms that racism may take, proposing several different theories to explain the changed nature of racism (Sears & Kinder, 1971; McConahay, 1982; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986; Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997). These theories all share the underlying assumption that, among White Americans, new forms of prejudice embody negative feelings toward Black Americans as a group combined with a sense that Black people violate American values. Importantly, the new forms of prejudice are also subtle – and sometimes implicit, as racist beliefs are no longer blatantly endorsed. These theories all propose that changing social norms in the United States (after the Civil Rights era) have driven racism 'underground,' either because of

people's genuine desire to be egalitarian or due to a simple realization that overt racism would elicit social disapproval. While scholars disagree on whether racism has merely become covert, or individuals are truly conflicted about their attitudes, all tend to agree that a lifetime of exposure to negative stereotypes fuels the persistence of prejudiced attitudes that are not readily apparent. As discussed below, despite these common assumptions, each theory marks an important evolution in the understanding of the new forms of racism.

Symbolic Racism. "Symbolic racism" was the first theory developed to understand the changed nature of racial prejudice post-Civil Rights era (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Sears & Kinder, 1971; Sears & McConahay, 1973). This theory proposed that racist attitudes have morphed into a set of beliefs combining the following ideas: that racial discrimination was no longer a serious obstacle to Black Americans' prospects for a good life, that Black Americans' disadvantages were due to their own unwillingness to take responsibility for their lives, and that Black Americans' continuing demands for better treatment and special attention were not justified (Sears, van Laar, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997). These beliefs derived from a psychological mix of negative affect directed against Black individuals combined with the belief that Black people violate American values. The word "racism" was chosen to reflect racial antipathy, and the term "symbolic" was chosen to highlight the symbolic roots of a system of early-learned moral values and ideals, and that these beliefs referred to Black

Americans as an abstract collectivity rather than to experiences with specific Black individuals.

The manifest content of the items used in the most recent work on symbolic racism has been formalized in terms of four specific themes: (1) "work ethic and responsibility for outcomes," the sense that Black Americans' failure to progress results from their unwillingness to work hard enough; (2) "excessive demands," the sense that Black Americans are demanding too much; (3) "denial of continuing racial discrimination," the belief that Black Americans no longer face much prejudice in society today; and (4) "undeserved advantage," the sense that Black Americans have gotten more than they deserve (Sears & Henry, 2003). The measure of symbolic racism has been extensively used by racism scholars, showing that attitudes towards issues such as policing, busing, and affirmative action are better predicted by symbolic racism than self-interested motivations. For example, direct threats to whites' personal lives revealed little relation to voting patterns in mixed-race elections (Kinder & Sears, 1981). And white opposition to busing for school desegregation is weakly correlated to self-interested reasons (e.g., living in an affected neighborhood) but strongly correlated with measures of symbolic racism (McConahay, 1982).

Modern Racism, Racial Resentment, Subtle Racism, Aversive Racism, Racial Ambivalence, and Laissez-faire Racism. After the development of symbolic racism theory, scholars developed related theories and refinements of the existing theory in other to

better explain the changing nature of racism in the United States. We discuss the emergence of a representative set of these new theories.

The term "modern racism" was introduced about a decade later (McConahay, 1982). In general terms, it replicated much of the same beliefs that symbolic racism had put forward and was measured with the similar items. The new term was chosen to emphasize that the new racism was not the only form of prejudice to be rooted in socialization and in beliefs that were abstract and symbolic, but old-fashioned racism shared similar roots. The specific term "racial resentment" was introduced about a decade and a half after that, being conceptualized and measured in much the same way (Kinder & Sanders, 1996). This main idea was that the term "symbolic racism" was not portraying the central role of values in the theory, leaving it open to misinterpretation. That is, people could misinterpret symbolic racism as just racism, and its value component as just a justification for racial animosity. Thus, the term "racial resentment" was used to emphasize the idea that White Americans held genuine resentment about what they perceived to be moral transgressions and value violations of Black Americans. Values and prejudice were crucial elements.

Concurrently, the theory of "subtle racism" also assumed that a new form of prejudice had emerged that needed to be contrasted with the older "blatant racism" (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Subtle racism reflected three components: "defense of traditional values," the idea that a certain group is violating American values;

"exaggeration of cultural differences," the view that a certain group is different from other groups regarding values and religious beliefs; and "denial of positive emotions," suggesting a lack of positive emotions toward certain groups rather than the presence of negative emotions. These three components of subtle racism are similar to the content of the other versions of a new racism. The subtle racism research was able to expand the scope of the phenomenon, showing that newer forms of racism could also be found in European countries as well as in the United States, and could occur against immigrant groups as well as against Black people (Pettigrew, 2000).

The theory of aversive racism, on the other hand, suggests that many White Americans today endorse the equal treatment of Black Americans, but, at the same time, cannot help but carry negative attitudes toward Black individuals (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). As a result, an aversive racist's behavior will be biased against Black Americans when that behavior can be justified in nonracial terms. For instance, when blacks can be plausibly accused of having violated traditional values (Dovidio, Mann, & Gaertner, 1989; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986). Along similar lines, the theory of racial ambivalence (Katz & Hass, 1988; Katz, Wackenhut, & Hass, 1986) suggests that many Whites are ambivalent about Blacks, having both "pro-Black" attitudes rooted in humanitarianism and egalitarianism and "anti-Black" attitudes rooted in values such as the Protestant ethic.

Lastly, the theory of laissez-faire racism (Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1997) also describes a shift in racial attitudes toward the denial of continuing discrimination and the attribution of laziness to Black people. But it also provides a larger historic and economic explanation for the development of a newer form of racism, as it emphasizes the replacement of the old Southern agrarian economic system by a post-industrial economy.

Implicit Bias Theories. Beginning in the mid-1990s, researchers started emphasizing the multidimensional aspect of prejudice and taking advantage of new technologies to study processes that had been hypothesized but that they lacked the means to measure. For example, aversive racism, modern racism, and symbolic racism all assumed widespread unconscious negative feelings and beliefs by White people towards Black people. But before the 1990s researchers lacked the conceptual perspectives (e.g., Greenwald & Banaji, 1995) and technologies (e.g., Dovidio & Fazio, 1992; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998) that would allow them to measure implicit attitudes and beliefs. Since then, new measures of implicit racial bias have been developed (Petty, Fazio, & Brinol, 2009) and much research using these measures has shown that racial attitudes have strong automatic features (Nosek, Hawkins, & Frazier, 2011). Indeed, while expressions of explicit prejudice have significantly declined over time, this research has been able to show that measured forms of implicit bias have

changed only slightly over the past few decades (Devine & Elliot, 1995; Bobo, Charles, Krysan, & Simmons, 2012; Charlesworth & Banaji, 2019).

A focus on individual biases against Black people. These different theories have played a crucial role in helping to explain persistent racial discrimination in a society where measures of explicit prejudice have been consistently decreasing, contributing major insights to our comprehension of racism. Yet they also lay the groundwork for a research tradition based on an understanding of racial discrimination as the product of individual biases against Black people (Trawalter, Bart-Plange, & Hoffman, 2020). While each theory acknowledges the role that historically created and presently upheld social structures play in shaping racism as a systemic phenomenon in the United States, they end up being operationalized mostly as measures of individual prejudice. These individual measures are then used to explain why – and how – particular individuals who are highly prejudiced hold certain stereotypes and engage in discrimination against Black individuals. In describing the main tenets of each theory, we have discussed how they have helped to advance the field by shedding light on the new forms that racism has assumed in the post-Civil Rights era. Yet, at the same time, they have also inspired a research tradition focused on an understanding of racial discrimination as the product of individual prejudice against Black people, rather than as a phenomenon at least partially grounded on systemic-level motives to uphold a racial hierarchy that consistently advantages White people.

1.3 Documenting racial discrimination

The growth of the Black middle class in the United States is commonly cited as evidence of a post-racial social order. Yet this claim defies extensive evidence that Black Americans continue to experience prejudice and discrimination in their everyday lives. White students are perceived as more compliant than Black students, making them less likely to be expelled (Okonofua, Walton, & Eberhardt, 2016). White homeowners are perceived as cleaner and more responsible than Black homeowners, increasing their home equity (Bonam, Bergsieker, & Eberhardt, 2016). White criminals are perceived as less blameworthy than Black criminals, decreasing their likelihood of being executed (Baldus, Woodworth, Zuckerman, Weinder, & Broffit, 1998; Scott, Ma, Sadler, & Correll, 2017).

In the context of housing, residential segregation today is almost as pronounced as in the past (Massey & Denton, 1993) even though some of the segregation is not even captured by the indices used by researchers (Bonilla-Silva & Baiocchi, 2008). While the practices associated with residential segregation during the Jim Crow period are currently illegal (Picca & Feagin, 2007), segregation persists because discrimination in the housing and lending markets remains. Black Americans continue to experience discrimination in forms such as steering by realtors, receiving a disproportional number of subprime loans, and being given differential information about the availability of

housing units (Carpusor & Loges, 2006; Ewens, Tomlin, & Wang, 2014; Galster & Godfrey, 2005).

In the context of employment, Black Americans face obstacles to entering the labor market, in their wage earnings, and in occupational mobility (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Deming et al., 2016; Gaddis, 2015; Pager, 2003; Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2009; Pedulla, 2018). Black Americans earn less than their equally qualified White counterparts at every educational level, remaining overrepresented among unskilled workers and underrepresented in managerial positions (Day & Newburger, 2002; Pomer, 1986; Waddoups, 1991).

Beyond the traditional contexts of discrimination in housing and employment, researchers have documented racial-ethnic discrimination in banking and economic transactions (e.g., Hanson et al., 2016), scheduling of medical appointments (e.g., Sharma, Mitra, & Stano, 2015), college admissions counselors and professors (e.g., Thornhill, 2018; Milkman et al., 2012, 2015), on Airbnb (Edelman, Luca, & Svirsky, 2017), Craigslist (Gaddis & Ghoshal, 2019), and Uber (Ge et al., 2016). All in all, the literature suggests that racial discrimination against Black people is prevalent across numerous contexts and has been widespread for decades.

A few recent meta-analyses on racial discrimination in hiring provide some broad takeaways from this body of work, showing that there is no evidence that racial discrimination against Black Americans in the U.S. labor market has decreased since the

1980's (Quillian et al., 2017). The evidence for these meta-analyses is taken from field experiments in the form of audit studies. In these audit studies, fictitious applicants from different racial groups apply for jobs. Often these experiments use pairs of applicants, with one majority and one minority applicant applying for the same position. Some studies hire people to play applicants for jobs (in-person audit studies), while others use resumes with clues, often a name, to suggest race (resume audits or correspondence studies). In both cases, applicants are given resumes that make them similar in job-relevant characteristics so that race is the only systematic difference between the White and minority applicants. In this way, these field experiments provide researchers with a high degree of confidence in determining that it is perceived race rather than other factors that drives the racial gaps in outcomes. The simple persuasiveness of audit field studies at demonstrating discrimination—in the face of a general skepticism by White majorities that discrimination exists and high standards of proof among social scientists—is a major strength of this line of research.

Yet these experiments are also typically interpreted within an interpersonal approach to the study of racism, as researchers manipulate exclusively the racial category of the job candidate, holding all else constant (e.g., candidates' qualifications, intentions, etc.). While this type of design comes with a great degree of experimental control – allowing researchers to infer causality regarding the role of racial category in hiring decisions, it assumes that discrimination occurs only when a biased individual

discriminates against an individual Black candidate. This assumption lies at the core of an interpersonal view of racist motives, grounded on the idea that racial discrimination necessarily entails a prejudiced individual discriminating against a Black individual. The design of audit experiments makes them unable to detect other kinds of discrimination, such as a preference to hire a Black candidate under conditions where doing so will maintain the racial hierarchy. We discuss this racial hierarchy-based form of discrimination next.

1.4 Racial hierarchy-based discrimination

The changed nature of racism has helped to explain why Black people remain systematically disadvantaged in the labor market. The endorsement of explicitly prejudiced beliefs has steeply declined since the Civil Rights era, and most Americans became supportive of principles of equal treatment for all races. Yet prejudiced individuals started adhering to a different set of beliefs, arguing that Black Americans' failure to make economic progress results from their own faults, such as unwillingness to work hard enough. This changed nature of racial prejudice has enabled biased individuals to discriminate against Black Americans with the use of "raceless" explanations. And, by systematically precluding Black people from advancing economically, prejudiced individuals have contributed to the maintenance of a racial hierarchy where White people are consistently advantaged. As depicted in Figure 1, the study of racial discrimination in labor markets assumes that racist beliefs lead

prejudiced individuals to discriminated against Black job candidates, thus supporting the current racial hierarchy as a consequence.

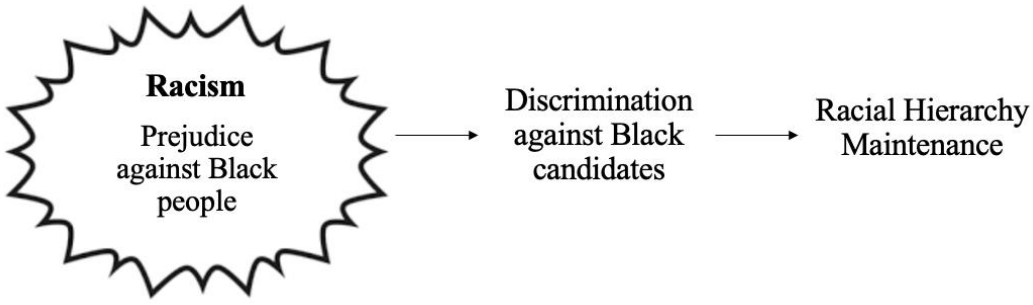

Figure 1: Racial discrimination and the maintenance of the racial hierarchy

In a society where racism is structural and manifested in broader systems of power and privilege, we suggest that discrimination can also be driven by systemic-level motives to uphold the racial hierarchy that go beyond individual prejudice against Black people. While racism is, of course, a construct about race, it is also – and perhaps above anything else – about behaviors that produce and reproduce a racial structure. That is, racism consists of "a network of social relations at social, political, economic, and ideological levels that shapes the life chances of the various races" (Bonilla-Silva, 2015, p. 1360). This understanding of racism is consistent with the tenets of Social Dominance Theory (SDT; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Social dominance theory was "developed in an attempt to understand how group-based social hierarchy is formed and maintained" (Sidanius & Pratto, 2004, p. 320) and it starts with the observation that all human societies are organized as group-based dominance hierarchies. The theory posits that such hierarchies remain in place

because both institutions and individuals systematically discriminate by allocating resources, power, and prestige preferentially to privileged groups over low-power groups. According to SDT, individuals' persistent inclination towards egalitarian or antiegalitarian arrangements – i.e., social dominance orientation (SDO) – influences their endorsement of legitimizing ideologies that serve to uphold their hierarchy-related preferences (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Ho, Sidanius, Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, Pratto, Henkel, & Stewart, 2015). Antiegalitarians – high-SDO individuals who favor inequality between groups – rely on various legitimizing myths that reinforce hierarchies to justify societal disparities (Lee, Pratto, & Johnson, 2011; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, Devereux, & Pratto, 1992).

Of particular interest to our argument, SDO is expected to be connected to racial hierarchies due to the prominence of race as a primary form of social stratification in the United States. Research in the tradition of social dominance orientation suggests that several cognitive biases and social ideologies ("legitimizing myths") reinforce the conception of White Americans as superior. An example of such ideologies is the Protestant Work Ethic (PWE), which suggests that hard work breeds success, despite the fact that success is more attainable for some than for others. Individuals who subscribe to the PWE are more likely to attribute hierarchies to dispositions (e.g., those at the top simply work harder than those at the bottom) rather than to biased social structures

(e.g., the presence of discrimination against lower-status racial groups), and therefore oppose hierarchy-reducing policies (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

According to Social Dominance Theory, racial prejudice is just one among many legitimizing myths that justify discrimination (along with protestant work ethic, conservative ideologies, support for hierarchy-enhancing institutions, etc.). Thus, highly prejudiced individuals can endorse racist beliefs because they are motivated to maintain the current racial hierarchy. And, as a result of this system-level motivation to uphold the racial hierarchy, we argue that they may discriminate in more flexible ways that do not necessarily translate into discriminating against Black candidates – see Figure 2.

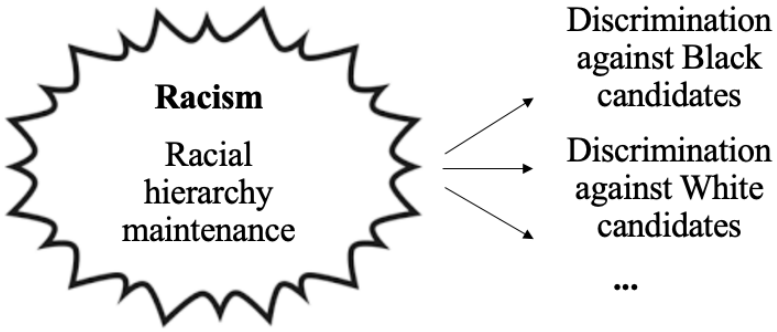

Figure 2: The motive to uphold the racial hierarchy predicts flexible forms of discrimination

Past research has generated a number of findings that are generally consistent with our argument for racial hierarchy-based discrimination. In politics, for example, the racially resentful do not rely exclusively on racial category cues to keep Black Americans from positions of power. Quite the contrary, they show support for Black Americans

who deliver a message that is consistent with the perpetuation of the American values of equal opportunity for all races and hard work as the sole means to economic success. For instance, White voters who hold anti-Black attitudes were more likely to support Republican Black candidates such as Ben Carson in the 2016 Republican presidential primary (Karpowitz et al., 2021). In another study, while voters with anti-egalitarian views opposed Barack Obama, there were also individuals who voted for him in an effort to reinforce the notion that racism in the United States had been eradicated (Knowles, Lowery, & Schaumberg, 2009). The inclination towards anti-egalitarianism was only linked to a higher likelihood of voting for Obama among individuals who believed that his victory symbolized the elimination of racism.

One could attribute prejudiced individuals voting for Black conservative politicians as an instance of the ideological-conflict hypothesis (Chambers, Schlenker, & Collisson, 2013; Sullivan, Piereson, & Marcus, 1979). This hypothesis suggests that liberals and conservatives favor whichever social groups share their own values and are biased against groups that do not share their values, independently of race. And, as conservatism is highly correlated with measures of racial prejudice, individuals who are racially resentful would also support whichever politicians put forward conservative values, regardless of whether they are Black or White. According to the ideological-conflict hypothesis, the reason why the racially resentful would discriminate against Black individuals is not because of their race per se, but because they assume that Black

people hold liberal values that are in conflict with their own conservative values. Indeed, much research suggests that White voters stereotype Black candidates as being more liberal than White candidates (Lerman & Sadin, 2016), and Black individuals are on average perceived to be more liberal than White individuals (Fulton & Gershon, 2018; Jacobsmeier, 2015; Koch, 2000). And many studies provide empirical support the ideological-conflict hypothesis, showing that a politician's ideology can moderate the effect of racial prejudice on voting patterns more strongly than their race (Bai, 2021; Bai, 2022).

Thus, perhaps White individuals with anti-Black views are more likely to be conservative, and they discriminate against Black individuals because they assume that they are liberal, not because they believe they will disrupt the racial hierarchy. Yet, while we believe that the ideological-conflict hypothesis can help to explain part of our phenomenon of interest, it misses an important point. We propose that one of the key motivations for prejudiced individuals to discriminate is that they are motivated to maintain the racial power hierarchy. The motive to either maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy can trump a candidate's race in predicting support from prejudiced individuals, independently of the candidate's political ideology. In this way, we go beyond a conflict of values to focus on the influence of the desire and ability to change or uphold the racial power hierarchy.

In line with our argument, research suggests that antiegalitarians and prejudiced individuals can discriminate in counterintuitive ways. In the context of college admissions, there is recent evidence showing that White admissions counselors engage in so-called intra-racial discrimination regarding prospective Black students (Thornhill, 2019). Through an audit study involving sending emails to White college admissions counselors, this research found that Black high school students who disclose a commitment to antiracism receive fewer email responses relative to Black high school students who show no interest in racial matters. In the context of affirmative action policies, research suggests that individuals who oppose equality can exploit these policies to foster social inequality (Ho & Unzueta, 2015). Affirmative action policies are typically regarded as a means to achieve social equality. But antiegalitarians can show less resistance towards affirmative action measures if they are perceived as leading to the recruitment of underqualified minorities (Aquino et al., 2005). Consequently, powerful affirmative action policies may serve as a tool for antiegalitarians to strengthen social hierarchies.

Another counterintuitive way via which antiegalitarians can uphold hierarchical arrangements is through "appeasement" (Chow, Lowery, & Hogan, 2013). When groups perceive a threat between them, they can display appeasement behaviors that may initially seem to diminish the existing hierarchy but are actually intended to prevent or reduce threats to that hierarchy. As a result, pro-hierarchy Whites may engage in

behaviors that outwardly appear to attenuate the hierarchy, while their true intention is to strengthen or at least stabilize it.

Most research has focused on the attitudes and behaviors of anti-egalitarians. This focus implies a tacit assumption that people with anti-egalitarian attitudes are biased, whereas egalitarians form a "neutral" comparison group. However, given that real social systems are almost always hierarchical, motives to maintain hierarchies and motives to disrupt them should both be expected to have important effects (Ho & Kteily, 2020; Kay, Ponce de Leon, Ho, & Kteily, 2023). Recent research provides evidence that both egalitarians and anti-egalitarians demonstrate biases in favor of their preferences. For instance, egalitarians exhibit strategic shifts in their definition of diversity to support affirmative action initiatives (Unzueta, Knowles, & Ho, 2012) and show increased support for race-based affirmative action policies over legacy-based ones (Crawford, 2012). Egalitarian values can also influence the types of messages individuals consider worth sharing, as seen in the preference of liberals (but not conservatives) to tweet a TED talk by a successful Black female astronomer instead of a comparable one by a White male astronomer (Kteily et al., 2019). Contrary to classic assumptions, egalitarians can even deviate from being more empathic than anti-egalitarians depending on the situation. When an adverse event affects a higher-status group member compared to a lower-status one, egalitarians perceive it as causing less harm than anti-egalitarians (Lucas & Kteily, 2018). Furthermore, egalitarians can endorse social beliefs they typically

reject, such as essentialism, the Protestant work ethic, and gender stereotypes, if they perceive these beliefs as promoting their goal of greater organizational diversity (Ponce de Leon and Kay, 2021). The racial resentment spectrum can also be understood as capturing different motivational forces. The original advocates of the racial resentment scale, Donald Kinder and David Sears, have revised their understanding of the construct to describe it in more nuanced terms. For example, in an analysis of the role that racial resentment played in the 2008 presidential campaign, they have argued that the racial resentment scale differentiates between whites who express sympathy toward Blacks and those who resent what they perceive as the failure of Blacks to demonstrate self-reliance and hard work (Kinder & Dale-Riddle, 2012). Tesler and Sears's (2010) analysis of the same election contains discussions of what they have called "the two sides of racialization," and Tesler has continued to highlight the possibly two-sided nature of racial resentment in subsequent work (Tesler, 2016). Thus, we expect both low and high prejudice individual to exhibit motivated responses to job candidates' intentions to either disrupt or maintain the racial hierarchy.

Altogether, our work helps to reconcile interpersonal and systemic racism theories by clarifying difference ways via which interpersonal discrimination supports and maintains racist systems. It is often assumed that interpersonal discrimination operates by individuals discriminating against Black people based simply on their racial category. The racial hierarchy-based discrimination argument suggests that people are

strategic in how they discriminate, willing to discriminate for or against Black candidates depending on how well they serve the goal of maintaining the racial hierarchy. Our work also shows how racial discrimination can evolve into more insidious forms that create an aura of a post-racial society while keeping the racial order in place. In what has been termed a multiracial white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2015), prejudiced individuals can support putting Black people who are committed to upholding the racial hierarchy in positions of power. This distinct type of discrimination contributes to the maintenance of the current racial power structure while misleadingly giving the appearance of racial progress.

1.5 Overview of studies

In the first study (Chapter 2), we conceptually replicated racial discrimination in hiring decisions so as to provide a background against which to interpret later studies, where information about maintaining or changing racial hierarchies was explicitly manipulated. As predicted, we found that participants who scored higher on racial resentment evaluated Black job applicants more negatively and were less willing to hire them relative to equally qualified White applicants. The aim of this first study was to establish that when a job candidate's race is the most relevant information available about racial hierarchies, racial resentment is associated with differential hiring based on candidate race.

In the second study (Chapter 3), we explored whether information about the job candidates' desire to disrupt or maintain racial hierarchies would influence hiring decisions in addition to, or perhaps in the place of, candidate race. We found that participants who scored higher on racial resentment evaluated job applicants who put forward hierarchy-disrupting diversity statements more negatively and were less willing to hire them, relative to equally qualified applicants who endorsed hierarchy-maintaining goals in their diversity statements. Importantly, we found that the type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting) associated with each job candidate had effects independent of the candidates' race. As proposed by racial hierarchy-based discrimination, when candidates' goals regarding the maintenance or disruption of the current racial hierarchy were clearly stated, individuals who scored higher on racial resentment overlooked racial category cues to hire someone who would work towards the perpetuation of the racial power hierarchy. That is, participants who scored higher in racial resentment showed a preference for hiring a Black candidate who wanted to maintain the hierarchy relative to an equally qualified White candidate who wanted to disrupt the hierarchy.

In the third study (Chapter 4), we replicated racial hierarchy-based discrimination with better-matched and more realistically worded diversity statements that were more focused on either maintaining or disrupting the racial hierarchy in particular. This study also provided a replication of our effect with a between-subjects

design, showing that participants were sensitive to the racial hierarchy manipulation even when they lacked the contrast between racial hierarchy maintaining and racial hierarchy disrupting diversity statements. Interestingly, with this design, we captured different effects on the low- and high-end of the racial resentment (and also social dominance) spectrum. The results suggest that low prejudice individuals are more sensitive to racial category cues and high prejudice individuals are more sensitive to racial hierarchy-related intentions. Low prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire a Black than a White job candidate, regardless of their racial hierarchy-related intentions. High prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire the racial-hierarchy maintaining candidate than the racial hierarchy-disrupting candidate, regardless of their race. Additionally, in this study we measured social dominance orientation to explore how a general motivation to endorse more or less egalitarian societies was related to racial hierarchy-based discrimination in particular. Both racial resentment and SDO were significantly associated with racial hierarchy-based discrimination when included in separate models as independent predictors. But, when we tested for their effects simultaneously, racial resentment remained a significant predictor while SDO was no longer significantly associated with racial hierarchy-based discrimination. While SDO captures a general preference for more or less egalitarian social arrangements – and, thus, is directly related with preferences for more or less hierarchical organizations in general, racial resentment captures a mixture of anti-Black

affect with beliefs that Black people violate American values connected with the protestant work ethic. Given these differences, SDO is more clearly connected with a desire to uphold any type of hierarchy. In this way, results using SDO as a predictor are less surprising. Yet what we take to be particularly interesting is that racial resentment is so strongly connected with the desire to uphold the racial hierarchy that prejudiced individuals ignore racial categories to discriminate based on racial hierarchy-related intentions. That is, high prejudice individuals discriminate in favor of Black candidates who want to maintain the racial hierarchy and against White candidates who want to disrupt it.

In the fourth study (Chapter 5), we provided a conceptual replication of racial hierarchy-based discrimination by using information regarding the candidates' interests outside their primary role in the organization. Additionally, results also corroborated our hypothesis that racial resentment remains a predictor of this type of discrimination when including social dominance orientation in the model. Lastly, while one could have expected our effect to be only a result of how much participants *like* each candidate, this study provided evidence that racial hierarchy-discrimination occurs even when controlling for liking.

In the fifth study (Chapter 6), we have explored the idea that both low and high prejudice individuals can be strategic in pursuing their goals of disrupting or maintaining current racial hierarchies. More specifically, we proposed and found

evidence that it is not just the candidate's intentions to maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy that shapes whether prejudiced individuals discriminate based on hierarchy-disrupting intentions. It also matters whether the candidate has the power to disrupt the hierarchy (e.g., a position of power in the organization). The results suggest that the more power hierarchy-disrupting candidates have, the less prejudiced individuals want to hire them, and the more low-prejudice individuals want to hire them.

