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Implicit Sources of Bias in Employment Interview Judgments and Decisions*

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Abstract

This study empirically examined implicit sources of bias in employment interview judgments and decisions. We examined two ethnic cues, accent and name, as sources of bias that may trigger prejudicial attitudes and decisions. As predicted, there was an interaction between the applicant name and accent that affected participants' favorable judgments of applicant characteristics. The applicant with the ethnic name, speaking with an accent, was viewed less positively by interviewers than the ethnic named applicant without an accent and non-ethnic named applicants with and without an accent. Furthermore, modern ethnicity bias had a negative association with the favorable judgments of the applicants, which, in turn, affected hiring decisions. Implications of the results, limitations of the study, and directions for future research are discussed.

Implicit Sources of Bias in Employment Interview Judgments and Decisions

The employment interview is an important source for information and remains, by far, the most frequently used employment selection and decision-making device in organizations (e.g., Eder & Harris, 1999; Posthuma, Morgeson, & Campion, 2002). Unfortunately, this reality stands in stark contrast to the continued questions about interview validity and the persistence of biases in the interview process, suggesting that more research in this area is needed (Pingitore, Dugoni, Tindale, & Spring, 1994; Roehling, Campion, & Arvey, 1999). In particular, the effects of various interviewer and applicant characteristics on the interview process and outcomes deserve additional exploration (Dipboye, 1992). Although some research has addressed these issues, most of the studies of interviewer biases and stereotypes have focused on non-subtle, demographic effects on interviewers' judgments and decisions.

In a review of the interview literature, Posthuma et al. (2002) suggested that researchers redirect attention from examining simple demographic effects and consider these as potential cues for other causal factors, particularly attitudes and values. The present study addresses this appeal, and it extends previous work on applicant characteristics by focusing on the effects of implicit or subtle cues on interview outcomes within the framework of modern racism or modern ethnicity bias. Specifically, the purpose of the present study is to investigate the extent to which ethnic name and accent serve as cues that trigger biased interviewer judgments and decisions in the employment interview process.

Employment Interview

As a traditional component of most organizations' human resource management selection systems, research has been conducted on the employment interview for nearly a century (e.g., Eder & Harris, 1999). Interview scholars have been interested in a broad range of topics over the years, including psychometric properties of the interview as a measurement device, interview format and type (e.g., structured, unstructured and situational), notions of fit (e.g., person-job and person-organization), and interviewer cognition and

decision-making processes. However, we need more employment interview research examining the effects of applicant demographic characteristics as cues affecting interviewer judgments and decisions.

Research needs to probe beyond simple demographic category effects to investigate potential underlying reasons for what are observed as judgment and decision biases. With increased interest in person-organization fit in the interview, there has come a realization that the homogenization effects from such assessments, which drive employment decisions, potentially could account for discrimination effects (e.g., Judge & Ferris, 1992). However, we still need to know much more about the perceptual cues associated with applicants of different races and ethnicities that might be driving these assessments, judgments, and employment decisions.

The Psychological Processes of Prejudice and Stereotyping

Prejudicial attitudes, as well as other interviewer characteristics, such as race and personality, affect interviewer perceptions of applicants (Dipboye, 1992). Prejudice and ethnicity stereotypes tend to be positively related to each other in both the historical and current views (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996), and some researchers have agreed that the positive relationship is due to stereotypes being the cognitive component of racial attitudes or prejudice (Jones, 1986). Stereotypes are particular types of knowledge structures or cognitive schema that link group membership to certain traits (Ford & Stangor, 1992; Nesdale & Rooney, 1990), and which have been found to influence the interpretation of others' behavior (Duncan, 1976), the memory of others (Stangor & McMillan, 1992), and behavior toward others (Snyder, Tanke, & Berscheid, 1977).

Research has suggested that prejudice tends to evoke negative stereotypes. Participants with high levels of prejudice are more likely to use cultural stereotypes, and high levels of prejudice correspond with more negative stereotypes (Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998). These stereotypes could have been elicited through the use of a cue, and in the Kawakami et al. (1998) study, the category label, Black, was purported to activate

the stereotype. This type of cue likely activates judgments of a specific group without the awareness of the perceiver, consistent with an implicit form of racism, called modern racism (McConahay, 1986).

We would expect that prejudice against a specific ethnic group (e.g., Hispanics) would affect judgments about that group, but would not necessarily influence judgments about a different group (e.g., non-Hispanics). It is important to note that prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes about race and ethnicity may be generated by multiple cues. We argue that examining multiple cues, such as ethnic accent and name, is key to understanding how prejudicial attitudes and stereotypes are triggered. Work in these areas is examined next.

Ethnic Speech Accent and Name

Subtle cues may play a role in triggering implicit discriminatory responses. One possible cue may be applicant accent. Whereas other fields, such as linguistics and communication, have recognized the important role of accent in the perception of individual characteristics, organizational research has neglected this area. Accent can initiate perceptions regarding intelligence and kindness, as well as status, solidarity, economic class, national origin, or ethnicity (Lippi-Green, 1994; Nesdale & Rooney, 1990).

For example, in the U.S., French accents often are associated with sophistication, Asian accents tend to be linked with high economic and educational attainments (Cargile, 2000; Lippi-Green, 1997), and in England, the Liverpool accent is considered less cultured than accents associated with Oxford and Cambridge (Lippi-Green, 1997). Due to the verbal nature of the employment interview process, and the potential for triggering biased judgments, accent may prove to be a particularly important factor affecting interview decisions.