In the sixth study (Chapter 7), we explored whether the candidates' ability to disrupt the hierarchy shaped racial hierarchy-based discrimination. We predicted that, if all the job candidates disclosed a motivation to disrupt the racial hierarchy, the more competent the candidates were – and, thus, actually able to disrupt the hierarchy – the less high prejudice individuals would be willing to hire them, independently of the candidates' race. Unsurprisingly, results showed a large main effect of candidate competence, such that participants across the racial resentment spectrum positively rewarded higher levels of competence. But interestingly, low prejudice individuals were more sensitive to the competence manipulation. That is, low prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire the more competent candidate relative to high prejudice individuals, given that the more competence candidate would be more likely to achieve their goal of disrupting the racial hierarchy.

In supplemental study a (Appendix C), we sought to replicate the hierarchy-based form of discrimination in a different way by using information that job candidates

actually communicate in their resumes, such as their experiences with college clubs. While candidates' college club experiences can be unrelated to their goals regarding the maintenance or disruption of the current racial power structure, they can also signal a desire to create a more egalitarian workplace. For example, when job candidates relay participation in club activities that are tailored towards increasing the influence of underrepresented racial minorities in the university, they are also signaling a desire for disrupting the current racial hierarchy. In this study, we manipulated each candidate's college club experience such that they were either the president of a club-oriented towards increasing racial diversity or the president of a club that was neutral regarding racial diversity goals. We found that participants' scores on racial resentment interacted with the type of club experience (diversity-neutral versus diversity-oriented) to predict how participants evaluated the candidates and how much they were willing to hire them. More specifically, we found that participants who scored higher on racial resentment evaluated job applicants who had experience in a diversity-oriented club more negatively and were less willing to hire them relative to equally qualified applicants who had experience in a diversity-neutral club. Importantly, we also found that the effect of the type of signal included in the resumes (diversity-neutral versus diversity-oriented) was independent of the effect of candidate race. That is, participants who scored higher in racial resentment showed a preference for hiring a Black candidate

who had been the president of a diversity-neutral club in college relative to an equally qualified White candidate who had been the president of a diversity-oriented club.

Given previous research on the ideological-conflict hypothesis suggesting that racial bias can be explained by differences in political ideology (e.g., Chambers, Schlenker, Collisson, 2013), in supplemental study b (Appendix D), we tested whether hierarchy-based discrimination would predict job candidates' evaluations independently of their political orientation. We found that, while racial resentment was significantly associated with a preference for conservative job candidates (in line with the ideological-conflict hypothesis), hierarchy-based discrimination was independently predictive of candidates' evaluations.

Across all studies, we have measured racial prejudice with one of the most widely used measures of prejudice: racial resentment (Henry & Sears, 2002). The four-item scale includes: "*Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up, Blacks should do the same without any special favors*;" "*Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower* class [RS];" "*Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve* [RS];" and "*It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough, if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites.*" As can be seen, the theme of these questions is whether racial inequality is an illegitimate problem resulting from discrimination and oppression, or a legitimate outcome resulting from faults among

Black Americans. This measure has reliably correlated with the endorsement of prejudiced attitudes and stereotypes, beliefs, racially coded policies such as crime and welfare, and discriminatory behaviors (Kinder & Sanders, 1996; Kam & Kinder 2012; Kinder & Dale-Riddle, 2012; Tesler & Sears, 2010). The relevance of this measure to political and policy-related choices has only grown over time in the US (Tesler & Sears, 2010; Sides, Tesler, & Vavreck, 2018). In 2016 and 2020, racial resentment was a stronger predictor of voting for Donald Trump than any other variable, including economic distress or political conservatism (Sides, Tesler, & Vavreck, 2018). We chose this measure because of the extensive research record of reliability and predictive validity, and the fact that it is one of the most commonly used explicit measures of racial prejudice (e.g., DeSante & Watts Smith, 2020).

Chapter 2: Study 1

2.1 Preface

The goal of this first study was to conceptually replicate racial discrimination in hiring decisions (pre-registered at https://aspredicted.org/JVY_DK3). We hypothesized that racial discrimination in hiring would be moderated by participants' scores on racial resentment. More specifically, we predicted that participants who scored higher on racial resentment would evaluate Black job applicants more negatively and would be less willing to hire them relative to equally qualified White applicants. This study aims to establish that when the candidate's race is the most relevant information available about racial hierarchies, racial resentment will be associated with differential hiring based on candidate's race. This provides a background against which to interpret later studies, in which information about maintaining or changing racial hierarchies is explicitly manipulated. We anticipate in those studies that racial hierarchies will influence hiring decisions in addition to, or perhaps in the place of, candidate race.

2.2 Methods

2.2.1 Participants

We recruited 500 participants from Prolific Academic (restricted to the U.S. and gender-balanced). Firstly, we recruited a general sample of 400 hundred participants. Given that online samples tend to display a liberal bias, we then added 100 participants who self-identified as Republicans. This procedure for collecting the sample was pre-

registered. Thirty-two participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 468 (1872 individual observations) (M_{age} = 36.28; SD_{age} = 13.39; 225 Female, 10 Non-binary; 31 Black, 3 Native American, 27 Asian, 9 "other," 398 White; 38 Hispanic). We would like to note that this sample was predominantly White, so conclusions from this study should be confined to White participants. Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using two predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = 0.005 (Critical $F(2, 1869) = 3.00$).

2.2.2 Procedures

After proving informed consent, participants read the following instructions: "*Imagine that you are a member of the hiring committee for a high-paying consulting job in an American company. You are going to be presented with a summarized version of the application materials of a total of four job candidates. After you see the materials for each candidate, you will provide an overall assessment of the candidate across several dimensions*."

Then, participants were randomly presented with summarized resumes of two Black and two White candidates, one at a time. Thus, candidate race was manipulated within-participants. For each rating, we averaged the ratings of both Black candidates and the ratings of both White candidates to create a single evaluation for each candidate race. After learning about each candidate, participants completed all the dependent variables for that candidate before moving on to the next one.

We used names that have been pre-tested in the literature to signal race (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). For the Black candidates, we used Dashawn Washington and Tanisha Williams, and for the White candidates we used Seth Andersen and Claire Miller.

The summary resumes included information regarding the applicant's education, experience, and skills. All information represented equivalent levels of qualifications and were randomly assigned to all four candidates—see Appendix A for detailed materials.

Lastly, participants completed the measure of racial resentment, followed by demographic measures.

2.2.3 Measures

Qualified. Participants evaluated each job applicant across the following dimensions on a scale from *1 = Extremely low* to *9 = Extremely high*: competence, qualifications, achievements, motivation, and potential. We created an average score of these evaluations to capture how qualified participants perceived the candidate to be (alpha = .95).

Successful. Participants expressed their opinions regarding how they thought that each job applicant would perform on the job across the following dimensions on a scale from *1 = Not at all* to *9 = Very much so*: productive, perform at a high level, and likely to

be successful. We created an average score of these opinions to capture how successful participants thought that the candidate would be (alpha = .95).

Team player. Participants expressed their opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be a team player once on the job (*1 = Not at all; 9 = Very much so*).

Difficult. Participants expressed their opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be "disruptive" and "difficult to work with" once on the job (*1 = Not at all; 9 = Very much so*). We averaged these two scores to capture how difficult participants thought that the candidate would be (*r* = .90).

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the following question: "How willing would you be to hire this candidate?" (*1 = Not at all; 9 = Very much so*).

Racial Resentment. We captured racial resentment with an average score of the following four items (alpha = .94): "*Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up, Blacks should do the same without any special favors*;" "*Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower* class [RS];" "*Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten less than they deserve* [RS];" and "*It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough, if Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites.*" (1 = Disagree strongly; 5 = Agree strongly; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the following item: "*Please select the option that best describes your political orientation*" (*1 = Very liberal; 7 = Very conservative*).

2.3 Results

We reshaped the data in long format so that each participant was represented across four rows (twice for their evaluations of the two Black candidates and twice for their evaluations of two White candidates). We used multilevel models to test fixed effects of predictors with random effects for participants.

2.3.1 Main effects of candidates' race

We explored main effects of candidate race (Black versus White) on all dependent variables controlling for person random effects. Participants perceived Black candidates as significantly more qualified (b = .05, SE = .02, p = .009, 95% CI [.01, .08]) and more likely to be a team player (b = .08, SE = .03, p = .011, 95% CI [.02, .14]) relative to their equally qualified White counterparts. These results are aligned with the fact that online samples tend to have an overrepresentation of liberal participants and may also reflect social desirability concerns. For all other measures, candidate race was not a significant predictor (*Successful*: b = .02, SE = .02, p = .297, 95% CI [-.02, .06]; *Difficult*: b = -.02, SE = .03, p = .475, 95% CI [-.08, .04], and *Willingness to Hire*: b = .02, SE = .02, p = .293, 95% CI [-.02, .07]. The main question focused on differences in ratings as a function of racial resentment.

2.3.2 Two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidates' race

We tested the main prediction that racial resentment would interact with candidate race to predict candidate evaluations across all dependent variables. The equations we used for each of the five dependent variables were the following, where β_{pj} is a regression coefficient at Level 1 (p^{th} predictor for j participant), r_{ij} is the Level 1 residual (for i^{th} observation and j participant), γ_{pr} is a fixed effect (r^{th} predictor at Level 2 for p^{th} predictor at Level 1), and u_{pj} is a random effect (p^{th} random effect and j participant):

Within-Participant:

$$Dependent\ Variable = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j} Candidate\ Race_{ij} + r_{ij}$$

Between-Participants:

$$\beta_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} Racial\ Resentment_j + u_{0j}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} + \gamma_{11} Racial\ Resentment_j + u_{1j}$$

Reduced-form equation:

$$\begin{aligned} Dependent\ Variable &= \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01} Racial\ Resentment_j + \gamma_{10} Candidate\ Race_{ij} \\ &+ \gamma_{11} Racial\ Resentment_j \times Candidate\ Race_{ij} + u_{0j} + u_{1j} \end{aligned}$$

Results revealed significant two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidate race (Black versus White) on all dependent variables, controlling for

participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (γ = -.08, *SE* = .01, p < .001, 95% CI [-.10, -.05]), *Successful* (γ = -.09, *SE* = .02, p < .001, 95% CI [-.13, -.06]), *Team player* (γ = -.13, *SE* = .02, p < .001, 95% CI [-.17, -.08]), *Difficult* (γ = .09, *SE* = .02, p < .001, 95% CI [.05, .13]), and *Willingness to Hire* (γ = -.15, *SE* = .02, p < .001, 95% CI [-.19, -.12]) – fixed effects for all dependent variables shown in Tables A.1 to A.5, Appendix A.

As displayed in Figures 3-7, participants who scored higher on racial resentment evaluated Black candidates to be significantly less qualified, less likely to be a team player and to be successful, more likely to be difficult to work with, and were less likely to be willing to hire them. Thus, these results conceptually replicated a racial bias in hiring decisions. Additionally, we found that participants who scored lower on racial resentment showed a preference for the Black over the White candidates, showing evidence of bias (in opposite directions) across the racial resentment spectrum.

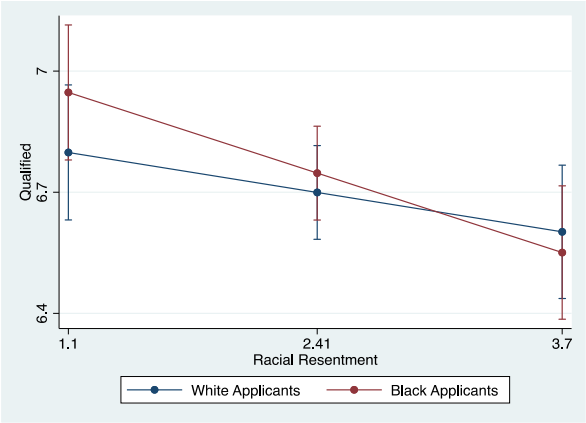

Figure 3: Qualified (study 1)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how qualified participants evaluated the candidate to be. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

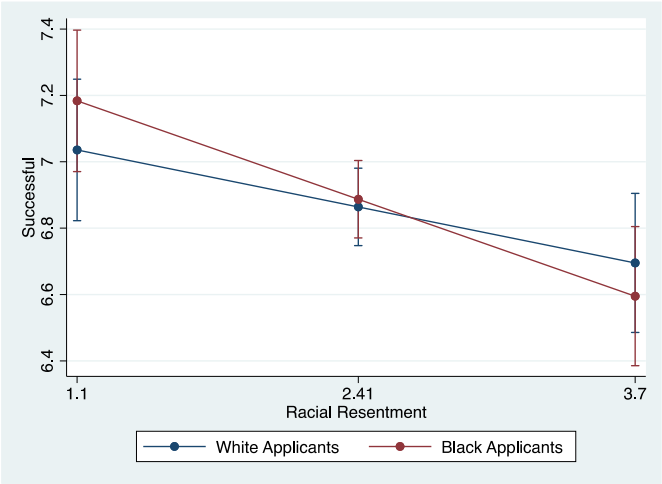

Figure 4: Successful (study 1)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate would be. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

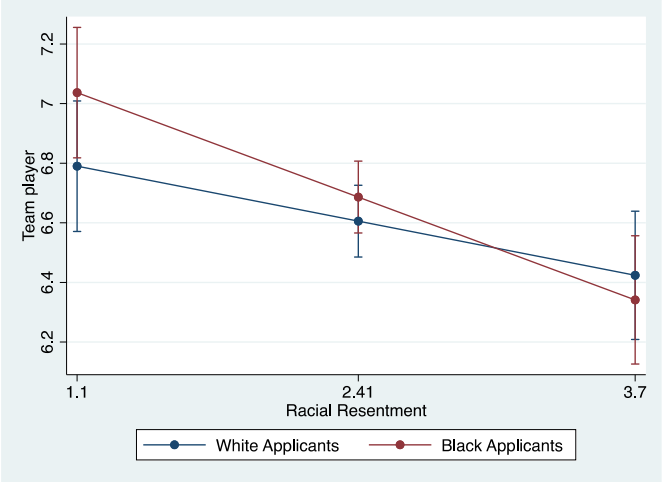

Figure 5: Team player (study 1)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team player*. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

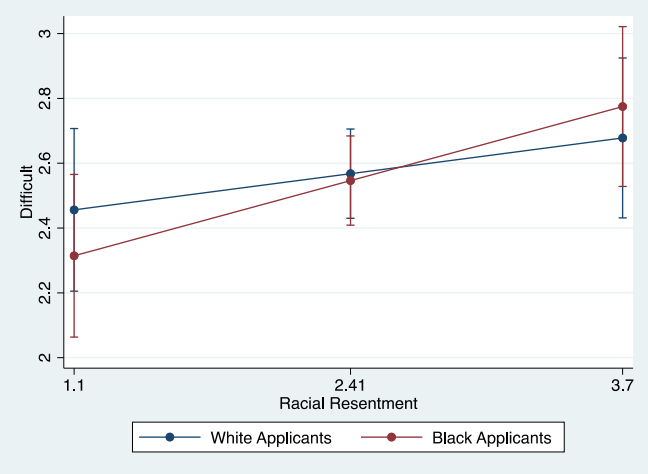

Figure 6: Difficult (study 1)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

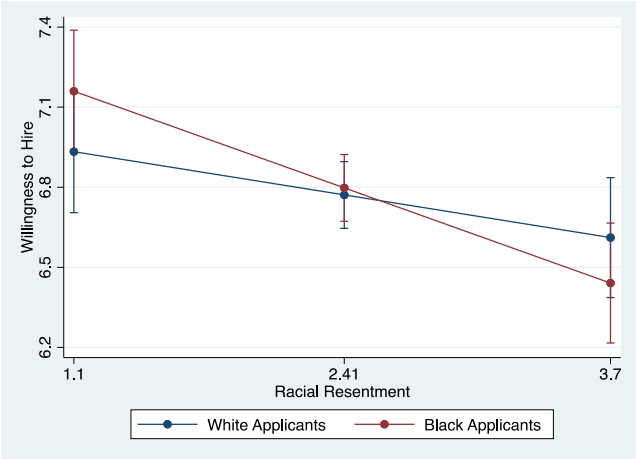

Figure 7: Willingness to hire (study 1)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on participants' *Willingness to hire* the candidate. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

We followed these interactions with analyses of simple slopes to test whether the relationship between racial resentment and dependent measures was only significant for Black candidates. For Black candidates, racial resentment was a significant predictor of *Qualified* (b = -.21, SE = .07, p = .002, 95% CI [-.35, -.07]), *Successful* (b = -.22, SE = .07, p = .001, 95% CI [-.36, -.09]), *Team player* (b =-.27 , SE = .07, p < .001, 95% CI [-.40, -.13]), *Difficult* (b = .18, SE = .08, p = .030, 95% CI [.08, .34]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.27, SE = .07, p < .001, 95% CI [-.42, -.13]). That is, higher scores on racial resentment significantly were associated with more negative evaluations of Black candidates across all measures.

For White candidates, the relationship between racial resentment and the following dependent measures reached marginal significance: *Qualified* (b = -.13, SE = .07, p = .051, 95% CI [-.27, .00]), *Successful* (b = -.13, SE = .07, p = .058, 95% CI [-.26, .00]), and *Team player* (b = -.14, SE = .07, p = .047, 95% CI [-.28, -.00]). And the relationship was not significant for the other two measures: *Difficult* (b = .08, SE = .08, p = .294, 95% CI [-.07, .24]) and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.12, SE = .07, p = .095, 95% CI [-.27, .02]). That is, scores on racial resentment were not reliably associated with evaluations of White candidates.

2.4 Discussion

In line with research suggesting symmetric biases across the racial resentment spectrum (Kinder & Dale-Riddle, 2012; Tesler & Sears, 2010), these results show that participants' scores on racial resentment significantly interacted with job applicants' race

(Black versus White) to predict all sorts of evaluations regarding the candidates, along with their willingness to hire the candidates. More specifically, higher scores on racial resentment were associated with more *negative* evaluations of Black candidates and *lower* willingness to higher them; and lower scores on racial resentment were associated with more *positive* evaluations of Black candidates and *higher* willingness to higher them – relative to their equally qualified White counterparts. These results validate the experimental paradigm we used to measure discrimination. And they provide a context in which to interpret the results of later studies where we manipulate information about the candidates' intentions to change or maintain the current racial hierarchy.

Chapter 3: Study 2

3.1 Preface

After conceptually replicating racial discrimination in hiring decisions (Study 1), we explored whether the proposed racial hierarchy-based form of discrimination would shape discrimination by replicating the first study with only one twist: in addition to summarized versions of equivalently qualified Black and White applicants, participants were presented with a short diversity statement from each of the job applicants (pre-registered at https://aspredicted.org/Y1J_SCV). These statements represented either racial hierarchy-maintaining or racial hierarchy-disrupting goals. Our main hypothesis was that participants' scores on racial resentment would now interact with statement type (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting) to predict how they evaluated the candidates and how much they were willing to hire them. More specifically, we predicted that participants who scored higher on racial resentment would evaluate job applicants who put forward racial hierarchy-disrupting goals more negatively and would be less willing to hire them relative to equally qualified applicants who endorsed racial hierarchy-disrupting goals. Importantly, we predicted that the type of statement associated with each job candidate would have effects independent of the candidates' race. If this prediction is supported, it suggests that individuals high in racial resentment would willingly choose a Black over a White candidate, as long as they believed that the Black candidate would uphold the racial hierarchy.

3.2 Methods

3.2.1 Participants

We recruited 500 participants from Prolific Academic (restricted to the U.S. and gender-balanced). Firstly, we recruited a general sample of 400 hundred participants. Given that online samples tend to display a liberal bias, we then added 100 participants who self-identified as Republicans. This procedure for collecting the sample was pre-registered. Five hundred and two participants completed the study and thirty-three participants were excluded from the sample before analyses due to failure to pass a simple attention check, leaving a total N = 469 (1876 individual observations) (M_{age} = 38.09; SD_{age} = 13.88; 224 Female, 3 Non-binary; 31 Black, 3 Native American, 24 Asian, 10 "other," 401 White; 43 Hispanic). We would like to note that this sample was predominantly White, so conclusions from this study should be confined to White participants. Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using three predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = 0.006 (Critical $F(3, 1872) = 2.61$).

3.2.2 Procedures

Procedures were identical to Study 1, with only one difference: each abbreviated resume randomly presented to participants (four total, two from Black and two from White applicants) was paired with one of a total of four diversity statements. Two statements were racial hierarchy-maintaining, and two statements were racial hierarchy-

disrupting. Statements were paired with resumes in counterbalanced and random order, manipulating racial hierarchy-related intentions within participants.

The two racial hierarchy-maintaining statements were:

"*I believe that organizations thrive on hierarchy and structure. We need stability and clear rules in order to be maximally efficient and productive at work. I am committed to maintaining the current organizational structure and to making sure that all employees, independent of race, gender, or ethnicity, follow the rules that are in place at this organization*."

"I am committed to championing the values of merit and order in this organization. I believe that this organization has thrived on rewarding merit as the ultimate goal for all employees, independent of race, gender, or ethnicity, and I will work to make sure that the current rules and structures in this company remain in place so as to continue to promote this goal."

The two racial hierarchy-disrupting statements were:

"I believe organizations are stronger when they constantly strive to dismantle the hierarchies that keep workplaces unequal. I will work to ensure that the organizational culture is inclusive of all people, as I believe in the strength of diverse organizations where racial and ethnic minorities have power."

"I am committed to increasing diversity and inclusion by actively changing workplace culture, changing rules and procedures, and working to increase the power, pay, and influence of employees from marginalized racial and ethnic groups."

We averaged across the two candidates of each race to measure race effects, and we averaged across racial hierarchy statements of each type to measure the effects of maintaining versus disrupting racial hierarchies.

3.2.3 Measures

Qualified. We measured participants' evaluations of each job applicant's qualifications with an average score of the same items used in Study 1 (alpha = .93).

Successful. We measured participants' opinions regarding how they thought that each job applicant would perform on the job using an average score of the same items from Study 1 (alpha = .95).

Team player. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be a team player once on the job with the same item used in Study 1.

Difficult. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be "disruptive" and "difficult to work with" with an average score of the same items used in Study 1 (r = .86).

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in Study 1.

Racial Resentment. We captured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in study 1 (alpha = .95; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in Study 1.

3.3 Results

We reshaped the data in long format so that each participant was represented across four rows (twice for their evaluations of the two Black candidates and twice for their evaluations of two White candidates).

3.3.1 Main effects of candidates' race and type of statement

We explored main effects of candidate race (Black versus White) and of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting) on all dependent variables controlling for participants' political orientation and person random effects. Main effects of candidate race on all dependent variables were (from White to Black applicants): *Qualified* (b = .15, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [.09, .20]), *Successful* (b = .12, SE = .03, p = .001, 95% CI [.05, .19]), *Team player* (b = .08, SE = .06, p = .165, 95% CI [-.03, .19]), *Difficult* (b = -.13, SE = .06, p = .056, 95% CI [-.26, .00]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = .21, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [.09, .32]). These results suggest a general bias in favor of Black applicants such that participants evaluated them more positively and were more likely to be willing to hire the Black applicants relative to

equally qualified White applicants. These main effects are aligned with the liberal nature of online samples.

Main effects of type of statement (from maintain to disrupt racial hierarchy statements) on all dependent variables were: *Qualified* (b = -.11, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [-.17, -.06]), *Successful* (b = -.23, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [-.30, -.16]), *Team player* (b = -.29, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [-.40, -.18]), *Difficult* (b = .68, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [.55, .80]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.44, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [-.55, -.33]). These results suggest a general bias in favor of the racial hierarchy-maintaining candidates, such that participants evaluated them more positively and were more likely to be willing to hire the candidates who put forward hierarchy-maintaining statements relative to equally qualified candidates who put forward hierarchy-disrupting statements. These main effects suggest a general dislike of candidates who appear to be disruptive. These main effects should, however, be interpreted in the context of the interactions described next.

3.3.2 Two-way interactions

Then, we tested the main prediction that racial resentment would interact with type of statement to predict candidates' evaluations across all dependent variables, but interactions between racial resentment and candidate race would be less predictive of candidates' evaluations.

Two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidates' race on dependent measures. Results revealed no significant two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidate

race (Black versus White) on any dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (γ = .02, *SE* = .02, *p* = .276, 95% CI [-.02, .06]), *Successful* (γ = .04, *SE* = .02, *p* = .107, 95% CI [-.01, .09]), *Team player* (γ = -.04, *SE* = .04, *p* = .315, 95% CI [-.13, .04]), *Difficult* (γ = -.00, *SE* = .05, *p* = .919, 95% CI [-.10, .09]), and *Willingness to Hire* (γ = .02, *SE* = .04, *p* = .663, 95% CI [-.06, .10]). These results suggest that participants who score higher on racial resentment show a general tendency to evaluate all candidates more negatively across all dimensions. Yet, once resumes are randomly paired with either hierarchy-maintaining or hierarchy-disrupting statements, these evaluations are no longer influenced by candidates' race – see Figures 8-12, left panels.

Two-way interactions of racial resentment and type of statement on dependent measures. Results revealed significant two-way interactions of racial resentment and type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (γ = -.17, *SE* = .02, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.21, -.13]), *Successful* (γ = -.22, *SE* = .02, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.27, -.17]), *Team player* (γ = -.33, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.41, -.25]), *Difficult* (γ = .37, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.28, .46]), and *Willingness to Hire* (γ = -.46, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.54, -.39]) – see Tables B.1 to B.5 in Appendix B for fixed effects for all dependent variables. These results suggest that participants who score higher on racial resentment evaluate job candidates who put forward racial hierarchy-disrupting statements more negatively

(and are less willing to hire them) relative to participants who score lower on racial resentment – see Figures 8-12, right panels.

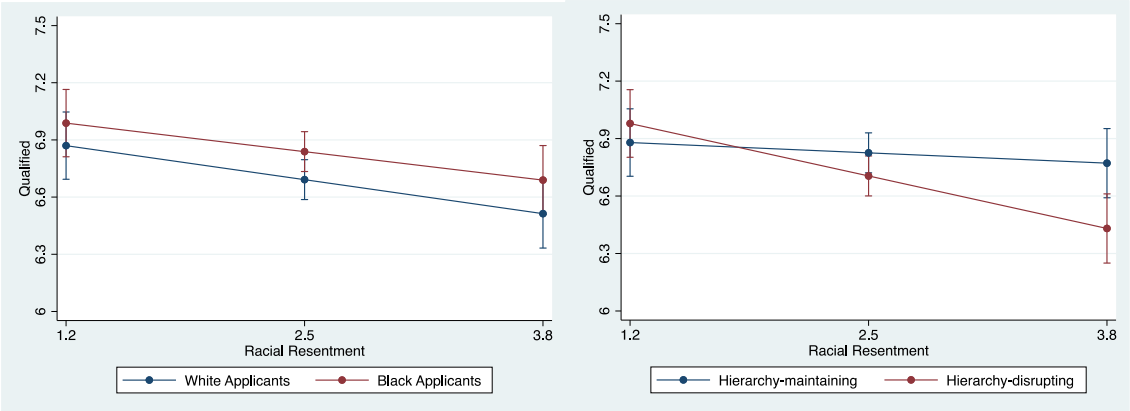

Figure 8: Qualified (study 2)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Fixed effects of type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

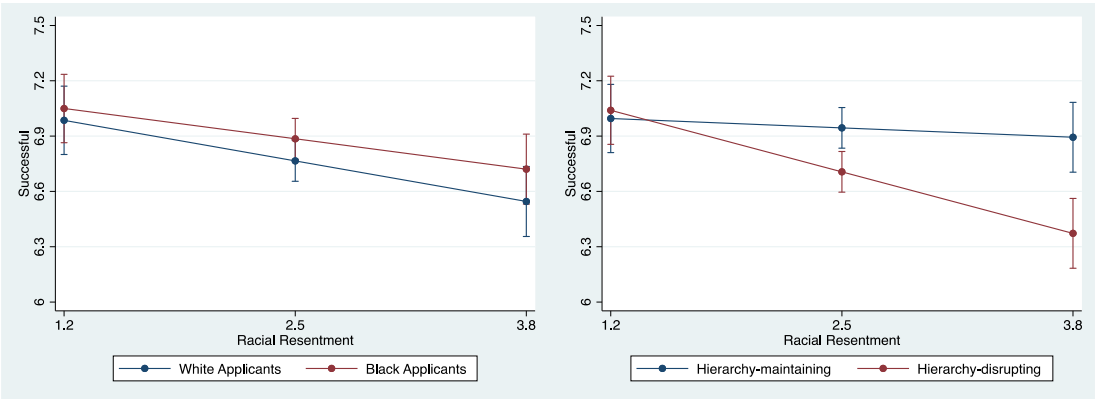

Figure 9: Successful (study 2)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the

candidate to be (left panel). Fixed effects of type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

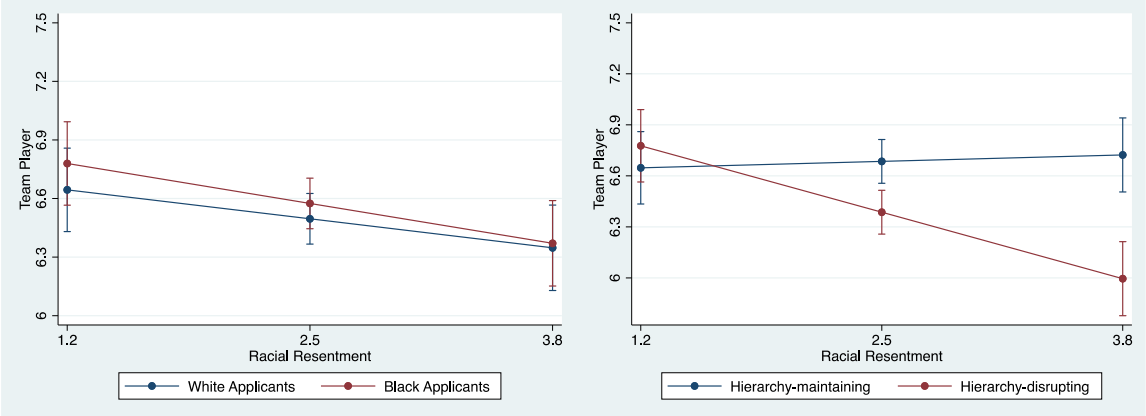

Figure 10: Team player (study 2)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team player* (left panel). Fixed effects of type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team player* (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

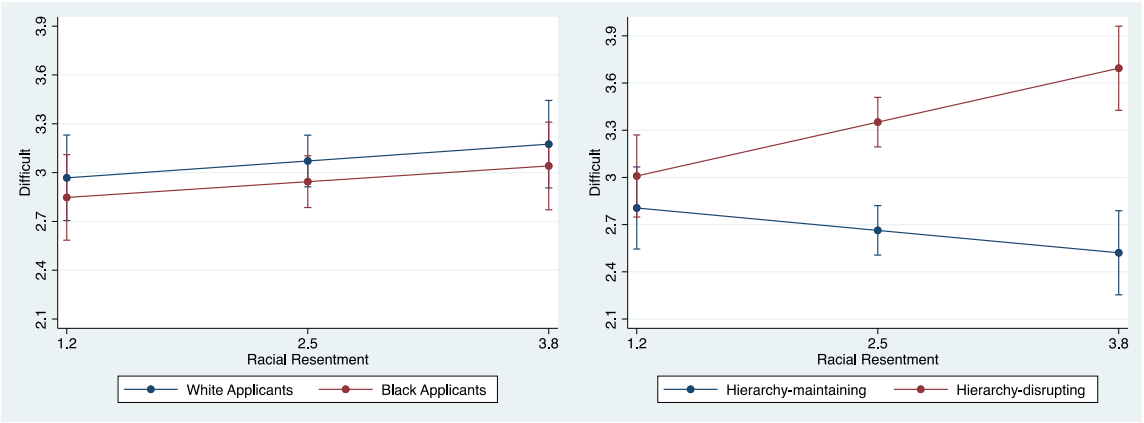

Figure 11: Difficult (study 2)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Fixed effects of type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

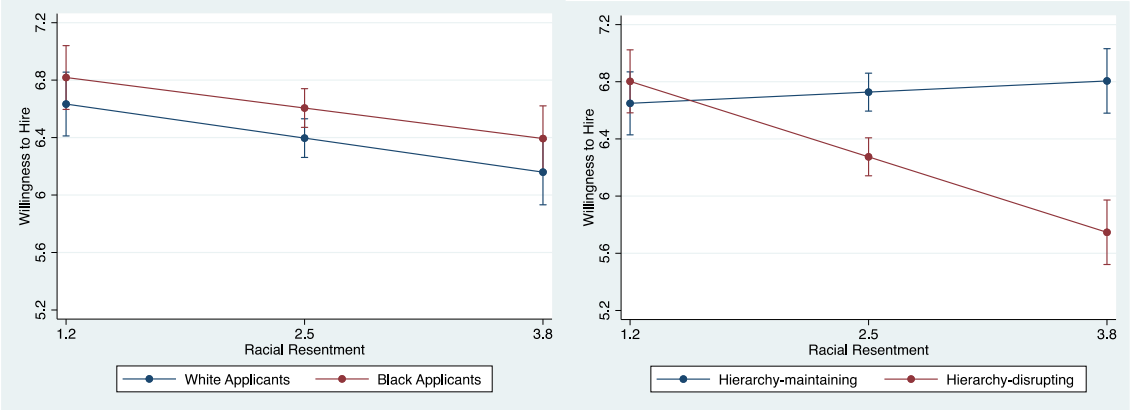

Figure 12: Willingness to hire (study 2)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on participants' *Willingness to hire* the candidate (left panel). Fixed effects of type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on participants' *Willingness to hire* the candidate (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Simple slopes analyses. We followed the interactions of racial resentment by type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting) with analyses of simple slopes to test whether the relationship between racial resentment and dependent measures was only significant for candidates who put forward hierarchy-disrupting statements. For these candidates, racial resentment was a significant predictor of *Qualified* (b = -.21, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [-.32, -.10]), *Successful* (b = -.25, SE = .06, p <

.001, 95% CI [-.37, -.14]), *Team player* (*b* =-.30 , *SE* = .07, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.43, -.17]), *Difficult* (*b* = .26, *SE* = .08, *p* = .002, 95% CI [.10, .43]), and *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.40, *SE* = .07, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.54, -.27]). That is, higher scores on racial resentment significantly predicted more negative evaluations of candidates who put forward hierarchy-disrupting statements across all measures.

For candidates who put forward hierarchy-maintaining statements, the relationship between racial resentment and all dependent measures did not reach significance: *Qualified* (*b* = -.04, *SE* = .06, *p* = .466, 95% CI [-.15, .07]), *Successful* (*b* = -.04, *SE* = .06, *p* = .510, 95% CI [-.15, .08]), *Team player* (*b* = -.03, *SE* = .07, *p* = .667, 95% CI [-.10, .16]), *Difficult* (*b* = -.10, *SE* = .08, *p* = .189, 95% CI [-.27, .05]), and *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = .06, *SE* = .07, *p* = .390, 95% CI [-.08, .20]). That is, scores on racial resentment did not predict evaluations of candidates who put forward hierarchy-maintaining statements.

3.3.3 Three-way interactions

Importantly, results revealed no significant three-way interactions of racial resentment by type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting) and candidate race (Black versus White) on all dependent variables, controlling for political orientation: *Qualified* (γ = -.02, *SE* = .05, *p* = .624, 95% CI [-.13, .08]), *Successful* (γ = .01, *SE* = .07, *p* = .825, 95% CI [-.12, .15]), *Team player* (γ = -.02, *SE* = .10, *p* = .852, 95% CI [-.22, .18]), *Difficult* (γ = -.04, *SE* = .12, *p* = .750, 95% CI [-.27, .19]), and *Willingness to Hire* (γ = -.00, *SE* = .10, *p* = .959, 95% CI [-.21, .20]) – see Tables B.6 to B.10 in Appendix B for fixed

effects for all dependent variables. The lack of a three-way interaction indicates that the effect of maintaining or disrupting the hierarchy was equivalent for Black and White candidates. That is, as we can see in Figure 13 below, high prejudice individuals are more willing to hire Black candidates who want to maintain the racial hierarchy relative to White candidates who plan to disrupt it.

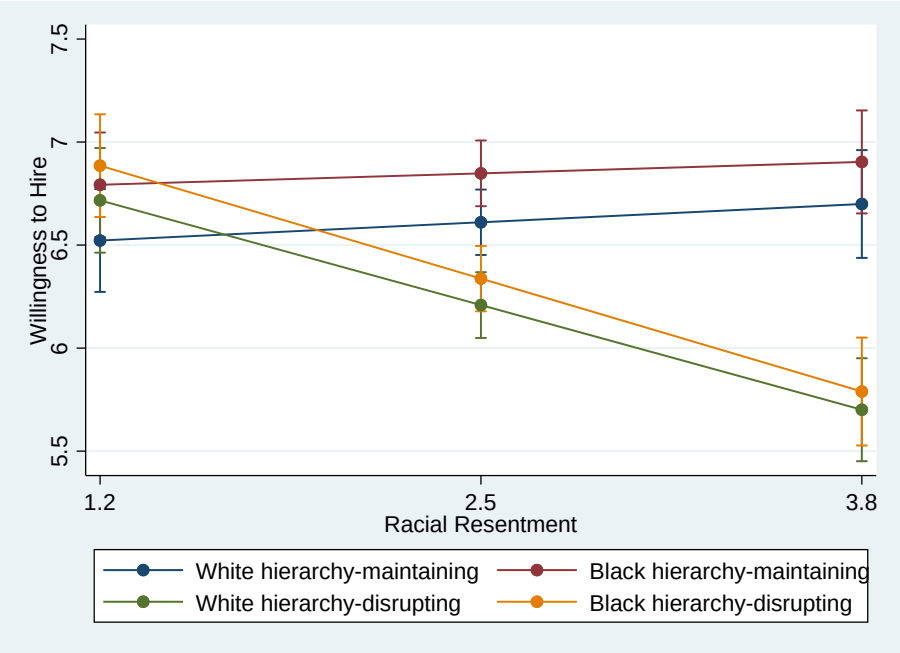

Figure 13: Three-way interaction (study 2)

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, type of statement, and the interaction between the three (controlling for political orientation) on participants' *Willingness to hire* the candidate. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

3.4 Discussion

Our main hypothesis was that participants' scores on racial resentment would now interact with diversity statement type (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial

hierarchy-disrupting) to predict how they evaluated the candidates and how much they were willing to hire them. More specifically, we predicted that participants who scored higher on racial resentment would evaluate job applicants who put forward racial hierarchy-disrupting goals more negatively and would be less willing to hire them, relative to equally qualified applicants who endorsed racial hierarchy-maintaining goals. Indeed, participants' scores on racial resentment significantly interacted with the type of statement presented by job applicants (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting) to predict all sorts of evaluations regarding the candidates, such that higher scores on racial resentment predicted more negative evaluations of hierarchy-disrupting candidates and lower willingness to higher them, relative to their equally qualified hierarchy-maintaining counterparts.

We predicted that the type of statement associated with each job candidate would have effects independent of candidates' race. We found supportive evidence for this prediction. The proposed racial hierarchy-based discrimination suggests that, when candidates' goals regarding the maintenance or disruption of the current racial hierarchy are clearly stated, individuals who score higher on racial resentment may overlook a candidate's race in order to hire someone who will work towards the perpetuation of the racial power hierarchy. That is, people who score high in racial resentment can show a preference for hiring a Black candidate who wants to maintain the hierarchy relative to an equally qualified White candidate who wants to disrupt the hierarchy. Interestingly,

in this study, high prejudice individuals were more sensitive to the manipulation relative to low prejudice individuals.

Importantly, we would like to note that the diversity statements used in this study were not properly matched nor well-defined in terms of mentioning exclusively intentions regarding the racial hierarchy, and that our sample size was not properly powered for detecting 3-way interactions. We seek to improve on the former in the next study and provide an internal meta-analysis of studies 2 and 4 in supplemental materials to increase power to detect 3-way interactions (all 3-way interactions remained not significant).

Chapter 4: Study 3

4.1 Preface

In the first two studies, we designed an experimental paradigm that replicated racial discrimination in hiring decisions and used this paradigm to provide initial evidence for racial hierarchy-based discrimination. The goal of this study is to replicate racial hierarchy-based discrimination with better-matched and more realistically worded diversity statements that are also more focused on either maintaining or disrupting the racial hierarchy in particular (not mentioning gender and making sure to mention race, instead of alluding to other hierarchies more generally). Additionally, we measure social dominance orientation in this study to explore how a general motivation to endorse more or less egalitarian societies relates to racial hierarchy-based discrimination. We hypothesize that both racial resentment and SDO will predict racial hierarchy-based discrimination when included in separate models as independent predictors. But, when testing for their effects simultaneously, we predict that racial resentment will be a stronger predictor of racial hierarchy-based discrimination relative to SDO.

4.2 Methods

4.2.1 Participants

Given that most online samples are biased towards White participants and our predictions are mostly concerned with that population, we recruited 400 White

participants from Prolific Academic and 401 completed the survey (restricted to the U.S., gender-balanced). Ten participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 391 (M_{age} = 39.64; SD_{age} = 13.40; 184 Female, 8 Non-binary; 1 Black, 3 Native American, 2 Asian, 1 "other," 388 White; 5 Hispanic). Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using four predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = .03 (Critical $F(395, 4) = 2.39$).

4.2.2 Procedures

After proving informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2x2 between-subjects design where we crossed the job candidate's intention to either maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy (*Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* versus *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting* conditions) with their race (*Black candidate* versus *White candidate* conditions). Participants in all conditions read the following instructions:

> "Imagine that you are a member of the hiring committee for a high-paying consulting job in an American company. You are going to be presented with a summarized version of the application materials of one of the job candidates, which includes an abbreviated version of their resume and an excerpt from their diversity statement. After you see the application materials, you will provide an overall assessment of this candidate across several

dimensions. You will be presented with the candidate's materials and start the evaluations on the next screen."

Then, all participants were presented with the same abbreviated resume of either a Black job candidate named Dashawn Washington, or a White job candidate named Seth Andersen (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). The abbreviated resume included information regarding the applicant's education (Bachelor of Science in Economics at the University of Georgia, GPA: 3.6/4.0), experience (Internship at Goldman Sachs), and skills (Microsoft Excel and Java).

In the *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* conditions, participants read the following excerpt from the candidate's diversity statement:

> "I am committed to the values of **merit and excellence**. I believe that this organization can thrive by rewarding **all employees based on their hard work and achievements**, **independently of their race**. I will work to make sure that the current rules and structures in this company **remain in place** so as to promote this goal."

In the *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting* conditions, participants read the following excerpt from the candidate's diversity statement instead:

> "I am committed to the values of **diversity and equality**. I believe that this organization can thrive by rewarding **efforts to build a more racially diverse workforce**, **increasing the influence of racial minorities**. I will work to

make sure that the current rules and structures in this company **are changed** so as to promote this goal."

After learning about the job candidate, participants completed all the dependent variables. Lastly, participants completed the measures of racial resentment and SDO (both were randomly presented), followed by demographic measures.

4.2.3 Measures

Qualified. We measured participants' evaluations of each job applicant's qualifications with an average score of the same items used in previous studies (alpha= .92).

Successful. We measured participants' opinions regarding how they thought that each job applicant would perform on the job using an average score of the same items from previous studies (alpha = .95).

Team player. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be a team player once on the job with the same item used in previous studies.

Difficult. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be "disruptive" and "difficult to work with" with an average score of the same items used in previous studies (r = .89).

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in previous studies.

Racial Resentment. We measured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in previous studies (alpha = .93; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Social Dominance Orientation. We measured SDO with an average score of the 8-item version of the SDO_7 scale: "Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups," "An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom," "No one group should dominate society [RS]," "Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top [RS]," "Group equality should not be our primary goal," "It is unjust to try to make groups equal," "We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups [RS]," and "We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed [RS]." (alpha = .92; Ho, Sidanius, Kteily, Sheehy-Skeffington, Pratto, Henkel, ... & Stewart, 2015).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in previous studies.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Main effects of conditions

We explored main effects of the candidate's race (*Black Candidate* versus *White Candidate*) and of type of statement (*Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* versus *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables controlling for participants' political orientation. Main effects of the candidate's race on all dependent variables were (from *White Candidate* to *Black Candidate*): *Qualified* (b = .43, SE = .13, p = .001, 95% CI [.18, .68]),

Successful (*b* = .27, *SE* = .14, *p* = .059, 95% CI [-.01, .54]), *Team player* (*b* = .48, *SE* = .17, *p* = .006, 95% CI [.14, .82]), *Difficult* (*b* = -.34, *SE* = .21, *p* = .112, 95% CI [-.75, .08]), and *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = .54, *SE* = .18, *p* = .003, 95% CI [.18, .89]). These results suggest an overall preference for the Black candidate, which is in line with previous findings and can be expected from a liberally biased sample (sixty-two percent of participants indicated being very, somewhat, or slightly liberal, and sixteen percent independent).

Main effects of the candidate's type of statement on all dependent variables were (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*): *Qualified* (*b* = -.22, *SE* = .13, *p* = .086, 95% CI [-.47, .03]), *Successful* (*b* = -.32, *SE* = .14, *p* = .021, 95% CI [-.60, -.05]), *Team player* (*b* = -.12, *SE* = .17, *p* = .501, 95% CI [-.46, .22]), *Difficult* (*b* = .62, *SE* = .21, *p* = .003, 95% CI [.21, 1.04]), and *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.45, *SE* = .18, *p* = .015, 95% CI [-.80, -.09]). Interestingly, these results suggest an overall trend towards more negatively evaluating candidates who put forward racial hierarchy-disrupting statements.

All main effects are subsequently qualified by two-way interactions with racial resentment and also with social dominance orientation.

4.3.2 Two-way interactions

We used separate models to test whether participants' scores on racial resentment and social dominance orientation interacted with the candidate's race and with the candidate's type of statement to predict participants' evaluations across all dependent variables.

Racial resentment and candidate's race. Results revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidate's race (from *White Candidate* to *Black Candidate*), controlling for participants' political orientation, on the following dependent variables: *Qualified* (b = -.23, SE = .10, p = .021, 95% CI [-.43, -.03]) and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.40, SE = .14, p = .005, 95% CI [-.69, -.12]); and no significant two-way interactions on *Successful* (b = -.21, SE = .11, p = .056, 95% CI [-.44, .00]), *Team player* (b = -.23, SE = .14, p = .097, 95% CI [-.50, .04]), and *Difficult* (b = .07, SE = .17, p = .668, 95% CI [-.26, .40]) – see Figures 14-18, left panels. These results suggest that racial resentment continued to interact with race to predict the candidate's evaluations. Using a within-subjects design (Study 2) we found evidence that learning about the candidates' intentions to either maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy eliminated the effect of racial resentment by candidates' race on participants evaluations. Now, using a between-subjects design, we found evidence that racial prejudice remains associated with candidates' race. More specifically, as seen in Figures 14-18, left panels, mostly low-prejudice individuals continue to discriminate in favor of the Black candidate, regardless of the candidate's intentions.

Racial resentment and type of statement. Results revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidate type of statement (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = -.41, SE = .10, p <

.001, 95% CI [-.61, -.21]), *Successful* (*b* = -.49, *SE* = .11, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.71, -.27]), *Team player* (*b* = -.61, *SE* = .14, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.88, -.34]), *Difficult* (*b* = .46, *SE* = .17, *p* = .007, 95% CI [.13, .79]), *and Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.88, *SE* = .14, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-1.16, -.61]) – see Figures 14-18, right panels. Replicating the main results from Study 2, this evidence suggests that high-prejudice individuals evaluate job candidates who put forward racial hierarchy-disrupting diversity statements more negatively than candidates who put forward racial hierarchy-maintaining statements – and low-prejudice individuals tend to display the opposite pattern.

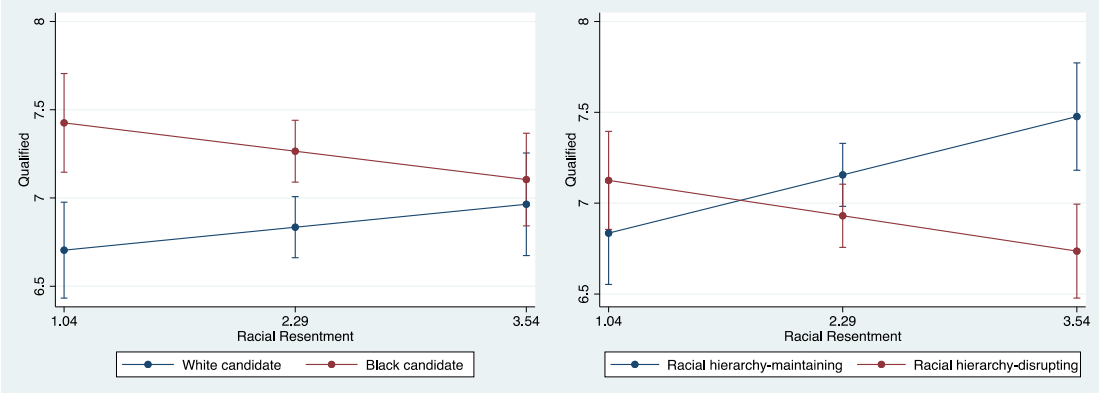

Figure 14: Qualified (study 3)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

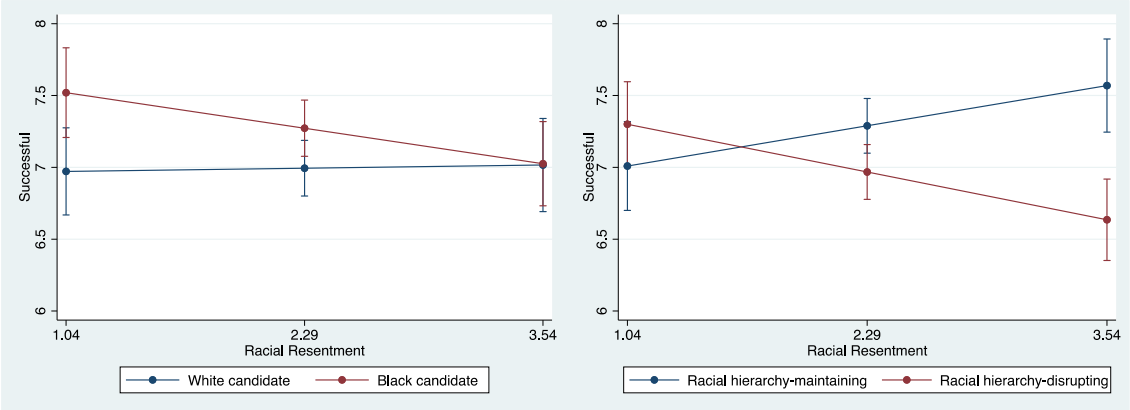

Figure 15: Successful (study 3)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

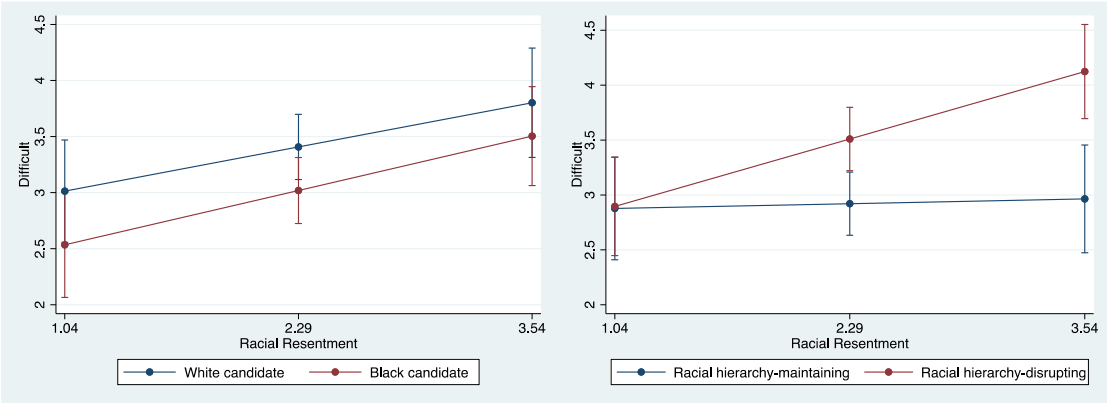

Figure 16: Difficult (study 3)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two

(controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

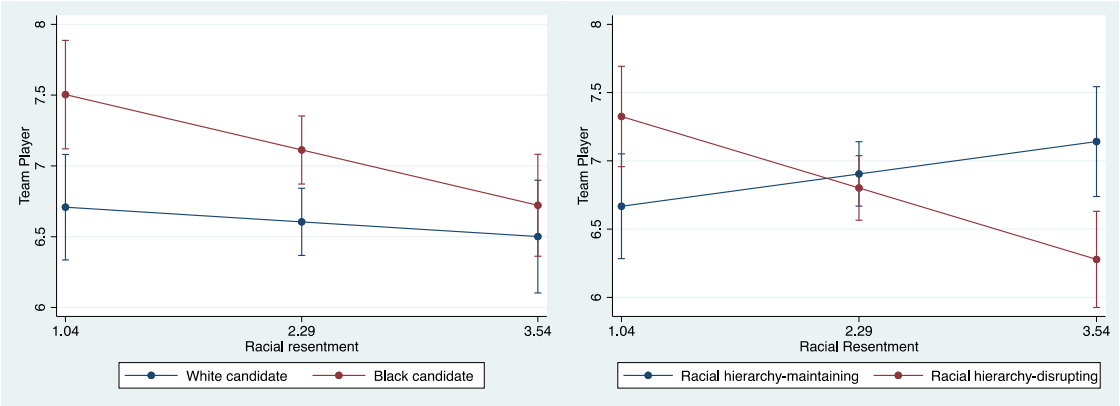

Figure 17: Team player (study 3)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

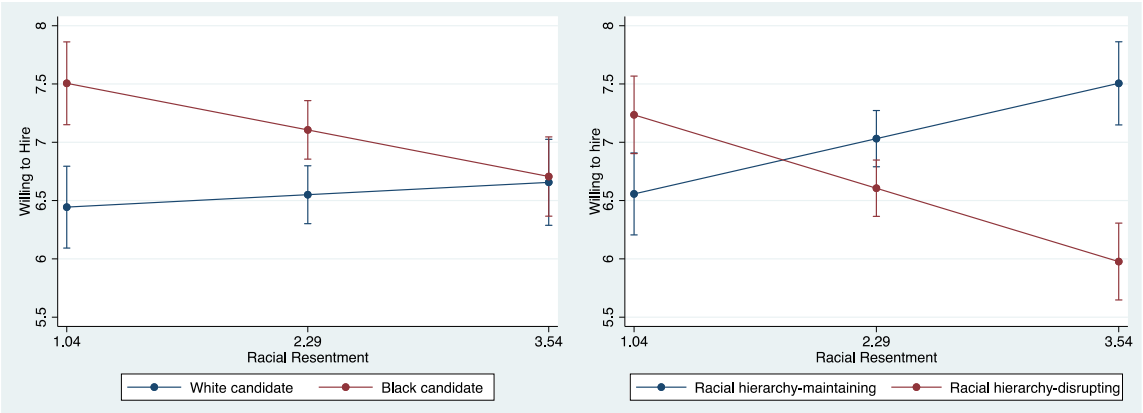

Figure 18: Willingness to hire (study 3)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Social dominance orientation and candidate's race. Results revealed a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO and candidate's race (from *White Candidate* to *Black Candidate*), controlling for participants' political orientation, on the following dependent variable: *Willingness to Hire* (b =-.35 , SE = .14, p = .012, 95% CI [-.62, -.08]); and no significant two-way interactions on *Qualified* (b = -.18, SE = .10, p = .054, 95% CI [-.37, .00]), *Successful* (b = -.15, SE = .11, p = .156, 95% CI [-.36, .06]), *Team player* (b = -.21, SE = .13, p = .101, 95% CI [-.47, .04]), and *Difficult* (b = .09, SE = .16, p = .583, 95% CI [-.22, .40]) – see Figures 19-23, left panels.

Social dominance orientation and type of statement. Results also revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on SDO and candidate type of statement (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = -.21, SE = .10, p = .032, 95% CI [-.40, -.02]), *Successful* (b = -.33, SE = .10, p = .002, 95% CI [-.54, -.13]), *Team player* (b = -.33, SE = .13, p = .012, 95% CI [-.59, -.07]), *Difficult* (b = .35, SE = .16, p = .028, 95% CI [.04, .65]), *and Willingness to Hire* (b = -.65, SE = .14, p < .001, 95% CI [-.91, -.38]) – see Figures 19-23, right panels.

As expected, social dominance orientation showed similar patterns to racial resentment when interacting both with the candidate's race and with the type of diversity statement put forward by the candidate.

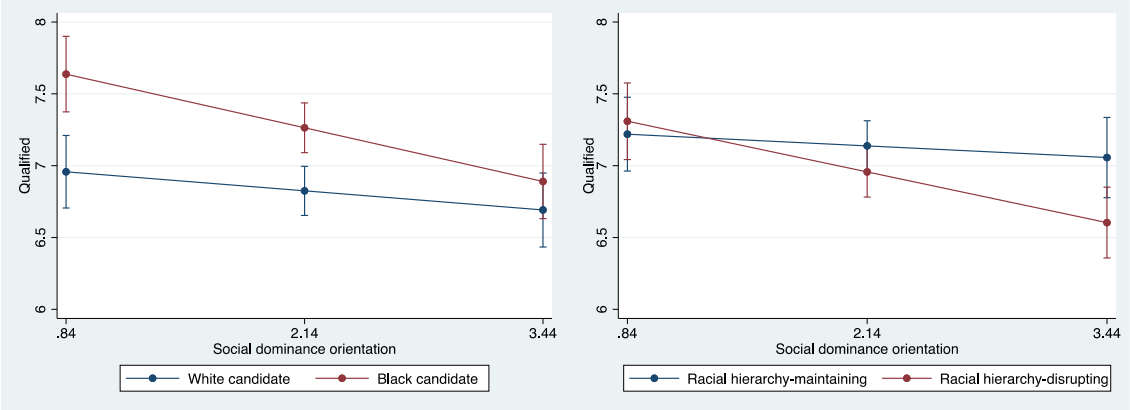

Figure 19: Qualified (study 3, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

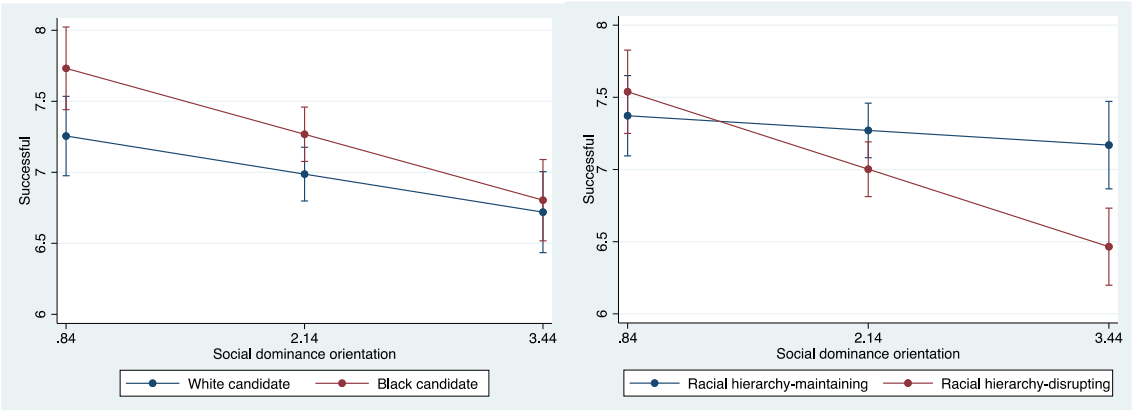

Figure 20: Successful (study 3, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

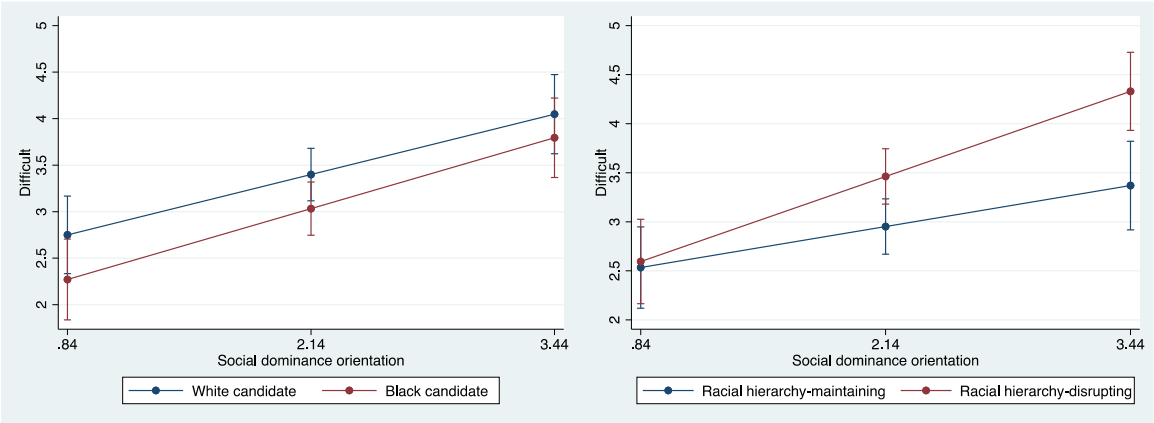

Figure 21: Difficult (study 3, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

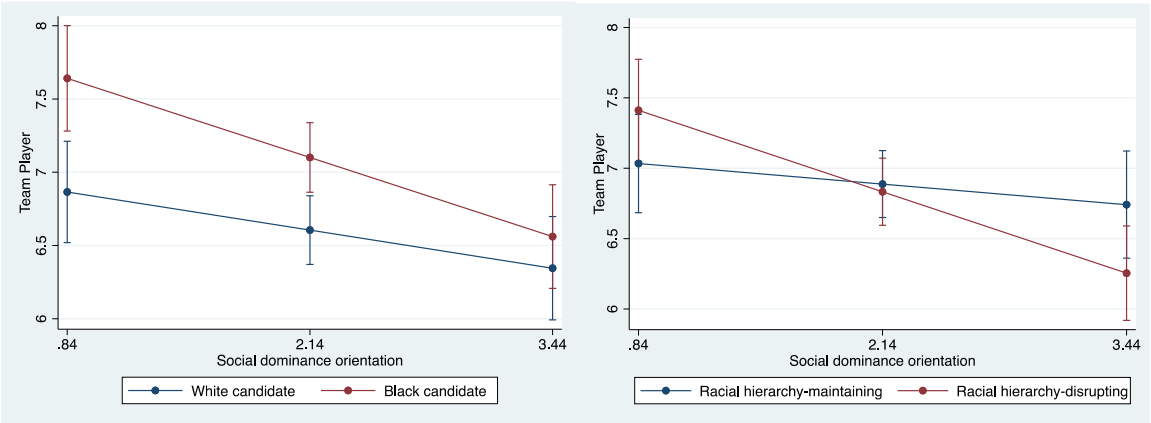

Figure 22: Team player (study 3, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

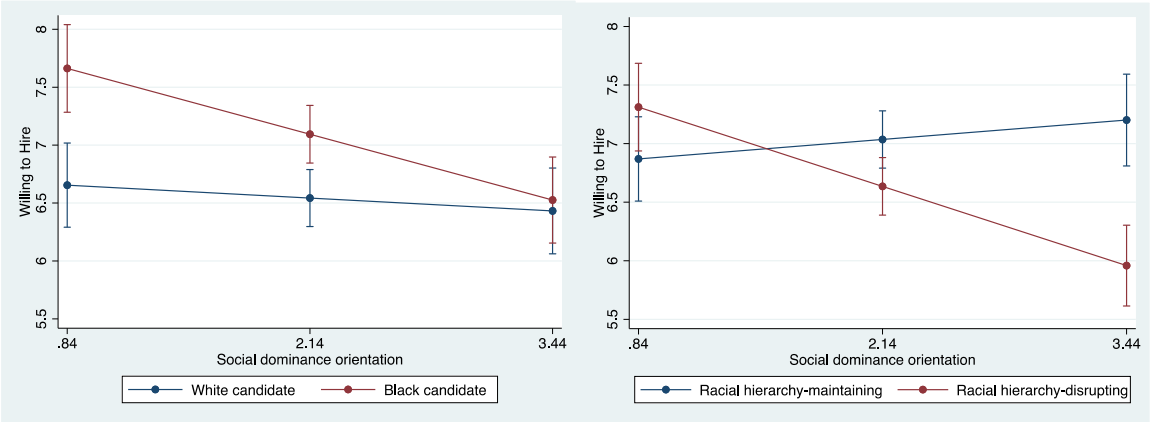

Figure 23: Willingness to hire (study 3, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Right panel: Effects of type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

4.3.3 Three-way interactions

Results revealed no significant three-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment, candidate race (from *White Candidate* to *Black Candidate*), and candidate type of statement condition (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = .11, SE = .20, p = .567, 95% CI [-.28, .51]), *Successful* (b = .02, SE = .22, p = .916, 95% CI [-.41, .46]), *Team player* (b = -.26, SE = .27, p = .345, 95% CI [-.79, .28]), *Difficult* (b = .20, SE = .34, p = .550, 95% CI [-.46, .86]), *and Willingness to Hire* (b = .26, SE = .27, p = .347, 95% CI [-.28, .80]). In the case of willingness to hire, which is the most important dependent variables, high prejudice individuals were more willing to hire a Black candidate who was willing to maintain the racial hierarchy than a White candidate who was willing to disrupt it – see Figure 24. Interestingly, low prejudice individuals were more willing to hire the Black candidate regardless of their intentions but, in the case of White candidates, they were more willing to hire the White candidate who wanted to disrupt the racial hierarchy than the White candidate who wanted to maintain it.

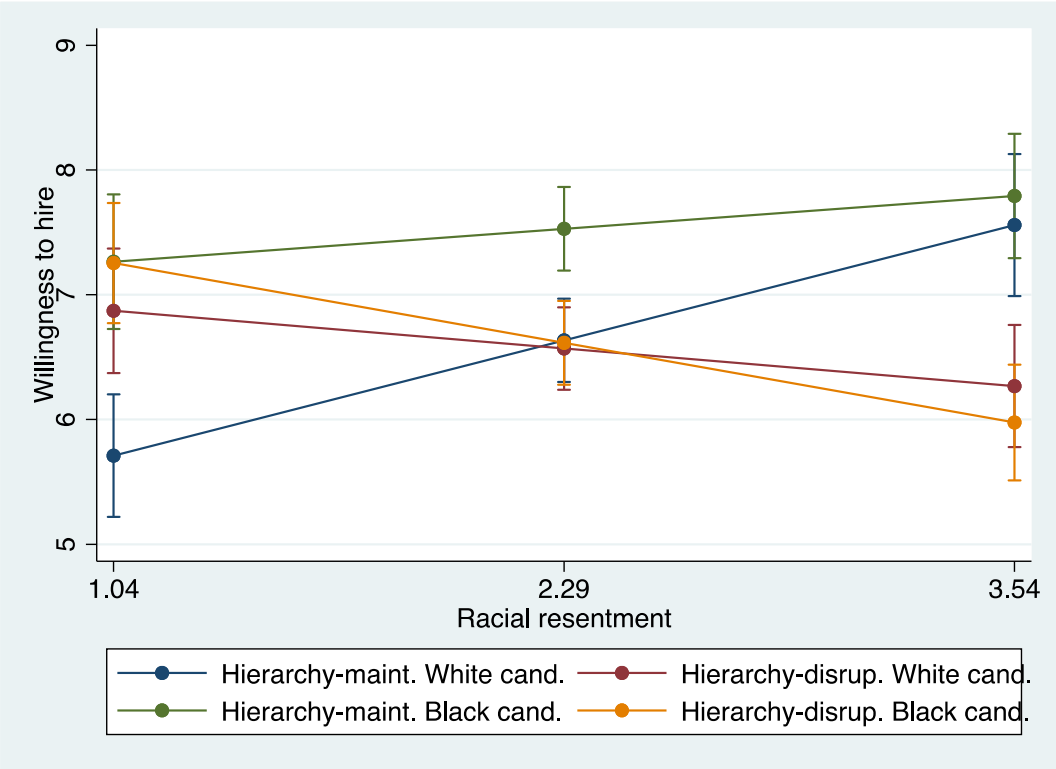

Figure 24: Willingness to hire (3-way, study 3)

Note: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the three on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate, controlling for participants' political orientation.

Results also revealed no significant three-way interactions of participants' scores on SDO, candidate race (from *White Candidate* to *Black Candidate*), and candidate type of statement condition (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = .15, SE = .19, p = .423, 95% CI [-.22, .53]), *Successful* (b = .16, SE = .21, p = .444, 95% CI [-.25, .57]), *Team player* (b = -.12, SE = .26, p = .631, 95% CI [-.64, .39]), *Difficult* (b = -.00, SE = .31,

p = .992, 95% CI [-.62, .61]), *and Willingness to Hire* (*b* = .06, *SE* = .27, *p* = .806, 95% CI [-.46, .59]). As we can see in Figure 25 below, similar patterns were reproduced with social dominance orientation.

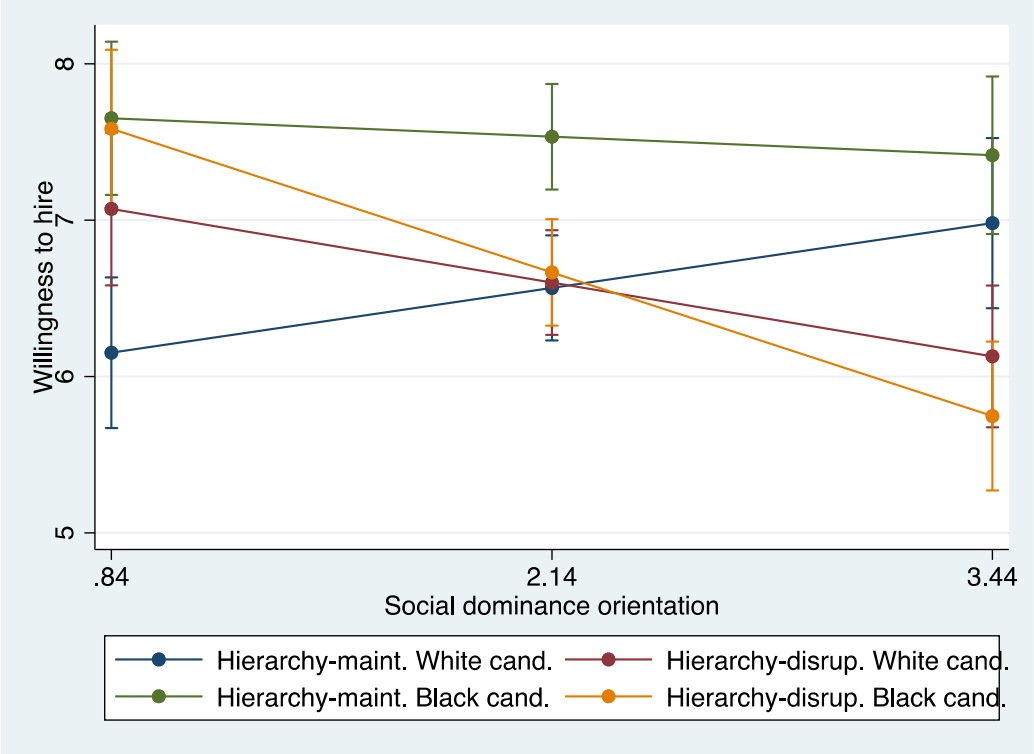

Figure 25: Willingness to hire (3-way, study 3, SDO)

Note: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), type of statement (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the three on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate, controlling for participants' political orientation.

4.3.4 Racial resentment and SDO as simultaneous predictors

When we included racial resentment and social dominance orientation in the same predictive model, only the interactions of conditions by racial resentment

remained significant for the following dependent variables: qualified, successful, team player, and willingness to hire. For the dependent variable *Difficult* we found a different pattern such that neither interactions of conditions by racial resentment nor by SDO were significant, with SDO by itself being marginally significant. Predictive models for each dependent variable are in the tables below.

Table 1: Qualified (study 3)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*t*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.48	.24	27.40	< .001	6.01	6.94
Candidate Race	.96	.27	3.62	< .001	.44	1.49
Type of statement	.62	.27	2.30	.022	.09	1.14
Racial Resentment	.40	.12	3.24	.001	.16	.64
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.18	.13	-1.40	.162	-.43	.07
Statement Type*Racial Resent.	-.37	.13	-2.89	.004	-.62	-.12
Social Dominance Orientation	-.16	.11	-1.51	.131	-.37	.25
Cand. Race*SDO	-.08	.12	-.63	.532	-.31	.16
Statement Type*SDO	.01	.12	.07	.943	-.23	.25
Political Orientation	-.03	.05	-.63	.530	-.13	.06

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of statement: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 2: Successful (study 3)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*t*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.79	.26	26.06	< .001	6.27	7.30
Candidate Race	.76	.29	2.59	.010	.18	1.34
Type of statement	.79	.29	2.69	.007	.21	1.37
Racial Resentment	.37	.14	2.72	.007	.10	.64
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.19	.14	-1.34	.180	-.46	.09
Statement Type*Racial Resent.	-.36	.14	-2.59	.010	-.64	-.09
Social Dominance Orientation	-.18	.12	-1.52	.129	-.41	.05
Cand. Race*SDO	-.04	.12	-.33	.742	-.31	.22
Statement Type*SDO	-.12	.13	-.89	.373	-.38	.14
Political Orientation	-.03	.05	-.51	.611	-.13	.08

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of statement: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 3: Difficult (study 3)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*t*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	3.04	.39	7.72	< .001	2.26	3.81
Candidate Race	-.61	.44	-1.37	.173	-1.48	.27
Type of statement	-.48	.45	-1.07	.284	-1.35	.40
Racial Resentment	-.09	.21	-.45	.650	-.50	.31
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	.04	.21	.19	.849	-.37	.45

Statement Type*Racial Resent.	.28	.21	1.31	.190	-.14	.69
Social Dominance Orientation	.34	.18	1.92	.056	-.01	.70
Cand. Race*SDO	.08	.20	.39	.697	-.32	.48
Statement Type*SDO	.17	.20	.82	.411	-.23	.56
Political Orientation	-.14	.08	-1.78	.075	-.30	.01

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of statement: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 4: Team player (study 3)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*t*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.11	.32	18.81	< .001	5.47	6.74
Candidate Race	1.03	.37	2.81	.005	.31	1.75
Type of statement	1.18	.37	3.21	.001	.46	1.90
Racial Resentment	.32	.17	1.90	.058	-.01	.66
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.12	.17	-.69	.489	-.46	.22
Statement Type*Racial Resent.	-.56	.17	-3.20	.002	-.90	-.21
Social Dominance Orientation	-.19	.15	-1.31	.190	-.49	.10
Cand. Race*SDO	-.14	.17	-.82	.413	-.46	.19
Statement Type*SDO	.01	.17	.07	.944	-.32	.34
Political Orientation	.08	.07	1.16	.246	-.05	.21

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of statement: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 5: Willingness to hire (study 3)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*t*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	5.56	.33	16.95	< .001	4.92	6.21
Candidate Race	1.51	.37	4.09	< .001	.78	2.24
Type of statement	1.65	.37	4.43	< .001	.92	2.38
Racial Resentment	.63	.17	3.66	< .001	.29	.97
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.26	.18	-1.50	.134	-.61	.08
Statement Type*Racial Resent.	-.68	.18	-3.85	< .001	-1.03	-.33
Social Dominance Orientation	.00	.15	.01	.992	-.29	.30
Cand. Race*SDO	-.20	.17	-1.21	.228	-.54	.13
Statement Type*SDO	-.25	.17	-1.47	.143	-.58	.08
Political Orientation	-.06	.07	-.90	.368	-.19	.07

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of statement: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

4.4 Discussion

In this study, we replicated racial hierarchy-based discrimination with better-matched and more realistically worded diversity statements that were more focused on either maintaining or disrupting the racial hierarchy in particular. This study also provided a replication of our effect with a between-subjects design, showing that participants were sensitive to the racial hierarchy manipulation even when they lacked the contrast between racial hierarchy maintaining and racial hierarchy disrupting

diversity statements. Interestingly, with this design, we captured different effects on the low- and high-end of the racial resentment (and also social dominance) spectrum. The results suggest that low prejudice individuals are more sensitive to racial category cues and high prejudice individuals are more sensitive to racial hierarchy-related intentions. Low prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire a Black than a White job candidate, regardless of their racial hierarchy-related intentions. High prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire the racial-hierarchy maintaining candidate than the racial hierarchy-disrupting candidate, regardless of their race.

Additionally, in this study we measured social dominance orientation to explore how a general motivation to endorse more or less egalitarian societies was related to racial hierarchy-based discrimination in particular. As hypothesized, results suggest that both racial resentment and SDO were significantly associated with racial hierarchy-based discrimination when included in separate models as independent predictors. But, when we tested for their effects simultaneously, racial resentment remained a significant predictor while SDO was no longer significantly associated with racial hierarchy-based discrimination. We acknowledge that these results are consistent with different interpretations: (1) racial resentment could mediate the effect of SDO on racial hierarchy-based discrimination, (2) both SDO and racial resentment could be independent predictors of racial hierarchy-based discrimination and one could be a stronger predictor than the other, or (3) SDO could be a third variable that is associated with racial

hierarchy-based discrimination. Taking into consideration how highly SDO is correlated with racial resentment (in this study: $r = .63$), together with the inevitability of measurement error affecting these variables and the impossibility of experimentally manipulating SDO or racial resentment, disentangling between these alternative explanations is extremely challenging and constitutes one of the limitations of our work.

While SDO captures a general preference for more or less egalitarian social arrangements – and, thus, is directly related with preferences for more or less hierarchical organizations in general, racial resentment captures a mixture of anti-Black affect with beliefs that Black people violate American values connected with the protestant work ethic. Given these differences, SDO is more clearly connected with a desire to uphold any type of hierarchy. In this way, results using SDO as a predictor are less surprising. Yet what we take to be particularly interesting is that racial resentment is so strongly connected with the desire to uphold the racial hierarchy that prejudiced individuals ignore racial categories to discriminate based on racial hierarchy-related intentions. That is, high prejudice individuals discriminate in favor of Black candidates who want to maintain the racial hierarchy and against White candidates who want to disrupt it.

Chapter 5: Study 4

5.1 Preface

In the previous study, we provided a replication of racial hierarchy-based discrimination and showed evidence that racial resentment remains a predictor of this type of discrimination when including social dominance orientation in the model. In this study, our goal is to replicate this finding regarding SDO, while also providing a conceptual replication of racial hierarchy-based discrimination controlling for how much participants like each job candidate.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Participants

We recruited 500 White participants from Prolific Academic and 498 completed the survey (restricted to the U.S., gender-balanced). Twenty participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 478 (M_{age} = 41.66; SD_{age} = 13.52; 227 Female, 15 Non-binary; 478 White; 4 Hispanic). Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using four predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = .03 (Critical $F(472, 5) = 2.23$).

5.2.2 Procedures

This study followed the 2x2 within-subjects design used in Study 2, where all participants evaluated a total of four job candidates: two Black candidates and two

White candidates; two candidates who want to disrupt the racial hierarchy and two candidates who want to maintain the racial hierarchy. Firstly, participants read the following:

> "Imagine that you are a member of the hiring committee for a high-paying consulting job in an American company. You are going to be presented with a summarized version of the application materials of a total of four job candidates. Importantly, this company wants to learn more about the job candidates' interests in case they join the organization. Specifically, the company wants job candidates, as part of their application, to discuss what roles they would be interested in assuming that are outside their specific job function. After you see the materials for each candidate, you will provide an overall assessment of the candidate across several dimensions."

Then, participants evaluated one candidate at a time across several dimensions (we included here a measure of how much participants liked each candidate). Just as in Study 2, we manipulated the candidates' race by changing their name. But, in this study, we manipulated the candidates' intentions regarding the disruption or maintenance of the current racial hierarchy by manipulating the candidates' interests outside their primary role in the company (instead of including a diversity statement). While all four candidates were equivalently qualified (identical to Study 2), two candidates displayed an interest outside their job function in establishing a diversity committee to advance the

representation and interests of underrepresented racial minorities, and two candidates displayed an interest outside their job function in contributing to increasing efficiency in other departments in the company.

After evaluating all candidates, participants completed the measures of racial resentment and SDO (randomly presented), followed by demographic measures.

5.2.3 Measures

Qualified. We measured participants' evaluations of each job applicant's qualifications with an average score of the same items used in previous studies (alpha = .93).

Successful. We measured participants' opinions regarding how they thought that each job applicant would perform on the job using an average score of the same items from previous studies (alpha = .96).

Team player. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be a team player once on the job with the same item used in previous studies.

Difficult. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be "disruptive" and "difficult to work with" with an average score of the same items used in previous studies (r = .89).

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in previous studies.

Liking. We measured how much participants liked each candidate with an average score of the following face-valid items: "*I like this job candidate*" and "*I dislike this job candidate* [RS]" (*r* = .81; 1-7 Likert).

Racial Resentment. We measured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in previous studies (alpha = .92; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Social Dominance Orientation. We measured SDO with an average score of the same 8-items used in Study 2 (alpha = .92).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in previous studies.

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Main effects and interactions with the new variable: Liking

In this study, we included a new measure of how much participants liked each candidate to include as a control variable in the predictive models. Before using this new variable as a control, we explored main effects of candidates' race and of type of interest on liking controlling for participants' political orientation. Results revealed no main effect of candidates' race on liking (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*: *b* = .01, *SE* = .04, *p* = .721, 95% CI [-.06, .09]) and a significant main effect of type of interest on liking (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting: b* = -.31, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.39, -.23]).

We also explored two-way interactions of each condition at a time by racial resentment and a three-way interaction of both conditions by racial resentment. Racial resentment significantly interacted with candidates' race (b = -.23, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [-.29, -.17]) and type of interest (b = -.28, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [-.34, -.23]) – see Figure 26. The three-way interaction between candidates' race, type of interest, and racial resentment was not significant (b = -.01, SE = .07, p = .891, 95% CI [-.16, .14]).

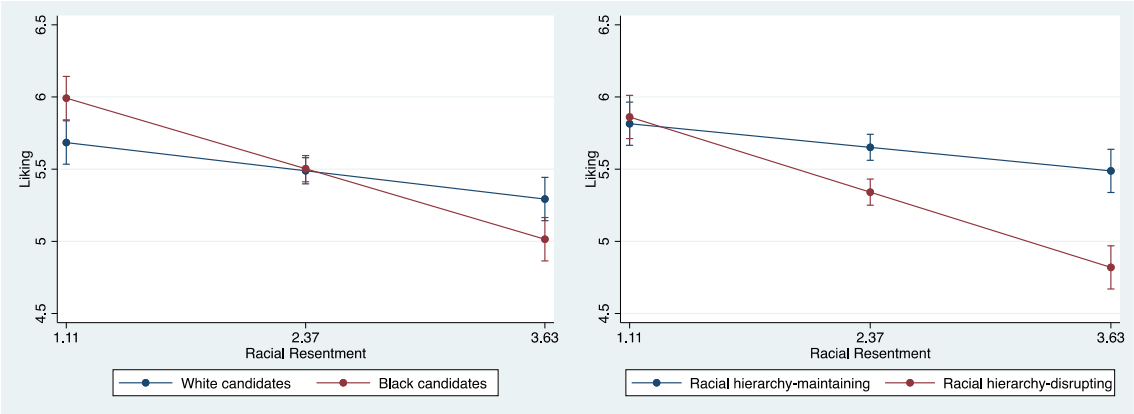

Figure 26: Liking (study 4)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants liked the candidate.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants liked the candidate.

5.3.2 Main effects of conditions

We explored main effects of candidates' race and of type of interest on all dependent variables controlling for participants' political orientation and for how much

participants liked each candidate. Main effects of candidates' race on all dependent variables were (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*): *Qualified* (b = .03, SE = .02, p = .147, 95% CI [-.01, .08]), *Successful* (b = .01, SE = .03, p = .659, 95% CI [-.04, .06]), *Team player* (b = -.08, SE = .04, p = .047, 95% CI [-.15, -.00]), *Difficult* (b = .06, SE = .05, p = .225, 95% CI [-.03, .15]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = .01, SE = .03, p = .596, 95% CI [-.04, .07]).

Main effects of candidates' type of interest on all dependent variables were (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*): *Qualified* (b = -.05, SE = .02, p = .029, 95% CI [-.09, -.01]), *Successful* (b = -.15, SE = .3 p < .001, 95% CI [-.20, -.09]), *Team player* (b = -.07, SE = .04, p = .086, 95% CI [-.15, .01]), *Difficult* (b = .19, SE = .05, p < .001, 95% CI [.10, .28]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.16, SE = .03, p < .001, 95% CI [-.22, -.10]).

These main effects were qualified by the interactions that follow.

5.3.3 Interactions with racial resentment

Firstly, we tested whether participants' scores on racial resentment interacted with candidates' race and type of interest to predict participants' evaluations across all dependent variables, controlling for political orientation and also for how much participants liked each candidate.

Two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidates' race. Results revealed a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*) on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate (b = -.08, SE = .02, p = .001, 95% CI [-.12, -

.03]), controlling for participants' political orientation and liking. All other two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidates' race were not significant, controlling for political orientation and liking*: Qualified* (*b* = -.02, *SE* = .02, *p* = .202, 95% CI [-.06, .01]), *Successful* (*b* = -.01, *SE* = .02, *p* = .602, 95% CI [-.05, .03]), *Team player* (*b* = -.06, *SE* = .03, *p* = .075, 95% CI [-.12, .01]), and *Difficult* (*b* = .04, *SE* = .04, *p* = .296, 95% CI [-.03, .11]) – see all interactions in Figures 27-31, left panels.

Two-way interactions of racial resentment and type of interest. Results revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment and type of interest (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation and liking: *Qualified* (*b* = -.06, *SE* = .02, *p* = .002, 95% CI [-.09, -.02]), *Successful* (*b* = -.04, *SE* = .02, *p* = .055, 95% CI [-.08, .00]), *Team player* (*b* = -.11, *SE* = .03, *p* = .001, 95% CI [-.17, -.04]), *Difficult* (*b* = .08, *SE* = .04, *p* = .031, 95% CI [.01, .15]), and *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.06, *SE* = .02, *p* = .010, 95% CI [-.11, -.01]) – see Figures 27-31, right panels. As in previous studies, these interactions show that high prejudice individuals are the most sensitive to information about candidates' intentions regarding the maintenance or disruption of the racial hierarchy.

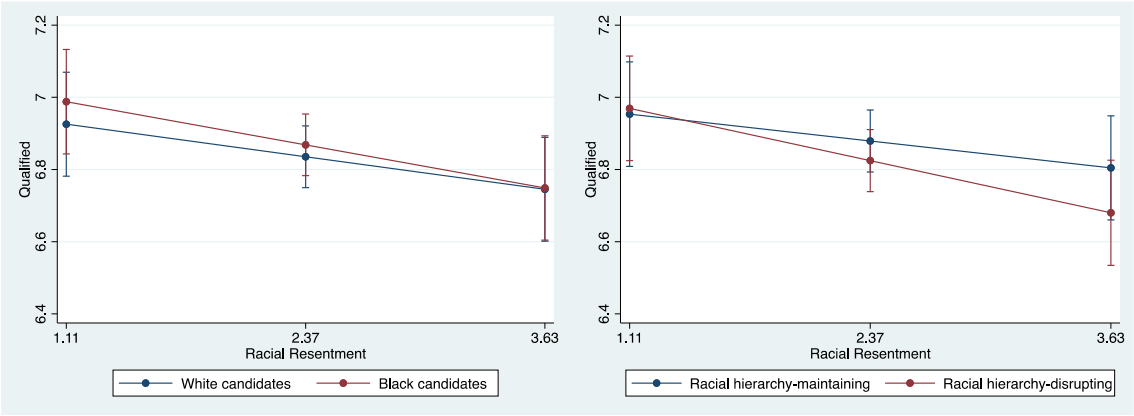

Figure 27: Qualified (study 4)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how Qualified participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how Qualified participants evaluated the candidate to be.

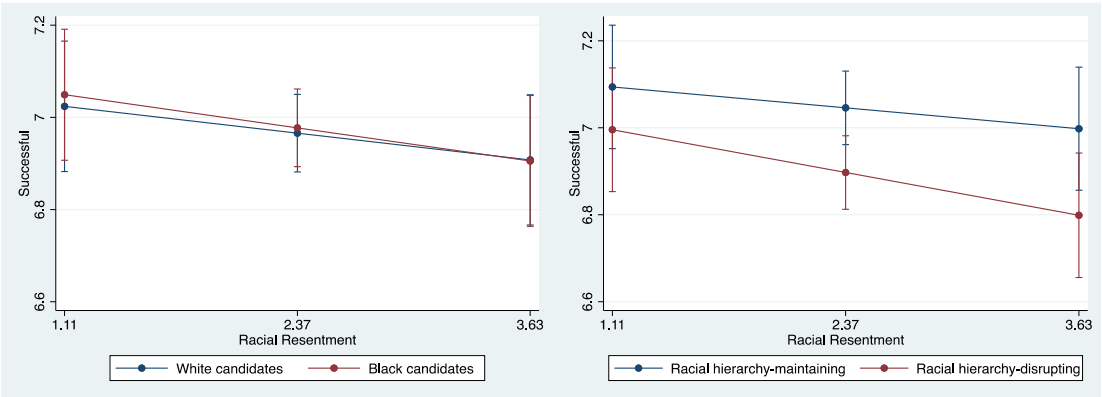

Figure 28: Successful (study 4)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

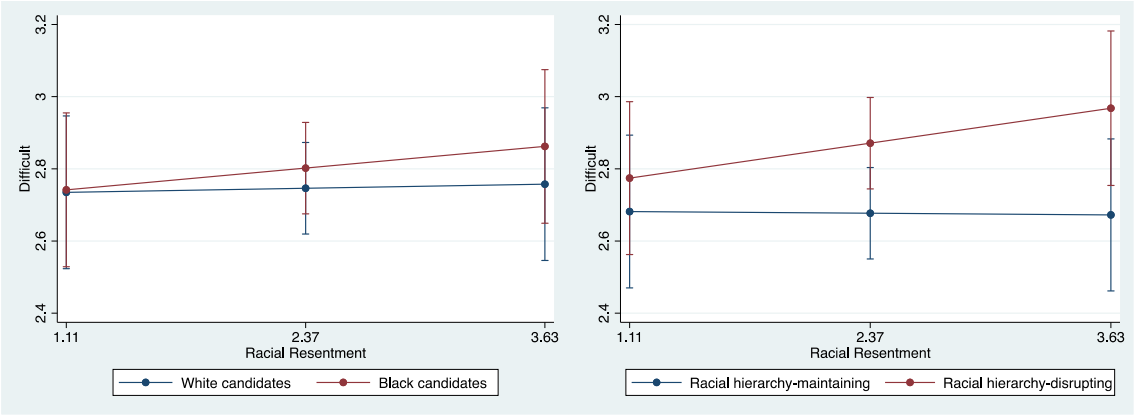

Figure 29: Difficult (study 4)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

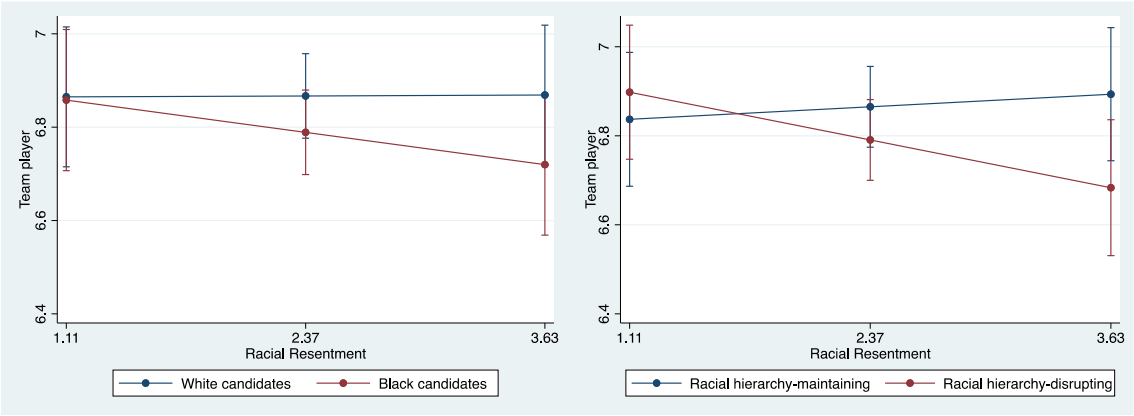

Figure 30: Team player (study 4)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

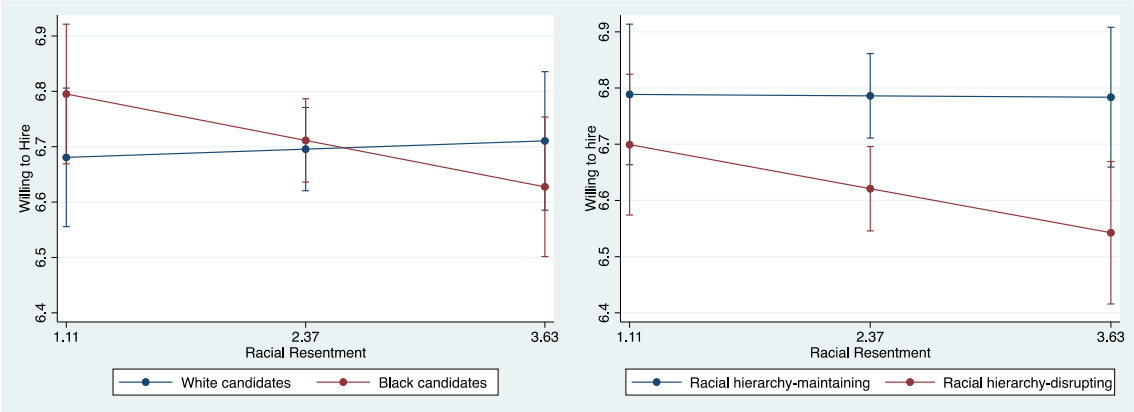

Figure 31: Willingness to hire (study 4)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Three-way interaction of racial resentment, candidates' race, and type of interest on dependent measures. Results revealed no significant three-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment, candidate's race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*), and candidate type of interest condition (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation and liking: *Qualified* (b = .01, SE = .05, p = .775, 95% CI [-.08, .11]), *Successful* (b = -.03, SE = .05, p = .610, 95% CI [-.13, .08]), *Team player* (b = -.09, SE = .08, p = .234, 95% CI [-.25, .06]), *Difficult* (b = -.11, SE = .09, p = .235, 95% CI [-.30, .07]), *and Willingness to Hire* (b = .02, SE = .06, p = .693, 95% CI [-.09, .14]). As we can see for *Willingness to hire* (figure below), we replicate the finding that high prejudice individuals were more willing to hire a Black candidate who wants to maintain the racial hierarchy than a White candidate who wants to disrupt it.

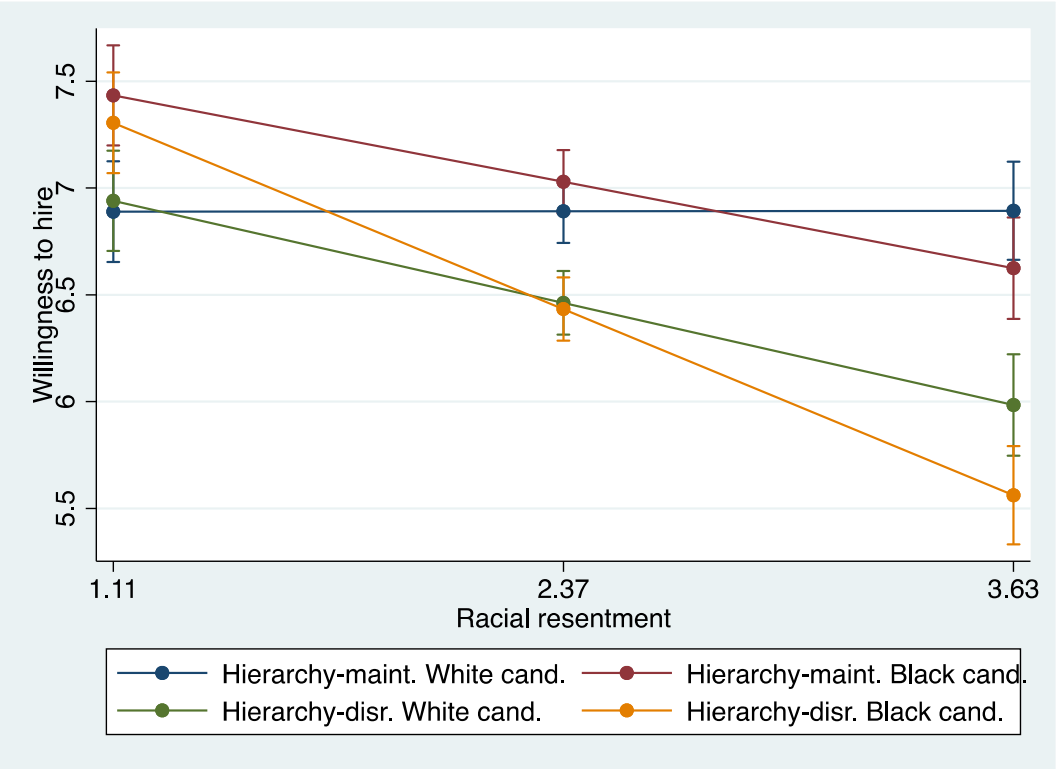

Figure 32: Willingness to hire (study 4, 3-way)

Note: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the three on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate, controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate.

5.3.4 Interactions with social dominance orientation

Secondly, we tested whether participants' scores on social dominance orientation interacted with candidates' race and type of interest to predict participants' evaluations across all dependent variables, controlling for political orientation and also for how much participants liked each candidate.

Two-way interactions of social dominance orientation and candidates' race. Results revealed significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO and candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*) on *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.11, *SE* = .02, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.15, -.07]) and *Team player* (*b* = -.07, *SE* = .03, *p* = .016, 95% CI [-.13, -.01]), controlling for participants' political orientation and liking. Other interactions were not significant: *Qualified* (*b* = .01, *SE* = .02, *p* = .735, 95% CI [-.03, .04]), *Successful* (*b* = -.02, *SE* = .02, *p* = .203, 95% CI [-.06, .01]), and *Difficult* (*b* = .02, *SE* = .03, *p* = .525, 95% CI [-.04, .09]) – see Figures 33-37, left panels.

Two-way interactions of social dominance orientation and type of interest. Results also revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on SDO and type of interest (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on three of the dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation and liking: *Qualified* (*b* = -.06, *SE* = .02, *p* = .001, 95% CI [-.09, -.02]), *Successful* (*b* = -.04, *SE* = .02, *p* = .047, 95% CI [-.07, -.00]), and *Team player* (*b* = -.07, *SE* = .03, *p* = .010, 95% CI [-.13, -.02]). Other interactions were not significant: *Difficult* (*b* = .04, *SE* = .03, *p* = .211, 95% CI [-.02, .11]) and *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.03, *SE* = .02, *p* = .195, 95% CI [-.07, .02]) – see Figures 33-37, right panels.

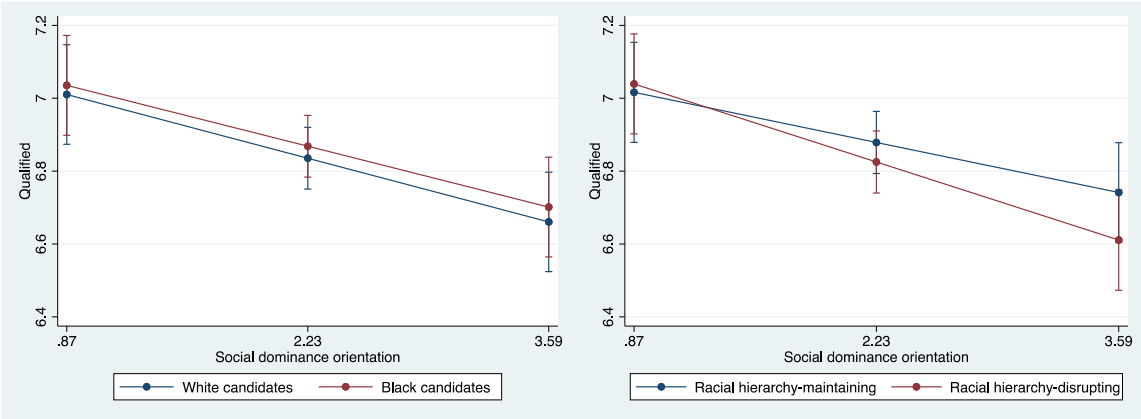

Figure 33: Qualified (study 4, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

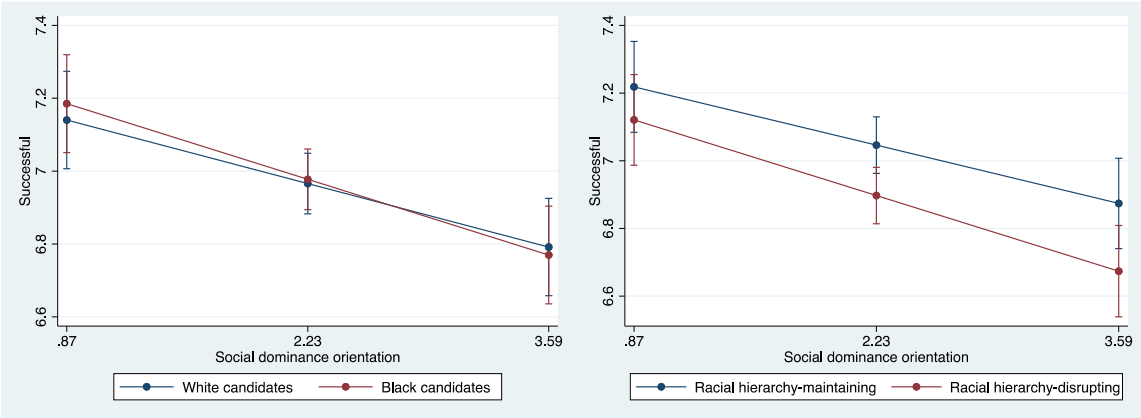

Figure 34: Successful (study 4, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

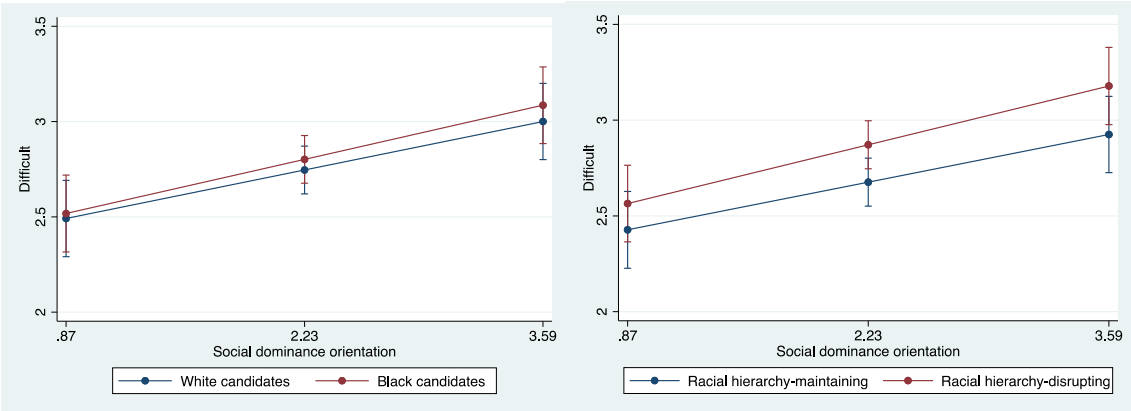

Figure 35: Difficult (study 4, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

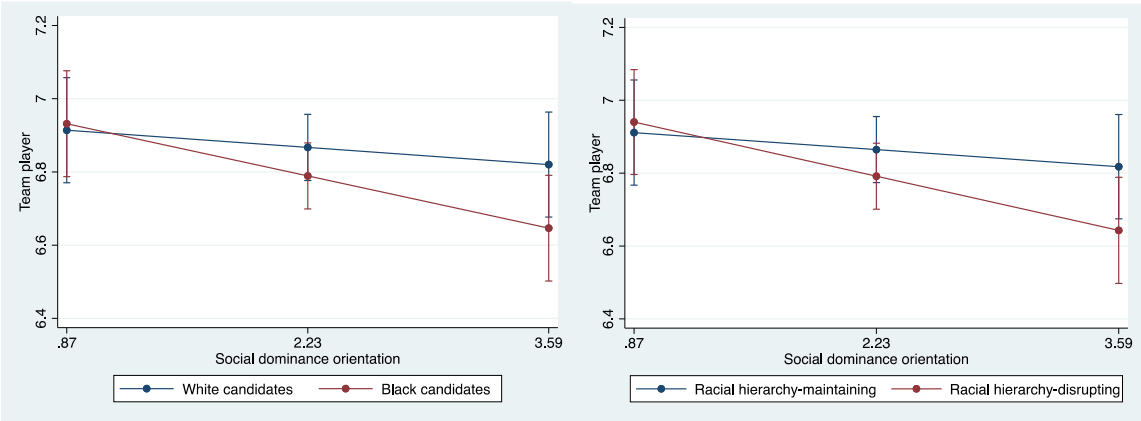

Figure 36: Team player (study 4, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much of a *Team player* participants evaluated the candidate to be.

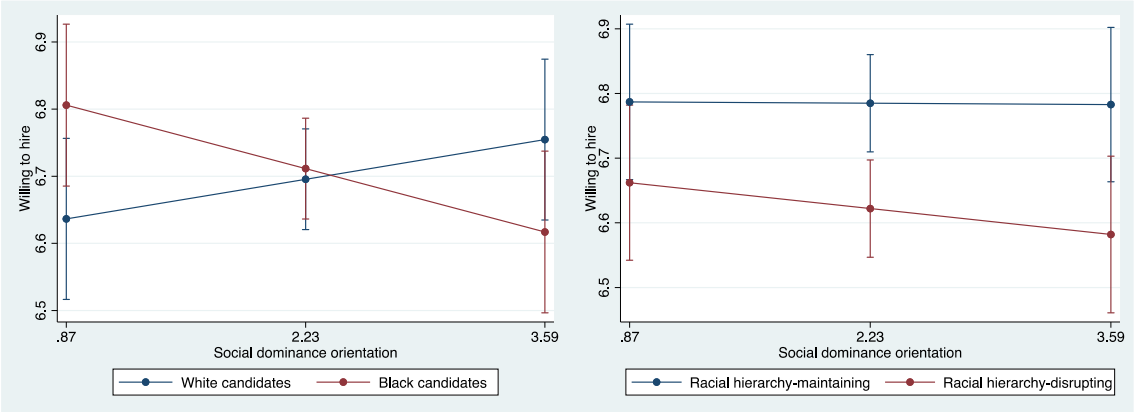

Figure 37: Willingness to hire (study 4, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation

and how much they liked the candidate) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.
Right panel: Effects of type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Three-way interaction of social dominance orientation, candidates' race, and type of interest on dependent measures. Results revealed no significant three-way interactions of participants' scores on SDO, candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*), and type of interest (from *Racial Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Racial Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation and liking: *Qualified* (b = -.06, SE = .04, p = .195, 95% CI [-.15, .03]), *Successful* (b = -.08, SE = .05, p = .098, 95% CI [-.18, .01]), *Team player* (b = -.10, SE = .07, p = .167, 95% CI [-.24, .04]), *Difficult* (b = -.07, SE = .09, p = .409, 95% CI [-.25, .10]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.06, SE = .05, p = .285, 95% CI [-.17, .05]).

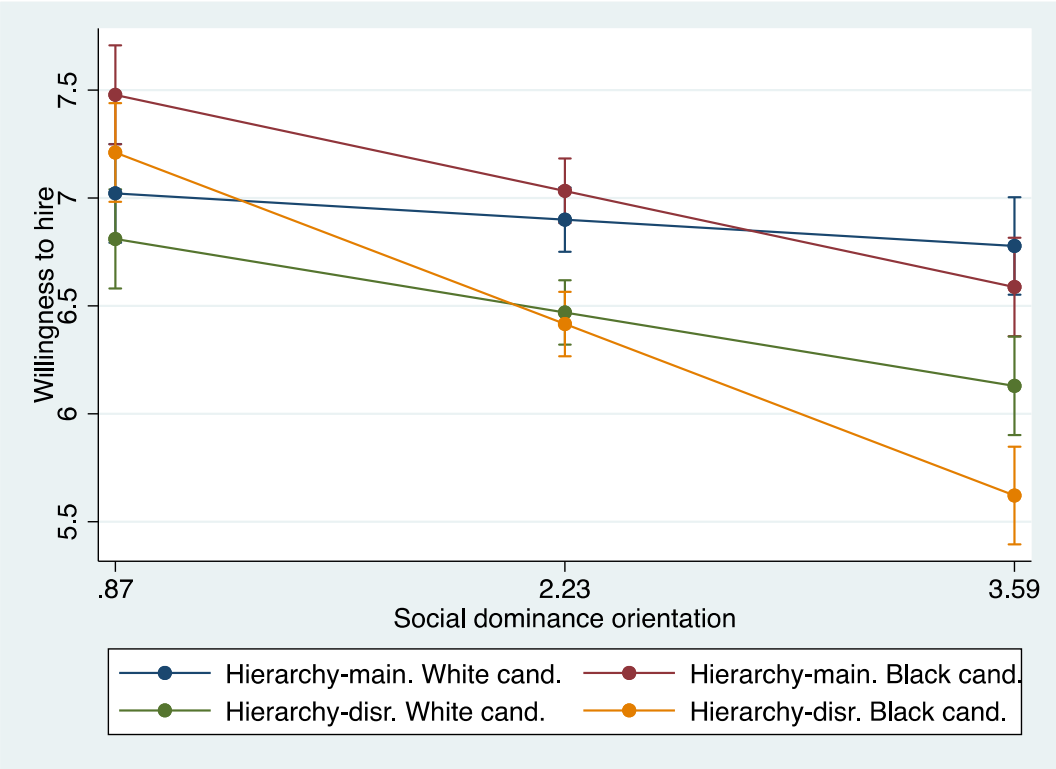

Figure 38: Willingness to hire (study 4, 3-way, SDO)

Note: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), type of interest (racial hierarchy-maintaining versus racial hierarchy-disrupting), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the three on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate, controlling for participants' political orientation and how much they liked the candidate.

5.3.5 Racial resentment and social dominance orientation as simultaneous predictors

When we included racial resentment and social dominance orientation in the same predictive model, the interactions of conditions by racial resentment remained significant for all dependent variables. The interactions with social dominance

orientation remained significant only for willingness to hire. Predictive models for each dependent variable are in the tables below.

Table 6: Qualified (study 4)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	7.07	.12	57.90	< .001	6.83	7.31
Candidate Race	.33	.06	5.43	< .001	.21	.45
Type of interest	.26	.06	4.26	< .001	.14	.38
Racial Resentment	.04	.06	.69	.490	-.08	.17
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.14	.03	-4.81	< .001	-.20	-.08
Interest Type*Racial Resent.	-.18	.03	-5.93	< .001	-.23	-.12
Social Dominance Orientation	-.21	.06	-3.79	< .001	-.33	-.10
Cand. Race*SDO	.02	.03	.93	.352	-.03	.08
Interest Type*SDO	-.02	.03	-.70	.486	-.07	.03
Political Orientation	.07	.04	1.91	.056	-.00	.15

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of interest: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 7: Successful (study 4)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	7.28	.13	56.27	< .001	7.03	7.54
Candidate Race	.42	.08	5.49	< .001	.27	.58
Type of interest	.18	.08	2.39	.017	.03	.34

Racial Resentment	.07	.07	1.02	.306	-.06	.20
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.12	.04	-3.23	.001	-.19	-.05
Interest Type*Racial Resent.	-.23	.04	-6.13	< .001	-.30	-.16
Social Dominance Orientation	-.26	.06	-4.32	< .001	-.38	-.14
Cand. Race*SDO	-.04	.03	-1.29	.195	-.11	.02
Interest Type*SDO	.00	.03	.07	.940	-.07	.07
Political Orientation	.08	.04	2.11	.035	.01	.16

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of interest: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 8: Team player (study 4)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.92	.14	48.37	< .001	6.64	7.20
Candidate Race	.54	.11	4.93	< .001	.32	.75
Type of interest	.45	.11	4.19	< .001	.24	.67
Racial Resentment	.11	.07	1.51	.132	-.03	.26
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.17	.05	-3.26	.001	-.28	-.07
Interest Type*Racial Resent.	-.34	.05	-6.47	< .001	-.45	-.24
Social Dominance Orientation	-.20	.07	-3.03	.002	-.33	-.07
Cand. Race*SDO	-.08	.05	-1.58	.114	-.17	.02
Interest Type*SDO	.01	.05	.27	.787	-.08	.11
Political Orientation	.09	.04	2.15	.031	.01	.17

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of interest: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 9: Difficult (study 4)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	2.43	.17	14.40	< .001	2.10	2.76
Candidate Race	-.51	.12	-4.05	< .001	-.75	-.26
Type of interest	-.27	.12	-2.19	.028	-.52	-.03
Racial Resentment	-.20	.09	-2.30	.021	-.38	-.03
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	.21	.06	3.50	< .001	.09	.33
Interest Type*Racial Resent.	.35	.06	5.81	< .001	.23	.47
Social Dominance Orientation	.42	.08	5.32	< .001	.26	.57
Cand. Race*SDO	.01	.06	.19	.850	-.10	.12
Interest Type*SDO	-.05	.06	-.84	.401	-.16	.06
Political Orientation	-.11	.05	-2.22	.026	-.21	-.01

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of interest: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

Table 10: Willingness to hire (study 4)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.84	.15	46.30	< .001	6.55	7.13
Candidate Race	.88	.11	7.70	< .001	.65	1.10
Type of statement	.34	.11	3.02	.003	.12	.57
Racial Resentment	.08	.08	1.05	.295	-.07	.23
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.22	.05	-3.93	< .001	-.33	-.11
Interest Type*Racial Resent.	-.42	.05	-7.47	< .001	-.52	-.31

Social Dominance Orientation	-.19	.07	-2.70	.007	-.32	-.05
Cand. Race*SDO	-.14	.05	-2.66	.008	-.24	-.04
Interest Type*SDO	.05	.05	1.09	.274	-.04	.16
Political Orientation	6.84	.15	46.30	< .001	6.55	7.14

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Type of interest: dummy coded (0 = Racial hierarchy-maintaining, 1 = Racial hierarchy-disrupting).

5.4 Discussion

This study provided a conceptual replication of racial hierarchy-based discrimination by using information regarding the candidates' interests outside their primary role in the organization. Additionally, results also corroborated our hypothesis that racial resentment remains a predictor of this type of discrimination when including social dominance orientation in the model. Lastly, while one could have expected our effect to be only a result of how much participants like each candidate, this study provided evidence that racial hierarchy-discrimination occurs even when controlling for liking.

Chapter 6: Study 5

6.1 Preface

In the previous studies, we provided evidence for racial hierarchy-based discrimination using different types of diversity statements (Studies 2 and 3) and manipulating job candidates' interests outside their primary role in the company (Study 4). In all these studies, job candidates expressed a desire to either maintain or disrupt the current racial hierarchy. Results have consistently suggested that high-prejudice individuals prefer to hire a candidate who wants to maintain the racial hierarchy, regardless of the candidate's race; and low-prejudice individuals are either indifferent to racial-hierarchy intentions or show a weak preference for candidates who want to disrupt the racial hierarchy. Together, these results suggest that racial discrimination can go beyond the use of racial categories. Both low and high prejudice individuals can be strategic in pursuing their goals of disrupting or maintaining current racial hierarchies. This is a results-oriented goal, which people may pursue flexibly, using a variety of means. If a candidate's race is the only available information related to whether they would change the hierarchy, then low and high prejudice individuals may discriminate based on racial categories. But if more specific information about hierarchies is available, they may use the most meaningful and diagnostic information. Based on this reasoning, we propose that it is not just the candidate's intentions to maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy that shapes whether prejudiced individuals discriminate based on hierarchy-

disrupting intentions. It also matters whether the candidate has the power to disrupt the hierarchy (e.g., a position of power in the organization) and the ability to do so (e.g., competence).

In this study, we explore the role of positional power in racial hierarchy-based discrimination. Thus, we describe candidates who all want to increase racial diversity in the company, and we manipulate how much positional power they will have to disrupt the racial hierarchy (in terms of having the authority to shape the company's policies and to hire new employees). We predict that participants' scores on racial resentment will interact with candidates' level of positional power to predict hiring intentions. That is, the more power candidates have, the less prejudiced individuals will want to hire them, and the more low-prejudice individuals will want to hire them.

6.2 Methods

6.2.1 Participants

We recruited 500 White participants from Prolific Academic and 501 completed the survey (restricted to the U.S., gender-balanced). Sixteen participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 485 (M_{age} = 41.65; SD_{age} = 14.78; 235 Female, 11 Non-binary; 2 Black or African American, 3 Native American or Pacific Islander, 481 White; 4 Hispanic). Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using four predictors and standard

criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = .02 (Critical $F(480, 4) = 2.39$).

6.2.2 Procedures

This study followed the 2x2 within-subjects design used in Studies 2 and 4, where all participants evaluated a total of four job candidates. But, in this study, we manipulated positional power (two low-power jobs and two high-power jobs) in addition to candidates' race (two Black candidates and two White candidates). All candidates had to state their interests outside their primary role in the organization, and they have all displayed an interest in increasing the representation and influence of underrepresented racial minorities. Firstly, all participants read the following:

> "Imagine that you are a member of the hiring committee for different jobs in an American company. You are going to be presented with a summarized version of the application materials of a total of four job candidates for four very different positions in this company. Importantly, this company wants to learn more about the job candidates' interests in case they join the organization. Specifically, the company wants job candidates, as part of their application, to discuss what roles they would be interested in assuming that are outside their specific job function. After you learn about each job candidate and job position, you will provide an overall assessment of that candidate for that particular job by indicating whether or not you would recommend hiring the candidate. You will start learning about

each candidate and each job one at a time in the next screen, completing your overall assessment of each candidate for each particular job before moving on to the next."

Then, participants evaluated one candidate at a time for each of the four jobs. Just as in the previous studies, we manipulated the candidates' race by changing their name. And, analogously to Study 4, we manipulated the candidates' intentions regarding the disruption of the current racial hierarchy by manipulating the candidates' interests outside their primary role in the company (instead of including a diversity statement). All four candidates were equivalently qualified (identical to Study 2), and they have all displayed an interest in disrupting the racial hierarchy by stating their desire to increase the representation and influence of underrepresented racial minorities in the organization. But, for each candidate, participants read the description of a job position that differed in the degree to which it gave the employee power to enact change in the organization – by shaping company policies and hiring new employees. Each job candidate was paired with a job position that was either high-power or low-power—positions were counterbalanced and randomly matched.

The high-power positions were:

"Sales Director: This position is responsible for managing the sales operations. A Sales Director also oversees strategic planning for broader,

long-term company goals, making hiring decisions and helping to shape company's policies and procedures."

"Marketing Director: A Marketing Director oversees the company's advertising efforts to drive sales and build brand awareness. Their responsibilities include developing an overall marketing plan, which involves making hiring decisions and reshaping workplace policies."

The low-power positions were:

"Inventory technician: The position is responsible for the accurate accounting of inventory including receiving, processing, recording and distributing supplies and materials; performs a variety of clerical duties including data entry and maintenance of files and records."

"Support technician: A support technician assists clients with issues involving their computer hardware, communications software, or computer applications. Their duties include determining the cause of computing issues and fixing technical problems."

After evaluating each candidate for each job position, participants completed the measures of racial resentment and SDO (randomly presented), followed by demographic measures. Importantly, given that all measures have been yielding consistent results and the most important construct is how much people are willing to

hire candidates, in this study, we have simplified our design to capture exclusively how much participants were willing to hire each candidate.

6.2.3 Measures

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in previous studies.

Racial Resentment. We measured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in previous studies (alpha= .92; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Social Dominance Orientation. We measured SDO with an average score of the same 8-items used in Study 2 (alpha= .92).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in previous studies.

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Main effects of conditions

We explored main effects of candidates' race and positional power on hiring intentions controlling for participants' political orientation. Main effect of candidates' race was (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*): *Willingness to Hire* (b = .25, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [.13, .37]). Main effect of candidates' positional power was (from *Low power* to *High power*): *Willingness to Hire* (b = .04, SE = .06, p = .514, 95% CI [-.08, .16]).

6.3.2 Interactions with racial resentment

First, we tested the interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment with candidates' race and positional power to predict participants' hiring intentions, controlling for political orientation. Results revealed no significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*) on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate (b = -.07, SE = .05, p = .141, 95% CI [-.18, .02]), controlling for participants' political orientation – see Figure 39, left panel.

Results revealed a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment and positional power (from *Low power* to *High power*) on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate (b = -.20, SE = .05, p < .001, 95% CI [-.30, -.10]), controlling for participants' political orientation – see Figure 39, right panel. That is, high prejudice individuals were less willing to hire the hierarchy-disrupting candidates for high power jobs, while low prejudice individuals were more willing to do so.

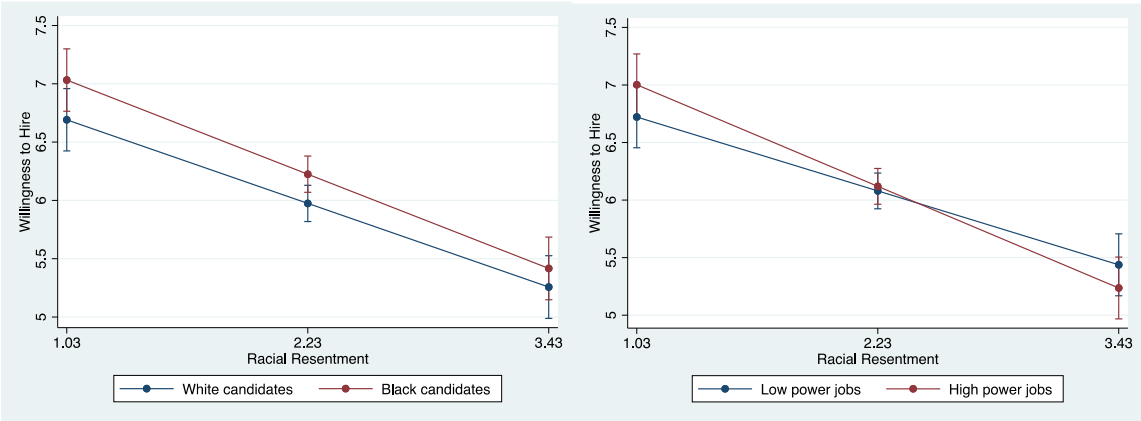

Figure 39: Willingness to hire (study 5)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.
Right panel: Effects of positional power (low power versus high power jobs), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Results revealed no significant three-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment, candidate's race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*), and positional power (from *Low power* to *High power*), controlling for participants' political orientation: *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.13, SE = .13, p = .320, 95% CI [-.39, .13]).

6.3.3 Interactions with social dominance orientation

Secondly, we tested the interactions of participants' scores on social dominance orientation with candidates' race and positional power to predict hiring intentions, controlling for political orientation. Results revealed no significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO and candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black*

Candidates) on *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.07, *SE* = .05, *p* = .139, 95% CI [-.16, .02]) – see Figure 40, left panel.

Results revealed a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO and positional power (from *Low power* to *High power*) on *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.17, *SE* = .05, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.27, -.08]) – see Figure 40, right panel.

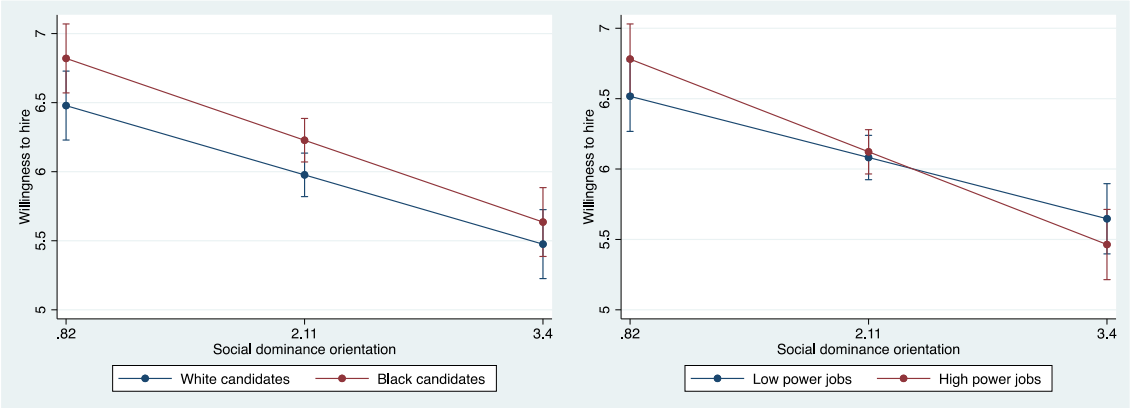

Figure 40: Willingness to hire (study 5, SDO)

Left panel: Effects of candidate race (Black versus White), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.
Right panel: Effects of positional power (low power versus high power jobs), social dominance orientation, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how much participants were *Willing to hire* the candidate.

Results revealed no significant three-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO, candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*), and positional power (from *Low power* to *High power*), controlling for participants' political orientation: *Willingness to Hire* (*b* = -.12, *SE* = .12, *p* = .324, 95% CI [-.35, .12]).

6.3.4 Racial resentment and social dominance orientation as simultaneous predictors

When we included racial resentment and social dominance orientation in the same predictive model, the interactions of conditions by SDO were no longer significant and the interaction of racial resentment by positional power remained significant – see the table below.

Table 11: Willingness to hire (study 5)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	7.02	.18	37.88	< .001	6.66	7.38
Candidate Race	.45	.13	3.37	.001	.19	.71
Positional Power	.52	.13	3.94	< .001	.26	.78
Racial Resentment	-.40	.11	-3.55	< .001	-.62	-.18
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.06	.07	-.80	.426	-.19	.08
Positional Power*Racial Resent.	-.14	.07	-2.03	.043	-.28	-.01
Social Dominance Orientation	-.19	.09	-2.02	.044	-.37	-.01
Cand. Race*SDO	-.04	.06	-.56	.576	-.16	.09
Positional Power*SDO	-.08	.06	-1.15	.249	-.20	.05
Political Orientation	.07	.06	-1.15	.249	-.20	.05

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Positional Power: dummy coded (0 = Low power, 1 = High power).

6.4 Discussion

In this study, we have explored the idea that both low and high prejudice individuals can be strategic in pursuing their goals of disrupting or maintaining current

racial hierarchies. More specifically, we proposed and found evidence that it is not just the candidate's intentions to maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy that shapes whether prejudiced individuals discriminate based on hierarchy-disrupting intentions. It also matters whether the candidate has the power to disrupt the hierarchy (e.g., a position of power in the organization) and the ability to do so (e.g., competence). The results suggest that the more power candidates have, the less prejudiced individuals want to hire them, and the more low-prejudice individuals want to hire them.

Chapter 7: Study 6

7.1 Preface

In this study, we will explore whether the candidates' ability to disrupt the hierarchy can shape hierarchy-based discrimination. We predict that, if all the job candidates disclose a motivation to disrupt the racial hierarchy, the more competent the candidates are – and, thus, actually able to disrupt the hierarchy – the less highly prejudiced individuals will be willing to hire these candidates, independently of the candidates' race.

7.2 Methods

7.2.1 Participants

We recruited 400 White participants from Prolific Academic and 400 completed the survey (restricted to the U.S., gender-balanced). Fourteen participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 386; 1544 individual observations (M_{age} = 41.42; SD_{age} = 13.37; 189 Female, 6 Non-binary; 386 White; 4 Hispanic). Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using four predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = .03 (Critical $F(381, 4) = 2.39$).

7.2.2 Procedures

This study followed the 2x2 within-subjects design used in Study 5, where all participants evaluated a total of four job candidates: two Black candidates and two

White candidates; and all candidates displayed an interest outside their primary role in increasing the representation and influence of underrepresented minorities in the organization. Firstly, participants read the following:

> "Imagine that you are a member of the hiring committee for a high-paying consulting job in an American company. You are going to be presented with a summarized version of the application materials of a total of four job candidates. Importantly, this company wants to learn more about the job candidates' interests in case they join the organization. Specifically, the company wants job candidates, as part of their application, to discuss what roles they would be interested in assuming that are outside their specific job function. After you see the materials for each candidate, you will provide an overall assessment of the candidate across several dimensions."

Then, participants indicated how much they would be willing to hire each candidate, one candidate at a time, just like in Study 5. Instead of manipulating positional power, in this study, we manipulated the candidates' personal abilities to achieve their goals. More specifically, we manipulated whether candidates had higher or lower qualifications (e.g., higher, or lower GPA). The idea is that, given that all candidates displayed interests aligned with disrupting the racial hierarchy, the more competent the candidate is, the more likely the candidate is to achieve this goal.

After evaluating all candidates, participants completed the measures of racial resentment and SDO (randomly presented), followed by demographic measures.

7.2.3 Measures

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in previous studies.

Racial Resentment. We measured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in previous studies (alpha = .92; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Social Dominance Orientation. We measured SDO with an average score of the same 8-items used in Study 2 (alpha = .92).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in previous studies.

7.3 Results

7.3.1 Main effects of conditions

We explored main effects of candidates' race and level of competence on hiring intentions controlling for participants' political orientation. Main effect of candidates' race was (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*): *Willingness to Hire* (b = .21, SE = .12, p = .075, 95% CI [-.02, .44]).

Main effect of candidates' level of competence was (from *Low Competence* to *High Competence*): *Willingness to Hire* (b = 3.42, SE = .06, p < .001, 95% CI [3.29, 3.54]).

7.3.2 Interactions with racial resentment

Firstly, we tested whether participants' scores on racial resentment interacted with candidates' race and level of competence to predict participants' hiring intentions, controlling for political orientation.

Two-way interaction of racial resentment and candidates' race. Results revealed no significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*) on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate (b = -.09, SE = .09, p = .357, 95% CI [-.27, .10]), controlling for participants' political orientation – see Figure 41, left panel.

Two-way interaction of racial resentment and level of competence. Results revealed a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment and level of competence (from *Low Competence* to *High Competence*) on how much participants were willing to hire the candidate (b = -.31, SE = .05, p < .001, 95% CI [-.40, -.21]), controlling for participants' political orientation – see Figure 41, right panel.

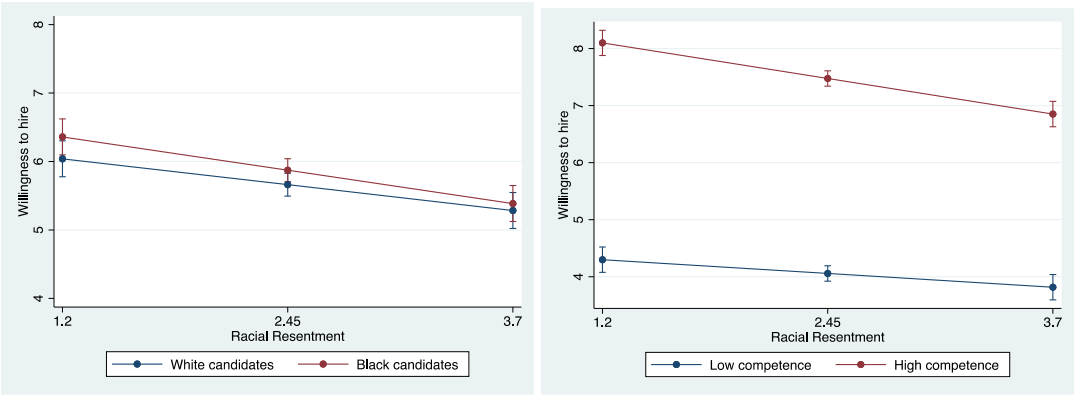

Figure 41: Willingness to hire (study 6)

Three-way interaction of racial resentment, candidates' race, and level of competence. Results revealed no significant three-way interaction of participants' scores on racial resentment, candidate's race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*), and candidate level of competence condition (from *Low Competence* to *High Competence*), controlling for participants' political orientation: *Willingness to Hire* (b = .01, SE = .12, p = .914, 95% CI [-.23, .26]).

7.3.3 Interactions with social dominance orientation

Secondly, we tested whether participants' scores on social dominance orientation interacted with candidates' race and level of competence to predict hiring intentions, controlling for political orientation.

Two-way interaction of social dominance orientation and candidates' race. Results revealed a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO and candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*) on *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.23, SE = .09, p = .009, 95% CI [-.40, -.06]) – see Figure 42, left panel.

Two-way interaction of social dominance orientation and level of competence. Results also revealed significant a significant two-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO and level of competence (from *Low Competence* to *High Competence*) on *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.37, SE = .04, p < .001, 95% CI [-.46, -.28]) – see Figure 42, right panel.

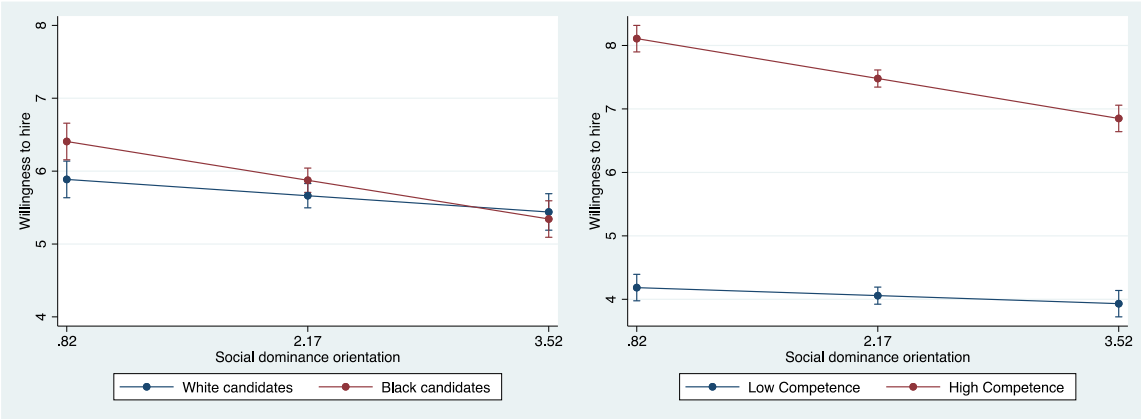

Figure 42: Willingness to hire (study 6, SDO)

Three-way interaction of social dominance orientation, candidates' race, level of competence. Results revealed no significant three-way interaction of participants' scores on SDO, candidates' race (from *White Candidates* to *Black Candidates*), and level of competence (from *Low Competence* to *High Competence*), controlling for participants' political orientation: *Willingness to Hire* (b = .05, SE = .11, p = .658, 95% CI [-.17, .27]).

7.3.4 Racial resentment and social dominance orientation as simultaneous predictors

When we included racial resentment and social dominance orientation in the same predictive model, the interactions of conditions by racial resentment were no longer significant and the interactions with social dominance orientation remained significant – see the table below.

Table 12: Willingness to hire (study 6)

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	4.26	.17	25.26	< .001	3.93	4.59
Candidate Race	.65	.13	4.80	< .001	.39	.92
Level of Competent	4.30	.14	31.58	< .001	4.04	4.57
Racial Resentment	-.18	.09	-2.00	.045	-.35	-.00
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.06	.07	-.83	.407	-.19	.07
Competence Level*Racial Resent.	-.07	.07	-1.04	.298	-.20	.06
Social Dominance Orientation	.05	.07	.70	.487	-.09	.20
Cand. Race*SDO	-.15	.06	-2.42	.015	-.27	-.03
Competence Level*SDO	-.33	.06	-5.37	< .001	-.45	-.21
Political Orientation	.01	.04	.15	.881	-.08	.09

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Level of Competence: dummy coded (0 = Low competence, 1 = High competence).

7.4 Discussion

In this study, we explored whether the candidates' ability to disrupt the hierarchy shaped racial hierarchy-based discrimination. We predicted that, if all the job candidates disclosed a motivation to disrupt the racial hierarchy, the more competent the candidates were – and, thus, actually able to disrupt the hierarchy – the less high prejudice individuals would be willing to hire them, independently of the candidates' race. Unsurprisingly, results showed a large main effect of candidate competence, such that participants across the racial resentment spectrum positively rewarded higher levels of competence. But interestingly, low prejudice individuals were more sensitive to the

competence manipulation. That is, low prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire the more competent candidate relative to high prejudice individuals, given that the more competence candidate would be more likely to achieve their goal of disrupting the racial hierarchy.

Conclusions

The "new racism," like all previous racial orders, has evolved, and today we are witnessing (…) a "multiracial White supremacy." In this highest stage of White supremacy, a selected and vetted segment of the minority population participates fully in the political system, which legitimizes the order racially and otherwise.

Bonilla-Silva, 2015

Summary of the current research

Across eights studies, we provided evidence for what we have termed racial hierarchy-based discrimination: when high prejudice individuals discriminate against job candidates who want to disrupt the racial hierarchy, regardless of their racial category.

In the first study, we validated an experimental paradigm to measure racial discrimination in hiring decisions. This paradigm provided a context in which we could interpret the results of later studies where, in addition to candidates' race, we also manipulated information about job candidates' intentions to disrupt or maintain the current racial hierarchy. In the second study, we found evidence that White participants who score high in racial resentment can show a preference for hiring a Black candidate who wants to maintain the racial hierarchy relative to an equally qualified White candidate who wants to disrupt the racial hierarchy. Interestingly, in this study, high prejudice individuals were more sensitive to the manipulation of racial hierarchy-related intentions relative to low prejudice individuals. In the third study, we replicated racial

hierarchy-based discrimination with better-matched and more realistically worded diversity statements that were also more focused on either maintaining or disrupting the racial hierarchy in particular. Additionally, we measured social dominance orientation and found evidence that both racial resentment and social dominance orientation predict racial hierarchy-based discrimination when included in separate models as independent predictors. But, when testing for their effects simultaneously, we found that racial resentment was a stronger predictor of racial hierarchy-based discrimination than social dominance orientation. In the fourth study, we provided a conceptual replication of racial hierarchy-based discrimination using a new manipulation of racial hierarchy-related intentions, controlling for how much participants liked each job candidate. We also replicated our findings regarding social dominance orientation.

These first four studies have consistently suggested that high prejudice individuals prefer to hire a candidate who wants to maintain the racial hierarchy, regardless of the candidate's race; and low prejudice individuals are either indifferent to racial-hierarchy intentions or show a weak preference for candidates who want to disrupt the racial hierarchy. Together, these results suggest that racial discrimination can go beyond the use of racial categories. Both low and high prejudice individuals can be strategic in pursuing their goals of disrupting or maintaining current racial hierarchies.

Thus, in the fifth and sixth studies, we proposed that it is not just the candidates' plans to maintain or disrupt the racial hierarchy that can shape whether prejudiced

individuals discriminate based on racial hierarchy-disrupting intentions. It also matters whether the candidate has the *power* to disrupt the racial hierarchy (e.g., a position of power in the organization) and the *ability* to do so (e.g., competence). We found supportive evidence for these hypotheses.

Contributions

Our research provides several contributions to the current literature on racial prejudice. Firstly, our work suggests that racial resentment is so strongly connected with the desire to uphold the racial hierarchy that prejudiced individuals can ignore job candidates' racial categories to discriminate based on racial hierarchy-related intentions. That is, high prejudice individuals can discriminate in favor of Black candidates who want to maintain the racial hierarchy and against White candidates who want to disrupt it.

While much research has focused on better understanding how highly prejudiced individuals think and why they engage in discriminatory behaviors, more recent research suggests that both low and high prejudice individuals can engage in discrimination, as people on the two ends of the prejudice spectrum have different types of goals. In this way, motives to maintain hierarchies and motives to disrupt them should both be expected to have important effects (Ho & Kteily, 2020; Kay, Ponce de Leon, Ho, & Kteily, 2023). And this is precisely what we find in our work, as our results suggests that, while high prejudice individuals discriminate in favor of racial hierarchy

maintaining candidates, low prejudice individuals discriminate in favor of racial hierarchy disrupting candidates. Thus, both low and high prejudice individual showed motivated responses to job candidates' intentions to either disrupt or maintain the racial hierarchy.

Our work also suggest that low and high prejudice individuals can employ different types of strategies to achieve their goals. For example, in the third study presented in this dissertation, we found evidence that low prejudice individuals were relatively more sensitive to racial category cues and high prejudice individuals were relatively more sensitive to racial hierarchy-related intentions. Low prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire a Black than a White job candidate, regardless of their racial hierarchy-related intentions. High prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire the racial-hierarchy maintaining candidate than the racial hierarchy-disrupting candidate, regardless of their race. These results help to shed light on how individuals on different ends of the prejudice spectrum can respond to information about job candidates differently, prioritizing either racial categories or racial hierarchy-related intentions when evaluating job candidates.

Altogether, our work helps to reconcile interpersonal and systemic racism theories by clarifying ways that interpersonal discrimination supports and maintains racist systems. It is often assumed that interpersonal discrimination operates by high prejudice individuals always discriminating *against* Black candidates based simply on

their racial category. The racial hierarchy-based discrimination argument suggests that both low and high prejudice people can discriminate in strategic ways, willing to discriminate *for or against* Black candidates depending on how well they serve the goals of disrupting or maintaining the racial hierarchy.

One of the possible negative implications of racial hierarchy-based discrimination is that it can lead to an aura of a post-racial society while keeping the current racial order in place. In what has been termed a multiracial white supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2015), prejudiced individuals can support putting Black people who are committed to upholding the racial hierarchy in positions of power. This distinct type of discrimination can contribute to the maintenance of the current racial power structure while misleadingly giving the appearance of racial progress.

Importantly, a better understanding of how racial hierarchy-based racial discrimination works can help to shed light on people's preferences for how to reduce racial inequality. If discrimination is understood as only a product of racist individuals discriminating against Black people based on skin color, fixing the problem requires solutions such as blinding resumes for candidates' race. Indeed, blinding resumes to features such as candidates' race and gender has become standard practice in organizations. This approach emphasizes color-blind policies, which may only serve to reproduce inequalities, given that racial groups start out with different levels of advantages and disadvantages. Thus, people will tend to support diversity initiatives

that are aligned with an individual-based view of prejudice (e.g., implicit bias training), steering away from solutions that focus on changing the system and institutions. Yet if people acknowledge the presence of hierarchy-based discrimination, we predict that they will be more likely to also support policies that require multicultural diversity and practices that directly address the structural nature of racism.

Limitations and future directions

Our work comes with several limitations that point us towards future directions for our research. In this section, we outline these limitations and discuss some of the directions in which we intend to take this research.

Firstly, we used samples that were predominantly White. As a result, we are unable to make any inferences regarding how people from other racial backgrounds respond to job candidates' racial hierarchy-related intentions. In future research, we believe that it is important to explore how, for example, Black individuals interpret job candidates' signals regarding the maintenance or disruption of the racial hierarchy. It would also be interesting to explore whether Black individuals expect Black candidates to show a desire to disrupt the racial hierarchy when more explicit signals are absent, or whether they do not immediately draw this type of inference regarding job candidates' racial hierarchy-related intentions.

Secondly, while our results appear to be strongly consistent across different samples and experimental designs, our sample sizes were not properly powered to

detect all of the three-way interactions that we have probed. Future research thus is important to provide more evidence of this phenomenon.

Thirdly, and related with the aforementioned issue, most of our studies (with one exception) used a within-subjects experimental design to investigate racial hierarchy-based discrimination. Our choice was based on the fact that a within-subjects design affords greater power to test our hypotheses relative to a between-subjects design – which would require extremely large samples to test for all the interactions that we have probed. But we acknowledge that there can be a trade-off between the power afforded by within-subjects designs and the experimental control afforded by between-subjects designs. Thus, in future studies we will explore racial hierarchy-based discrimination using different experimental paradigms.

Fourthly, we have relied exclusively on online samples to explore our hypotheses regarding racial hierarchy-based discrimination. Given the specificity of the hypotheses investigated in our work, it is challenging to find archival data that would enable us to properly test them. Yet we believe that it is important to work towards validating our hypotheses in the real world, either with archival data that we are not yet familiar with, or ideally with field studies in organizations.

Above and beyond expanding our work through attempts to overcome its current limitations, we would also like to continue exploring the nuances of racial hierarchy-based discrimination. Importantly, our initial focus when we started this

research was on the attitudes and behaviors of high prejudice individuals. Yet our results suggest a more nuanced and interesting picture, as low prejudice individuals appear to be more sensitive to racial category cues and high prejudice individuals seem more sensitive to racial hierarchy-related intentions. While low prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire a Black than a White job candidate, regardless of their racial hierarchy-related intentions; high prejudice individuals were more likely to want to hire the racial-hierarchy maintaining candidates than the racial hierarchy-disrupting candidates, regardless of their race. In future research, we will further investigate this asymmetry. If this in indeed the case, it seems that high prejudice individuals are employing more effective strategies to achieve their goal of maintaining the racial hierarchy relative to low prejudice individuals' strategies to achieve their goal of changing the current hierarchy.

Another future avenue for our research relates with how racial hierarchy-based discrimination can take on different forms. We have argued that both low and high prejudice individuals can discriminate in strategic ways that are aligned with their respective goals: disrupting versus maintaining the current racial hierarchy. We have also argued that this motive is more closely associated with racism understood as a systemic issue rather than exclusively as prejudiced individuals always discriminating against Black candidates. Afterall, if racism is systemic, then high prejudice individuals would be interested in upholding a certain institutional structure and would be willing

to put individuals from diverse racial categories in positions of power if that meant keeping current rules and norms in place. On the low end of the racial prejudice spectrum, low prejudice individuals would also be expected to show a preference of racial hierarchy-disrupting candidates, as our studies show. But another form that racial hierarchy-based discrimination can potentially take could go beyond discriminating for or against particular individuals. If, as we have argued, the core of a racism is about keeping in place structures and institutions that systematically disadvantage Black Americans, we would expect prejudiced individuals to be sensitive to institutional changes that lead to the empowerment of Black Americans. That is, when evaluating different institutions or organizational norms, high prejudice individuals should show a strong preference for arrangements that uphold the current racial hierarchy – while low prejudice individuals should show the opposite preference. Moreover, racial resentment should be more strongly associated with preferences over systemic norms than with preferences over particular individuals. Afterall, we expect both low and high prejudice individuals to be more concerned with disrupting versus upholding the current racial hierarchy rather than with placing only one individual in a position of power.

Appendix A. Materials and Additional Analyses Study 1

Abbreviated resumes

In addition to the candidate's name (Dashawn Washington, Tanisha Williams, Seth Andersen, and Claire Miller), each abbreviated resume contained four pieces of information:

- Education: randomly presented one of the options below
  - Bachelor of Science in Economics at the University of Michigan; GPA: 3.4/4.0
  - Bachelor of Science in Economics at the University of Georgia; GPA: 3.6/4.0
  - Bachelor of Science in Economics at the University of Florida; GPA: 3.5/4.0
  - Bachelor of Science in Economics at the University of Virginia; GPA: 3.5/4.0
- Experience: randomly presented one of the options below
  - Internship at Deloitte Consulting
  - Internship at Goldman Sachs
  - Internship at Boston Consulting Group
  - Internship at McKinsey & Company
- Skills: randomly presented one of the options below
  - Data analysis and presentation skills: Microsoft Excel and Access
  - Data analysis and presentation skills: PowerPoint and Microsoft Excel
  - Data analysis and presentation skills: Microsoft Excel and Java
  - Data analysis and presentation skills: Java and PowerPoint

Additional analyses

Tables A.1 to A5 display fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two for all dependent variables, controlling for person random effects and participants' political orientation.

Table A.1: Qualified

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.85	.13	52.49	<.001	6.59	7.10
Candidate Race	.23	.04	6.09	<.001	.16	.31
Racial Resentment	-.13	.07	-1.95	.051	-.27	.00
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.08	.01	-5.48	<.001	-.10	-.05
Political Orientation	.05	.04	1.16	.245	-.03	.13

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0=White, 1=Black), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table A.2: Successful

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	7.08	.13	54.13	<.001	6.83	7.34
Candidate Race	.25	.04	5.55	<.001	.16	.34
Racial Resentment	-.13	.07	-1.89	.058	-.26	.00
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.09	.02	-5.71	<.001	-.13	-.06
Political Orientation	.02	.04	.62	.536	-.05	.11

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0=White, 1=Black), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table A.3: Team player

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.72	.13	49.73	<.001	6.46	6.99
Candidate Race	.38	.07	5.78	<.001	.25	.52
Racial Resentment	-.14	.07	-1.99	.047	-.28	-.00
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.13	.02	-5.17	<.001	-.17	-.08
Political Orientation	.06	.04	1.43	.154	-.02	.14

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0=White, 1=Black), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table A.4: Difficult

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	2.45	.15	15.87	<.001	2.15	2.75
Candidate Race	-.24	.06	-3.89	<.001	-.36	-.12
Racial Resentment	.08	.08	1.05	.294	-.07	.24
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	.09	.02	4.02	<.001	.05	.13
Political Orientation	-.02	.05	-.50	.620	-.12	.07

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0=White, 1=Black), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table A.5: Willingness to hire

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.97	.14	49.67	<.001	6.69	7.24
Candidate Race	.39	.05	7.70	<.001	.29	.49
Racial Resentment	-.12	.07	-1.67	.095	-.27	.02
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.15	.02	-8.13	<.001	-.19	-.12
Political Orientation	.03	.04	.61	.541	-.06	.11

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0=White, 1=Black), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Appendix B. Additional Analyses Study 2

Tables B.1 to B.5 display fixed effects of type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for person random effects and participants' political orientation) on all dependent variables.

Table B.1: Qualified

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.88	.11	59.35	<.001	6.66	7.11
Statement Type	.30	.05	5.33	<.001	.19	.41
Racial Resentment	-.04	.05	-.73	.466	-.15	.07
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.17	.02	-8.41	<.001	-.21	-.13
Political Orientation	.01	.04	.34	.736	-.06	.08

Note. Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table B.2: Successful

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	7.02	.12	57.47	<.001	6.78	7.26
Statement Type	.30	.07	4.23	<.001	.16	.45
Racial Resentment	-.04	.06	-.66	.510	-.15	.08
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.22	.02	-8.48	<.001	-.27	-.17
Political Orientation	.00	.04	.16	.871	-.07	.08

Note. Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table B.3: Team player

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.62	.14	46.53	<.001	6.34	6.90
Statement Type	.52	.12	4.49	<.001	.29	.75
Racial Resentment	.03	.07	.43	.667	-.10	.16
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.33	.04	-7.94	<.001	-.41	-.25
Political Orientation	-.00	.04	-.06	.949	-.09	.08

Note. Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table B.4: Difficult

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	3.05	.17	17.56	<.001	2.71	3.39
Statement Type	-.24	.13	-1.87	.062	-.50	.01
Racial Resentment	-.11	.08	-1.31	.189	-.27	.05
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	.37	.04	8.02	<.001	.28	.46
Political Orientation	-.03	.05	-.62	.535	-.14	.07

Note. Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Table B.5: Willingness to hire

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.55	.15	44.58	<.001	6.26	6.84
Statement Type	.71	.11	6.23	<.001	.49	.94
Racial Resentment	.06	.07	.86	.390	-.08	.20
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.46	.04	-11.48	<.001	-.54	.39
Political Orientation	.01	.04	.16	.873	-.08	.09

Note. Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

Tables B.6 to B.10 display fixed effects of candidate race, type of statement, racial resentment, and the interaction between the three (controlling for person random effects and participants' political orientation) on all dependent variables. Figures B.1 to B.5 represent these same interactions graphically.

Table B.6: Qualified

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.85	.13	54.51	< .001	6.61	7.10
Candidate Race	.08	.10	.81	.420	-.11	.27
Statement Type	.25	.10	2.57	.010	.06	.43
Cand. Race*Stat. Type	.08	.15	.54	.591	-.22	.39
Racial Resentment	-.05	.06	-.91	.361	-.17	.06
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	.02	.03	.61	.544	-.04	.09
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.15	.03	-4.51	< .001	-.22	-.08
Cand. Race* Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.03	.05	-.49	.624	-.13	.08
Political Orientation	.01	.04	.33	.738	-.06	.09

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

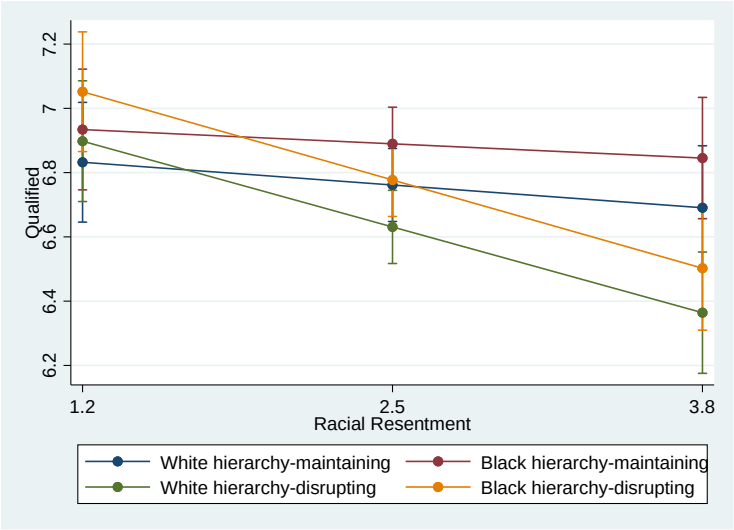

Figure B.1: Qualified

Table B.7: Successful

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.98	.14	51.07	< .001	6.71	7.25
Candidate Race	.09	.12	.73	.465	-.15	.33
Statement Type	.32	.12	2.67	.008	.09	.56
Cand. Race*Stat. Type	-.06	.20	-.32	.747	-.45	.32
Racial Resentment	-.05	.06	-.76	.448	-.17	.08
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	.01	.04	.30	.765	-.07	.10
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.22	.04	-5.18	< .001	-.30	-.14
Cand. Race* Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	.01	.07	.22	.825	-.12	.15
Political Orientation	.01	.04	.17	.867	-.07	.08

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

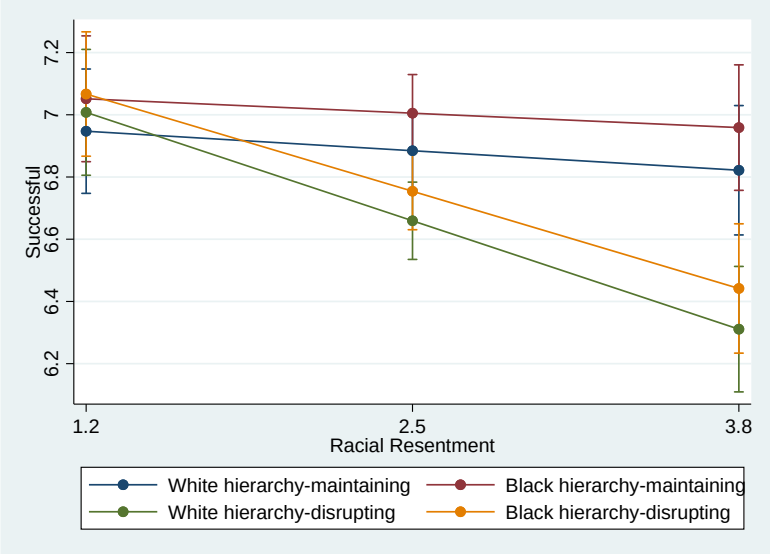

Figure B.2: Successful

Table B.8: Team player

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.47	.17	37.72	< .001	6.14	6.81
Candidate Race	.30	.19	1.57	.117	-.07	.67
Statement Type	.58	.19	3.02	.003	.20	.95
Cand. Race*Stat. Type	-.10	.30	-.33	.741	-.69	.49
Racial Resentment	.06	.08	.78	.433	-.09	.21
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.07	.07	-.99	.322	-.20	.06
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.32	.07	-4.83	< .001	-.45	-.19
Cand. Race* Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.02	.10	-.19	.852	-.22	.18
Political Orientation	-.00	.04	-.02	.983	-.09	.08

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

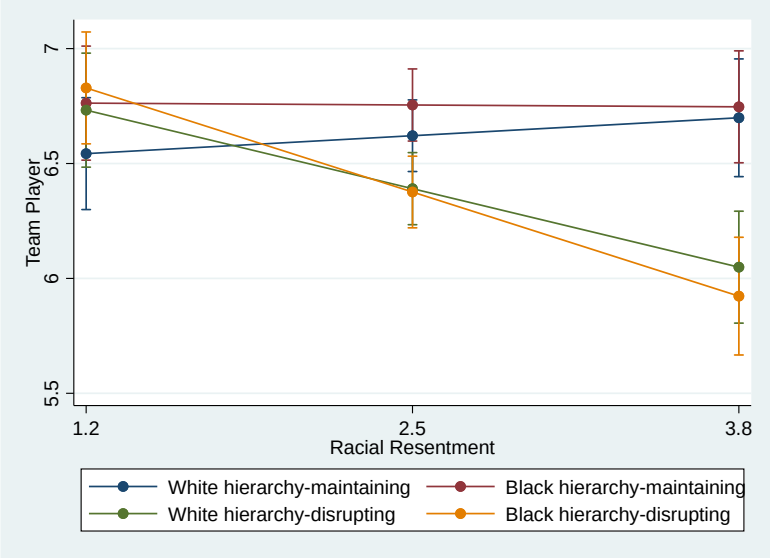

Figure B.3: Team player

Table B.9: Difficult

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	3.21	.20	15.64	< .001	2.81	3.61
Candidate Race	-.32	.22	-1.49	.137	-.75	.10
Statement Type	-.34	.22	-1.57	.116	-.76	.08
Cand. Race*Stat. Type	.20	.34	.59	.553	-.47	.88
Racial Resentment	-.14	.09	-1.50	.133	-.32	.04
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	.06	.08	.84	.401	-.08	.21
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	.39	.08	5.17	< .001	.24	.54
Cand. Race* Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.04	.12	-.32	.750	-.27	.20
Political Orientation	-.03	.05	-.64	.522	-.14	.07

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

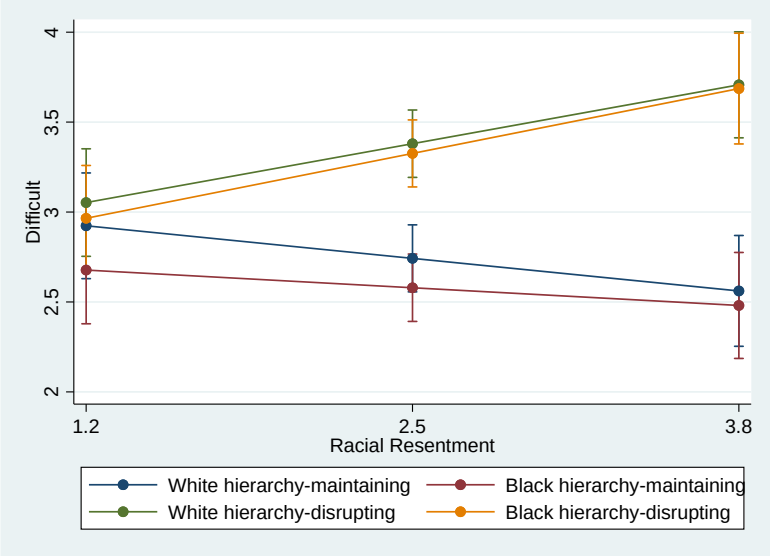

Figure B.4: Difficult

Table B.10: Willingness to hire

					95% CI	
Effect	Estimate	*SE*	*z*	*p*	Lower	Upper
Intercept	6.41	.17	36.68	< .001	6.07	6.75
Candidate Race	.30	.19	1.60	.109	-.07	.67
Statement Type	.75	.19	3.97	< .001	.38	1.11
Cand. Race*Stat. Type	-.10	.30	-.32	.747	-.68	.49
Racial Resentment	.07	.08	.87	.386	-.09	.22
Cand. Race*Racial Resent.	-.02	.07	-.39	.698	-.15	.10
Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.46	.07	-6.99	< .001	-.59	-.33
Cand. Race* Stat. Type*Racial Resent.	-.00	.10	-.05	.959	-.21	.20
Political Orientation	.01	.04	.19	.850	-.08	.10

Note. Candidate Race: dummy coded (0 = White candidates, 1 = Black candidates); Statement Type: dummy coded (0=Hierarchy-maintaining, 1=Hierarchy-disrupting), SE: standard error, CI = confidence interval.

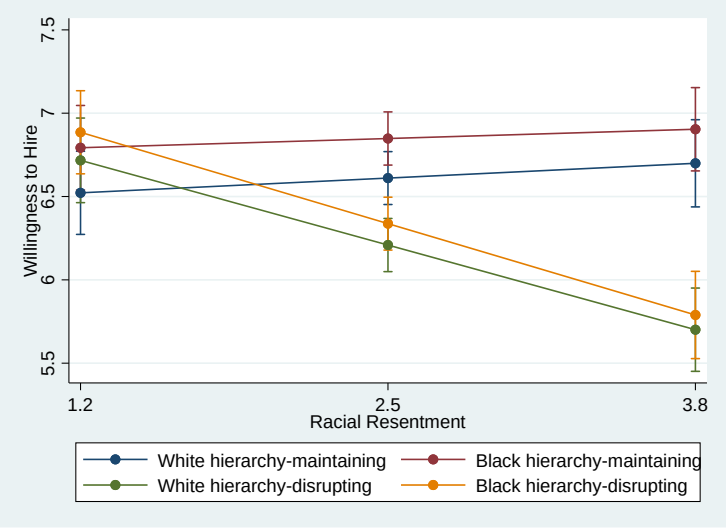

Figure B.5: Willingness to hire

Appendix C. Supplemental Study a

The goal of this study was to replicate the hierarchy-based form of discrimination in a more ecologically valid way by using information that job candidates actually communicate in their resumes, such as their experiences with college clubs. While candidates' college club experiences can be unrelated with their goals regarding the maintenance or disruption of the current racial power structure, they can also signal a desire to create a more egalitarian workplace. For example, when job candidates relay participation in club activities that are tailored towards increasing the influence of underrepresented racial minorities in the university, they are also signaling a desire for disrupting the current racial hierarchy. In this study, we used the same design from Study 2 but, instead of presenting participants with a statement that was written by each job candidate, we added an additional piece of information to each resume. This additional piece of information was an equivalent experience as president of a college club where we manipulated whether the club was oriented towards increasing racial diversity or whether it was neutral regarding racial diversity goals.

Our main hypothesis was that participants' scores on racial resentment would now interact with the type of club experience (diversity-neutral versus diversity-oriented) to predict how participants evaluated the candidates and how much they were willing to hire them. More specifically, we predicted that participants who scored higher on racial resentment would evaluate job applicants who had experience in a diversity-

oriented club more negatively and would be less willing to hire them relative to equally qualified applicants who had experience in a diversity-neutral club. Importantly, we predicted that the type of signal included in the resumes (diversity-neutral versus diversity-oriented) would be independent of the effect of racial resentment on candidates' evaluations than the candidates' race. That is, participants who scored higher in racial resentment would show a preference for hiring a Black candidate who was the president of a diversity-neutral club in college relative to an equally qualified White candidate who was the president of a diversity-oriented club.

Methods

Participants

We recruited 200 participants from Prolific Academic (restricted to the U.S. and gender-balanced) and 197 completed the survey. Nine participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 188 (752 individual observations) (M_{age} = 35.67; SD_{age} = 12.11; 91 Female, 6 Non-binary; 24 Black, 7 Native American, 25 Asian, 2 "other," 146 White;[1] 11 Hispanic). Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using three predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = 0.01 (Critical $F(3, 748) = 2.62$).

Procedures

[1] Participants could identify with more than one race.

Procedures were identical to Study 2, with only one difference: each abbreviated resume randomly presented to participants (four total, two from Black and two from White applicants) was paired with one of a total of four pieces of additional information. The additional information was related with the candidate's experience as the president of either an investment club or a business club in college. We manipulated whether this club experience was connected with the candidate's desire to create more equitable and diverse organizations or whether it was neutral. The neutral club president experiences read: "*President of the Student Investment Club: Collaborated with leadership to create educational and networking opportunities at an annual Finance Conference*" or "*President of the Business Student Club: Prepared annual budgeting plans using recommendations by the former club president and the staff advisor*." The diversity-oriented club president experiences read: "*President of the Black and Latinx Business Student Club: Worked to educate business students about diversity strategies to increase the representation and influence of underrepresented minorities in the business school*" or "*President of the Black and Latinx Student Investment Club: Supported diversity initiatives in the work environment in order to increase the representation and influence of underrepresented minorities in the financial services industry*." The two types of club president experience (neutral or diversity-oriented) were paired with resumes in counterbalanced and random order.

Measures

Qualified. We measured participants' evaluations of each job applicant's qualifications with an average score of the same items used in the previous studies (alpha = .95).

Successful. We measured participants' opinions regarding how they thought that each job applicant would perform on the job using an average score of the same items from the previous studies (alpha = .96).

Team player. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be a team player once on the job with the same item used in the previous studies.

Difficult. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be "disruptive" and "difficult to work with" with an average score of the same items used in the previous studies (r = .88).

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in the previous studies.

Racial Resentment. We captured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in the previous studies (alpha = .93; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in the previous studies.

Results

We reshaped the data in long format so that each participant was represented across four rows (twice for their evaluations of the two Black candidates and twice for their evaluations of two White candidates).

Main effects of candidates' race on dependent measures

We explored main effects of candidate race (Black versus White) and of type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented) on all dependent variables controlling for person random effects and participants' political orientation. Main effects of candidate race on all dependent variables were (from White to Black applicants): *Qualified* (b = .09, SE = .04, p = .018, 95% CI [.02, .17]), *Successful* (b = .10, SE = .04, p = .024, 95% CI [.01, .18]), *Team player* (b = .08, SE = .06, p = .213, 95% CI [-.05, .20]), *Difficult* (b = .02, SE = .07, p = .768, 95% CI [-.12, .16]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = .10, SE = .05, p = .074, 95% CI [-.01, .20]). These results provided a replication of findings from Study 2 with respect to how much participants evaluated the candidates as qualified, successful, and how much they were willing to hire them. More specifically, participants showed a general bias in favor of Black applicants. There was no general racial bias in this sample regarding perceptions of how much the candidates are team players and how much they would be difficult to work with.

Main effects of type of club experience (from neutral to diversity-oriented) on all dependent variables controlling for person random effects and participants' political orientation were non-significant: *Qualified* (b = .03, SE = .04, p = .442, 95% CI [-.05, .11]),

Successful (b = -.02, SE = .04, p = .596, 95% CI [-.11, .06]), *Team player* (b = -.06, SE = .06, p = .361, 95% CI [-.18, .07]), *Difficult* (b = .08, SE = .07, p = .253, 95% CI [-.06, .22]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.04, SE = .05, p = .428, 95% CI [-.15, .06]). In the second study, we found evidence of a general bias in favor of the candidates who put forward hierarchy-maintaining statements (relative to hierarchy-disrupting statements). Yet these results suggest no general bias in favor of candidates who communicated a diverse-oriented college club experience in their resumes, relative to candidates who communicated a diversity-neutral experience.

Two-way interactions

Then, we tested the main prediction that racial resentment would interact with type of club experience to predict candidates' evaluations across all dependent variables, independent of candidates' race.

Two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidates' race on dependent measures

Results revealed no significant two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidate race (Black versus White) on how qualified (γ = -.04, SE = .03, p = .282, 95% CI [-.10, .03]) and successful (γ = -.05, SE = .04, p = .181, 95% CI [-.12, .02]) participants evaluated the candidate to be, controlling for political orientation. These results provide a conceptual replication of findings from Study 2. That is, participants who score higher on racial resentment show a general tendency to evaluate all candidates as less qualified and less likely to become successful, but these evaluations are not influenced by

candidates' race – see Figures C1-C5, left panels. Yet, unlike findings from the second study, results revealed significant two-way interactions of racial resentment and candidate race (Black versus White) on how much participants perceived the candidate to be a team player (γ = -.12, *SE* = .05, *p* = .023, 95% CI [-.23, -.02]), difficult (γ = .17, *SE* = .06, *p* = .007, 95% CI [.05, .29]), and how much they were willing to hire the candidate (γ = -.15, *SE* = .05, *p* = .001, 95% CI [-.24, -.06]). That is, racial resentment was more strongly associated with participants' evaluations of Black candidates (relative to equally qualified White candidates) when it came to perceptions of how much the candidates were team players, difficult, and how much they were willing to hire them.

Two-way interactions of racial resentment and type of club experience on dependent measures

Results revealed significant two-way interactions of racial resentment and type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented) on all dependent variables, controlling for political orientation: *Qualified* (γ = -.16, *SE* = .03, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.22, -.09]), *Successful* (γ = -.17, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.24, -.10]), *Team player* (γ = -.35, *SE* = .05, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.45, -.24]), *Difficult* (γ = .23, *SE* = .06, *p* < .001, 95% CI [.11, .35]), and *Willingness to Hire* (γ = -.25, *SE* = .04, *p* < .001, 95% CI [-.34, -.16]). These results provide a conceptual replication of findings from Study 2, suggesting that participants who score higher on racial resentment evaluate job candidates who communicate diversity-oriented experiences in their resumes more negatively (and are less willing to hire them)

relative to candidates who communicate diversity-neutral experiences – see Figures C1-C5, right panels.

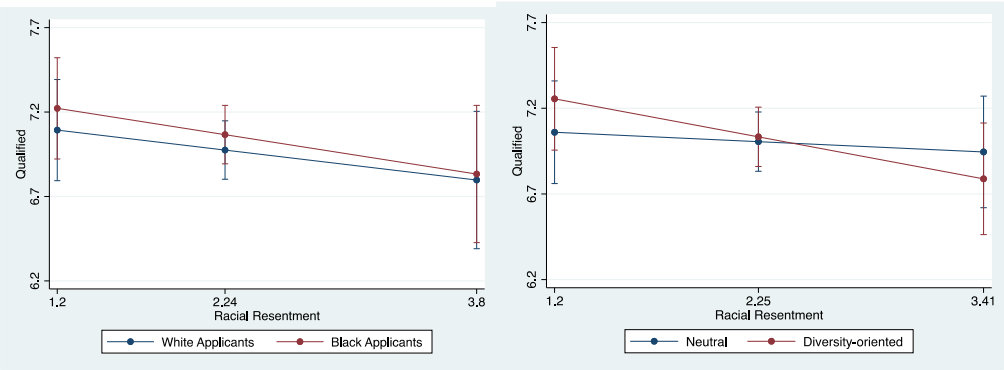

Figure C1

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Fixed effects of type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

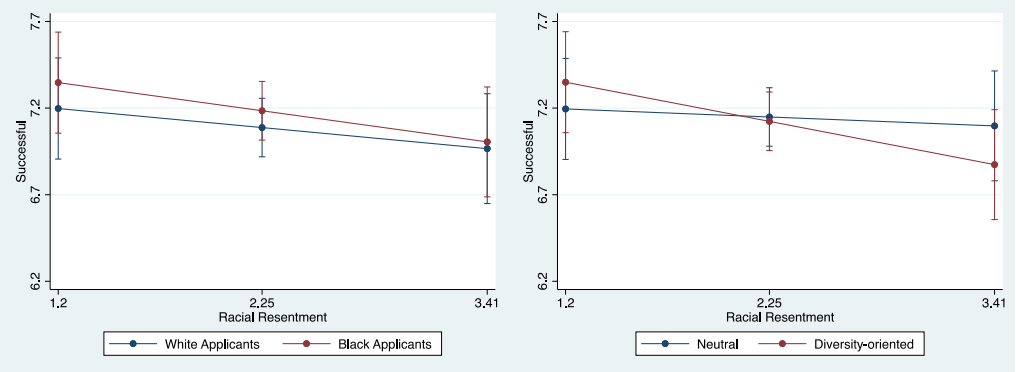

Figure C2

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Fixed effects of type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

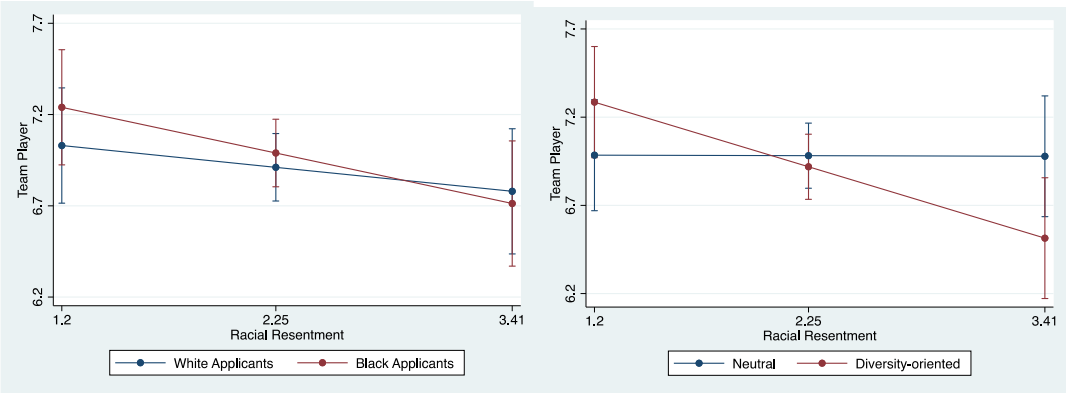

Figure C3

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team player* (left panel). Fixed effects of type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team player* (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

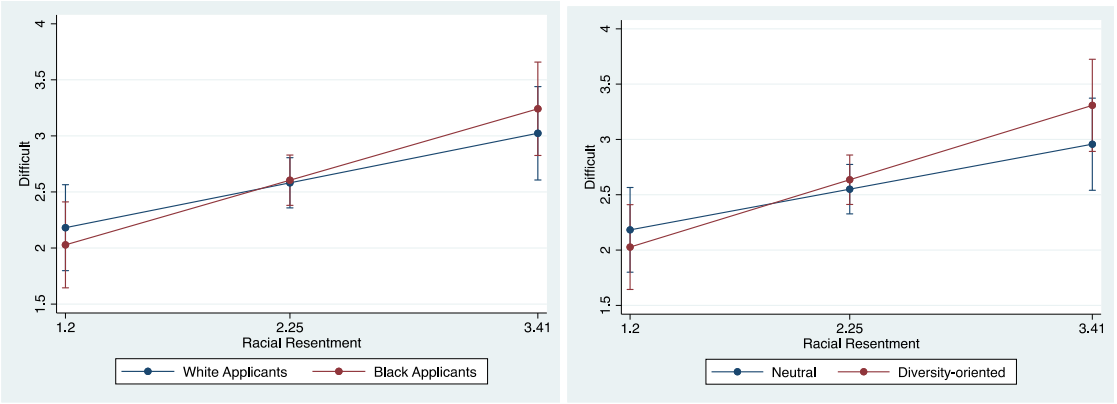

Figure C4

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Fixed effects of type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

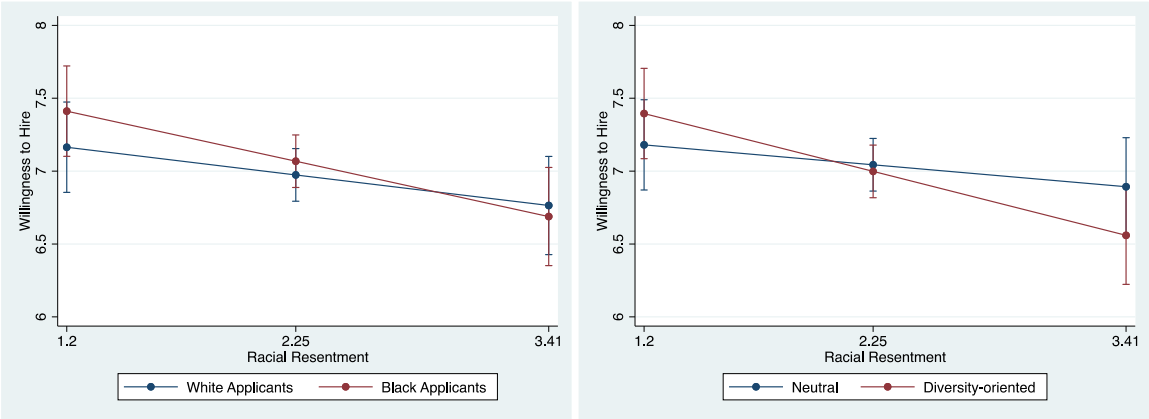

Figure C5

Note. Fixed effects of candidate race, racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on participants' *Willingness to hire* the candidate (left panel). Fixed effects of type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for political orientation) on participants' *Willingness to hire* the candidate (right panel). Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Simple slopes analyses

We followed the interactions of racial resentment by type of club experience with analyses of simple slopes to test whether the relationship between racial resentment and dependent measures was only significant for candidates who signaled diversity-oriented club experiences. For these candidates, racial resentment was a marginally significant predictor of *Qualified* (b = -.21, SE = .12, p = .079, 95% CI [-.45, .02]) and *Successful* (b = -.21, SE = .12, p = .065, 95% CI [-.44, .01]), and a significant predictor of *Team player* (b = -.35, SE = .12, p = .005, 95% CI [-.59, -.10]), *Difficult* (b = .58, SE = .15, p < .001, 95% CI [.28, .88]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.38, SE = .12, p = .002, 95% CI [-.62, -.13]). That is, higher scores on racial resentment significantly (or marginally significantly) predicted more

negative evaluations of candidates who put forward a diversity-oriented club experience across all measures; and lower scores predicted more positive evaluations.

For candidates who signaled neutral club experience, only the relationship between racial resentment and *Difficult* reached significance (b = .35, SE = .15, p = .022, 95% CI [.05, .65]). For all other dependent variables, racial resentment was not a significant predictor: *Qualified* (b = -.05, SE = .12, p = .666, 95% CI [-.29, .18]), *Successful* (b = -.04, SE = .12, p = .705, 95% CI [-.27, .18]), *Team player* (b = -.00, SE = .12, p = .982, 95% CI [-.25, .24]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.13, SE = .12, p = .294, 95% CI [-.37, .11]). That is, with the exception of how difficult participants perceived the candidate to be, participants' scores on racial resentment did not significantly predict all other evaluations of candidates who signaled a neutral club experience.

Three-way interactions of racial resentment, type of club experience, and candidate race on dependent measures

Importantly, results revealed no significant three-way interactions of racial resentment by type of club experience (neutral versus diversity-oriented) and candidate race (Black versus White) on all dependent variables, controlling for political orientation: *Qualified* (γ = -.06, SE = .09, p = .486, 95% CI [-.25, .12]), *Successful* (γ = -.15, SE = .10, p = .153, 95% CI [-.35, .05]), *Team player* (γ = -.16, SE = .15, p = .272, 95% CI [-.45, .13]), *Difficult* (γ = -.02, SE = .17, p = .903, 95% CI [-.35, .31]), and *Willingness to Hire* (γ = -.14, SE = .13, p = .266, 95% CI [-.39, .11]). The absence of a three-way interaction indicates that racial

resentment was associated with discrimination against candidates with diversity-related activities independent of the candidate's race.

Discussion

This study provided evidence that participants' scores on racial resentment significantly interacted with the type of experience presented by job applicants (diversity-oriented versus diversity-neutral) to predict all sorts of evaluations regarding the candidates, such that higher scores on racial resentment predicted more negative evaluations of candidates who signaled diversity-oriented experiences and lower willingness to higher them, relative to equally qualified candidates who signaled diversity-neutral experiences.

As discussed, the proposed hierarchy-based discrimination suggests that, when candidates' goals regarding the maintenance or disruption of the current racial hierarchy are clearly stated, individuals who score higher on racial resentment may overlook candidates' racial categories in order to hire someone who will work towards the perpetuation of the racial power hierarchy. In this study, candidates' goals were not clearly stated, but could – to some extent – be inferred from the candidates' experience (diversity-oriented versus diversity neutral). While the effects of this more subtle signal are weaker and do not eliminate the effect of racial category cues on racial discrimination, we still find evidence that participants who score high in racial resentment can show a preference for hiring a Black candidates who communicated

diversity-neutral experiences (and thus appear to want to maintain the hierarchy) relative to equally qualified White candidates who communicated diversity-neutral experiences (and thus appear to want to disrupt the hierarchy).

Appendix D. Supplemental Study b

Much research on the ideological-conflict hypothesis suggests that different types of biases (e.g., racial biases, gender biases, etc.) can, to some extent, be explained by differences in political ideology (Chambers, Schlenker, Collisson, 2013; Brandt, Reyna, Chambers, Crawford, Wetherell, 2014). That is, liberals tend to like others who endorse (or who they believe endorse) liberal values, and conservatives tend to like others who endorse (or who they believe endorse) conservative values. Given that racial resentment tends to be positively correlated with conservatism, we investigate whether the proposed hierarchy-based discrimination is only a product of participants who score higher in racial resentment assuming that candidates who want to disrupt the hierarchy are liberal, or whether a desire to maintain versus disrupt the racial hierarchy has unique predictive value, as we have argued. We hypothesize that, while racial resentment will be associated with a preference for conservative job candidates (in line with the ideological-conflict hypothesis), it will remain predictive of a preference for candidates who want to maintain the current hierarchy, independently of the candidates' political ideology. That is, we predict that participants who score higher on racial resentment will show a preference for hiring a job candidate who wants to maintain the hierarchy independent of their general political ideology.

Methods

Participants

We recruited 1200 participants from Prolific Academic (restricted to the U.S. and gender-balanced). Firstly, we recruited a general sample of 1000 hundred participants. Given that online samples tend to display a liberal bias, we then added 200 participants who self-identified as Republicans (this procedure for collecting data was analogous to the one used in Studies 1 and 2). Forty-three participants who failed a simple attention check were excluded from the sample before analysis, leaving a total N = 1,157 (M_{age} = 40.28; SD_{age} = 14.27; 562 Female, 22 Non-binary; 96 Black, 21 Native American, 113 Asian, 34 "other," 943 White; 81 Hispanic). Sensitivity power analyses with linear multiple regression using four predictors and standard criteria *alpha* = 0.05 and *beta* = 0.80 revealed a minimum effect size that could be detected by our sample equal to f^2 = 0.01 (Critical $F(4, 1152) = 2.38$).

Procedures

After proving informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions in a 2x2 between-subjects design where we crossed the job candidate's political orientation (*Liberal Candidate* versus *Conservative Candidate* conditions) with their plans regarding the company's current power hierarchy (*Hierarchy-maintaining* versus *Hierarchy-disrupting* conditions). Participants in all conditions read the following instructions:

> "*Imagine that you are a member of the hiring committee for a high-paying consulting job in an American company. You are going to be presented with a summarized version of*

the application materials of one of the job candidates. This company was interested in learning about the candidates' political values, so they asked each candidate to write a brief statement about their political beliefs. In addition, they were interested in learning about the candidates plan for the future of the company. So, they asked each candidate to provide a quick response to the question: What do you plan to do when joining the organization? After you see the summarized version of one of the candidate's materials, you will provide an overall assessment of this candidate across several dimensions."

Then, all participants were presented with the same summarized resume of a Black job candidate named Dashawn Washington (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Kang, DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). The summary resume included information regarding the applicant's education, experience, and skills.

In the *Liberal Candidate* conditions, participants also learned the following information about Dashawn: "*As a liberal, I value equality and religious tolerance.*" In the *Conservative Candidate* conditions, participants read a conservative political statement instead: "*As a conservative, I value individualism and self-reliance*." Both political statements were based on Chambers, Schlenker, and Collisson (2013).

In the *Hierarchy-maintaining* conditions, participants learned that the candidate gave the following answer to the question "*What do you plan to do when joining this organization?*":

"I believe that this company can thrive on enforcing its existing hierarchy and structure. We need stability in order to be productive at work. I am committed to maintaining the current power structure in this company and to making sure that all employees follow the rules that are in place at this organization."

In the *Hierarchy-disrupting* conditions, participants learned that the candidate gave the following answer instead:

"I believe that this company can thrive on dismantling its existing hierarchy and structure. We need disruption in order to be productive at work. I am committed to changing the current power structure in this company and to making sure that all employees can transform the rules that are in place at this organization."

After learning about Dashawn, participants completed all the dependent variables. Lastly, participants completed the measure of racial resentment, followed by demographic measures.

Measures

Qualified. We measured participants' evaluations of each job applicant's qualifications with an average score of the same items used in previous studies (alpha = .91).

Successful. We measured participants' opinions regarding how they thought that each job applicant would perform on the job using an average score of the same items from previous studies (alpha = .94).

Team player. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be a team player once on the job with the same item used in previous studies.

Difficult. We measured participants' opinions regarding how much they thought that each job applicant would be "disruptive" and "difficult to work with" with an average score of the same items used in previous studies (r = .78).

Willingness to hire. We measured willingness to hire with the same question used in previous studies.

Racial Resentment. We captured racial resentment with an average score of the same four items used in previous studies (alpha = .92; Henry & Sears, 2002).

Political Orientation. We measured participants' political orientation with the same item used in previous studies.

Results

Main effects of conditions on dependent measures

We explored main effects of the candidate's political orientation (*Liberal Candidate* versus *Conservative Candidate*) and of type of statement (*Hierarchy-maintaining* versus *Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables controlling for participants' political orientation. Main effects of the candidate's political orientation on all dependent variables were (from *Liberal Candidate* to *Conservative Candidate*): *Qualified* (b = -.01, SE = .09, p = .946, 95% CI [-.18, .16]), *Successful* (b = .04, SE = .10, p = .710, 95% CI [-.17, .25]),

Team player (b = -.68, SE = .14, p < 001, 95% CI [-.95, -.41]), *Difficult* (b = .42, SE = .15, p = .005, 95% CI [.13, .72]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.33, SE = .14, p = .018, 95% CI [-.61, -.06]).

Main effects of the candidate's type of statement on all dependent variables were (from *Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Hierarchy-disrupting*): *Qualified* (b = -.27, SE = .09, p = .002, 95% CI [-.44, -.10]), *Successful* (b = -.76, SE = .10, p < 001, 95% CI [-.97, -.56]), *Team player* (b = -1.40, SE = .13, p < 001, 95% CI [-1.66, -1.14]), *Difficult* (b = 3.01, SE = .12, p < .001, 95% CI [2.78, 3.25]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -1.64, SE = .13, p < .001, 95% CI [-1.90, -1.38]).

Two-way interactions

Then, we tested whether participants' scores on racial resentment interacted with the candidate's political orientation to predict participants' evaluations across all dependent variables, and whether participants' scores on racial resentment also interacted with the candidate's type of statement to predict participants' evaluations across all dependent variables.

Results revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidate political orientation condition (from *Liberal Candidate* to *Conservative Candidate*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = .46, SE = .07, p < .001, 95% CI [.33, .60]), *Successful* (b = .48, SE = .08, p < .001, 95% CI [.32, .65]), *Team player* (b = .78, SE = .11, p < .001, 95% CI [.56, .99]),

Difficult (b = .39, *SE* = .12, p < .001, 95% CI [-.63, -.15]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = .77, *SE* = .11, p < .001, 95% CI [.55, .98]) – see Figures D1-D5, left panels.

Results also revealed significant two-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment and candidate type of statement condition (from *Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = -.21, *SE* = .07, p = .002, 95% CI [-.35, -.08]), *Successful* (b = -.19, *SE* = .08, p = .025, 95% CI [-.35, -.02]), *Team player* (b = -.23, *SE* = .11, p = .030, 95% CI [-.45, -.02]), *Difficult* (b = .03, *SE* = .10, p = .750, 95% CI [-.16, .23]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = -.38, *SE* = .11, p < .001, 95% CI [-.59, -.17]) – see Figures D1-D5, right panels.

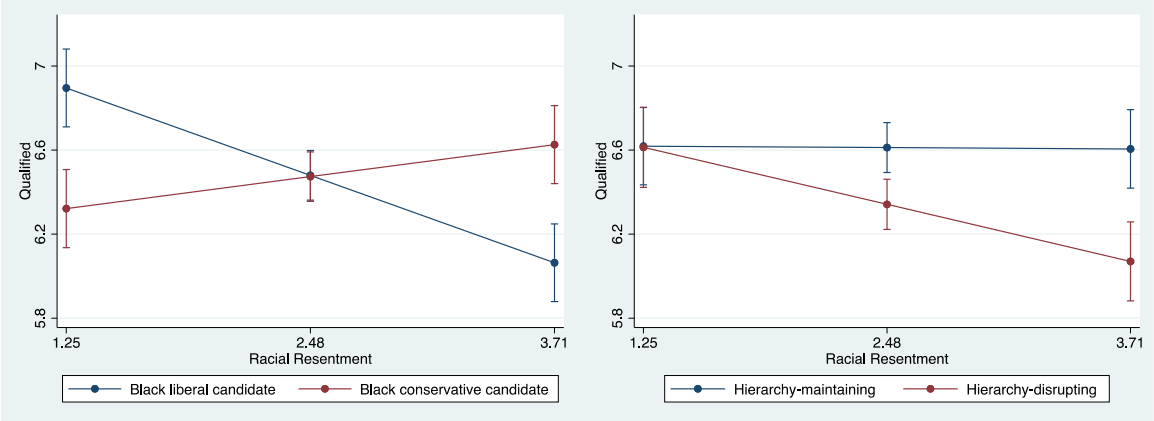

Figure D1

Note. Effects of candidate political orientation (liberal versus conservative), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Effects of type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Qualified* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel).

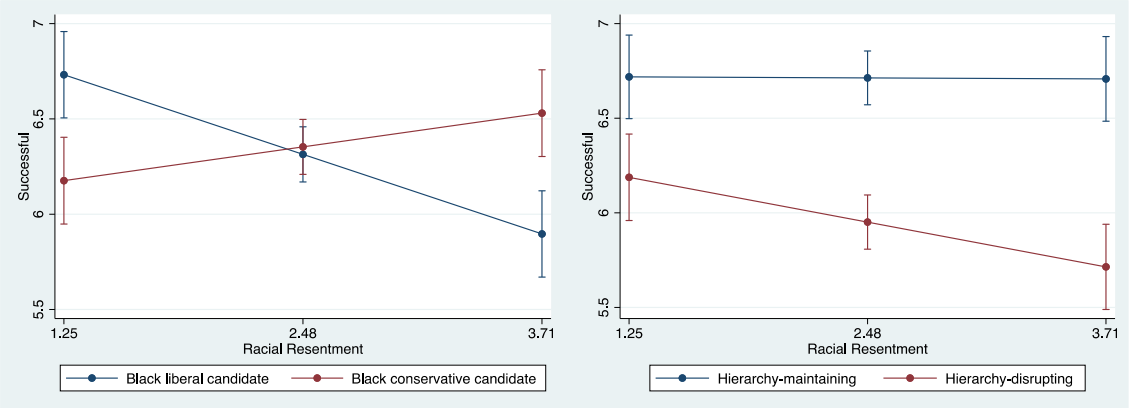

Figure D2

Note. Effects of candidate political orientation (liberal versus conservative), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Effects of type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Successful* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel).

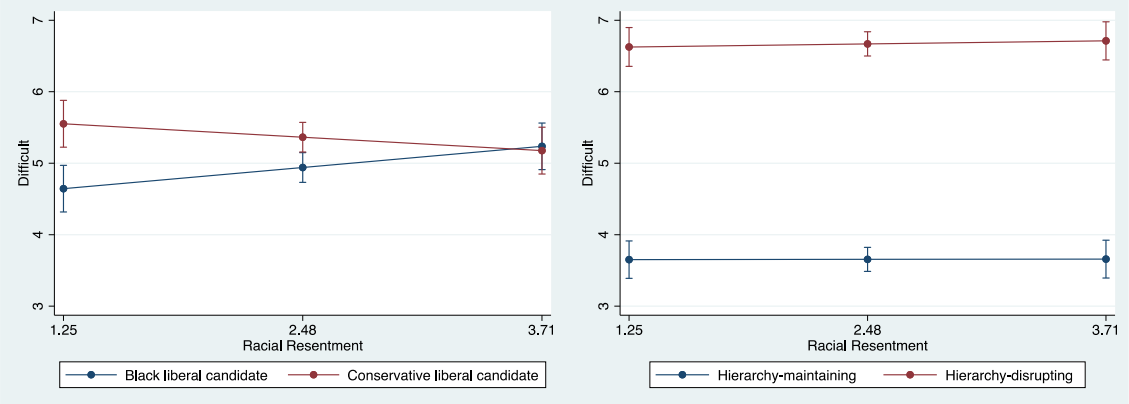

Figure D3

Note. Effects of candidate political orientation (liberal versus conservative), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be (left panel). Effects of type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two (controlling for participants' political orientation) on how *Difficult* participants evaluated the candidate to be (right panel).

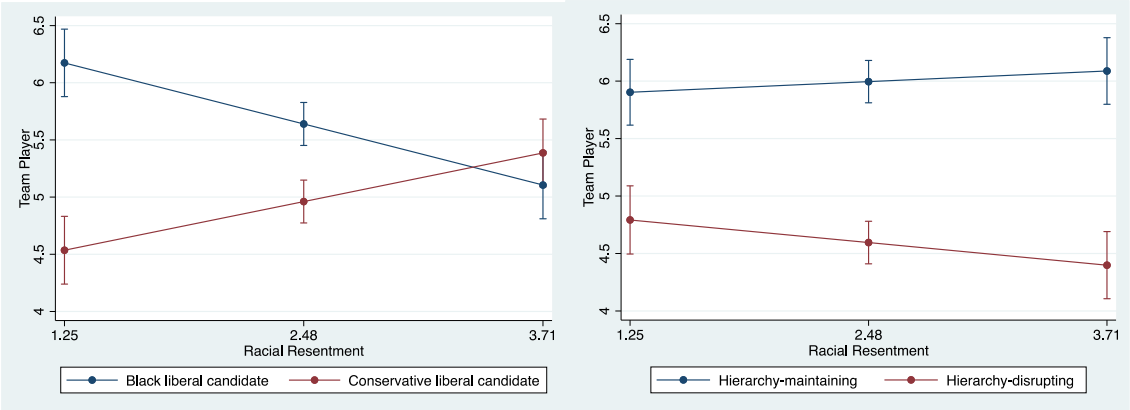

Figure D4

Note. Effects of candidate political orientation (liberal versus conservative), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team Player* (left panel). Effects of type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two on how much participants evaluated the candidate to be a *Team Player* (right panel).

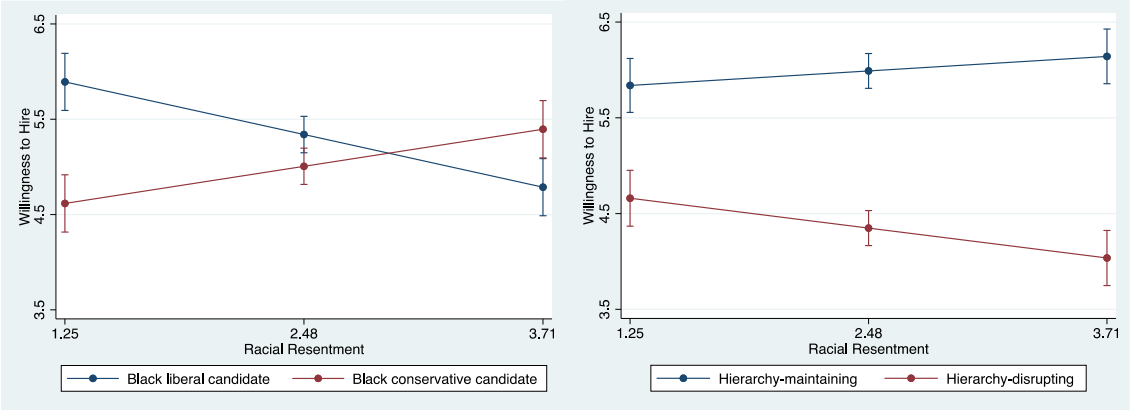

Figure D5

Note. Effects of candidate political orientation (liberal versus conservative), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two on how much participants were *Willing to Hire* the candidate (left panel). Effects of type of statement (hierarchy-maintaining versus hierarchy-disrupting), racial resentment, and the interaction between the two on how much participants were *Willing to Hire* the candidate (right panel).

Three-way interactions of participants' scores on racial resentment, candidate political orientation, and candidate type of statement on dependent measures

Importantly, results revealed no significant three-way interactions of racial resentment by participants' scores on racial resentment, candidate political orientation condition (from *Liberal Candidate* to *Conservative Candidate*), and candidate type of statement condition (from *Hierarchy-maintaining* to *Hierarchy-disrupting*) on all dependent variables, controlling for participants' political orientation: *Qualified* (b = .10, SE = .14, p = .472, 95% CI [-.17, .37]), *Successful* (b = .05, SE = .16, p = .748, 95% CI [-.27, .38]), *Team player* (b = .32, SE = .21, p = .131, 95% CI [-.10, .73]), *Difficult* (b = .10, SE = .19, p = .620, 95% CI [-.29, .48]), and *Willingness to Hire* (b = .18, SE = .21, p = .393, 95% CI [-.23, .58]).

Participants who scored lower on racial resentment displayed a preference for hiring the Black liberal job candidate rather than the equally qualified Black conservative candidate and were also more willing to hire the candidate who wanted to maintain rather than disrupt the hierarchy. Yet participants who scored higher on racial resentment were indifferent between hiring the liberal or the conservative Black candidate and were only less willing to hire the candidate who wanted to disrupt rather than maintain the hierarchy.

Discussion

These results suggest that, while the ideological-conflict hypothesis helps to explain discrimination by highly prejudiced individuals, the proposed racial hierarchy-based discrimination remains uniquely predictive of hiring intentions regardless of the candidates' political orientation. That is, prejudiced individuals showed a preference for hiring a job candidate who wanted to maintain the hierarchy independently of their general political ideology.

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Biography

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