Although it may be subtle, accent has been demonstrated to be easily perceptible. Research has demonstrated that even linguistically naïve individuals can make basic distinctions among differing accents (Cargile, 2000; Giles, Williams, Mackie, & Rosselli, 1995; Podberesky, Deluty, & Feldstein, 1990). However, this recognition of accent distinctiveness seems to apply only to a certain degree. Specifically, when presented with four varieties of Spanish-accented English (i.e., Cuban, Costa Rican, Argentinean, and Puerto Rican), and

four varieties of Asian-accented English, most American listeners could not distinguish between the different varieties of Spanish- and Asian-accented English speech (Podberesky et al., 1990). It appears that a general Spanish accent is recognized by most listeners, and often evokes similar reactions, regardless of the specific variety of Spanish spoken.

Accents associated with countries of lower socio-economic status and darker skin colors frequently are denigrated (Lippi-Green, 1997). However, some regional accents are looked upon less favorably, even when skin color is not an issue. For example, in the U.S., "Appalachian English" is downgraded (Atkins, 1993). In general, the accent of the dominant or majority group in a society is evaluated most positively (Nesdale & Rooney, 1990). Interestingly, the dominant accent often is judged more positively not only by the dominant group, which is Anglo Americans in the U.S., but also by minority groups, such as African Americans and Hispanics (Brennan & Brennan, 1981; DeShields, Kara, & Kaynak, 1996). Therefore, one would expect that interviewers would evaluate applicants more positively if their accent matched that of the majority group, regardless of whether the interviewers were minority group members.

Another problem occurs when the limited selection research examining minorities fails to distinguish between race and ethnicity. Although African Americans and Hispanics both share the distinction of being minorities in the United States, one difference needs to be clarified. The terms race and ethnicity often elicit confusion. Race has been defined as a social grouping based on visible physical characteristics, such as skin color, and on supposed common ancestral origins, whereas ethnicity has been defined as a group's cultural and social heritage that has been transferred through generations of group members (Bolaffi, Braham, Gindro, Tentori, & Bracalenti, 2003; Singer & Eder, 1989; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary, & Gowda, 1991). For example, one study selected research participants on the basis of their appearance, speech, and name being indicative of Hispanic descent (Kenney & Wissoker, 1994). The study, designed to differentiate between the success of an Anglo and a Hispanic job candidate, revealed that an Anglo candidate was more likely to be successful than the

Hispanic counterpart at filing an application, obtaining an interview, and receiving a job offer. However, these results may have been confounded by the failure to control for race and/or accent, exemplifying the difficulties of research in this area.

Similarly, a field study found significant same-race bias between the interviewer and applicants for custodial jobs. It was acknowledged that, whereas their Black/White and Black/Hispanic comparisons examined racial differences, the White/Hispanic comparisons examined differences in ethnic background (Lin et al., 1992). Even though it was stated that race similarity effects were examined, it appeared that no data were gathered regarding the actual race of the Hispanic applicants, or other potentially confounding factors, such as the degree of accent.

Singer and Eder (1989) separated the effects of ethnicity and accent cues in the selection process, and found negligible effects for accent, but significant effects for ethnicity. In contrast to the statistical results, participants in the role of interviewer perceived and rated applicant accent as moderate in importance and applicant ethnicity as low in importance in their selection decision (Singer & Eder, 1989). This suggests that interviewers may rely on applicant accent as a more concrete, legitimate justification for ethnicity discrimination. Considering applicant accent also could reflect some implicit theory on the part of the interviewer that an applicant should not have an accent, because having an accent might affect job performance negatively. Of course, it also might be that accent is, in fact, job-related, and reflects an important requirement in job applicants.

An ethnic cue (e.g., accent) that is paired with another minority ethnic group cue (e.g., name) may evoke a consistent stereotype, resulting in a negative evaluation of an applicant. Consistent with the premise of modern racism, these negative judgments are likely made automatically, not consciously. However, when accent alone or ethnicity alone is perceived, a single cue may not be enough to trigger modern racism. Because research inconsistently has demonstrated lower evaluations of minority applicants (Lewis & Sherman, 2003;

Mullins, 1982; Vrij & Winkel, 1994), it may be a combination of cues that elicit modern racism. In other words, when two minority ethnic cues are paired together, the ethnicity of the target person is clearer, evoking automatic negative stereotypes. However, if only one cue is present, the ethnicity is less clear, which may trigger a more conscious process of evaluation.

Modern Racism and the Complex Effects of Ethnic Cues

Racial and ethnic demographic classifications may solicit categorical reactions and decisions that really mask underlying subtle cue effects related to individuals who are members of those categories. Modern racism could be a potential explanation for such effects. Racial prejudice is defined as "an unfair negative attitude toward a social group or a person perceived to be a member of that group" (Dovidio, 2001, p. 329). Prior to the Civil Rights era, prejudice was viewed as a psychopathology, with those perpetuating prejudice as individuals in need of reform (Dovidio, 2001). Racial prejudice was defined as blatant and overt. However, this "old fashioned" racism soon melted into a more implicit form of racism, or "modern racism" (McConahay, 1986). This more subtle racial prejudice was recognized as a normal process that emerged from, and was perpetuated by, socialization and social norms (Dovidio, 2001).

As unintentional and subtle, individuals who are high in modern racism may denounce racism, but still act in ways that discriminate against others without consciously doing so (Dovidio, 2001). Modern racists espouse egalitarianism, so they do not openly discriminate. However, their underlying feelings may lead them to engage in unintentional discrimination when another factor exists to sway their decision (Dovidio, 2001). For example, Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) discovered that when applicants had marginally acceptable qualifications, Black candidates were less often selected than White candidates, although their qualifications were identical. However, when qualifications were low (i.e., a clear need to reject the candidate) or qualifications were high (i.e., a clear decision to select the candidate), bias was not evident.

Modern racism, hereafter, referred to as modern ethnicity bias, offers researchers the context for less detectable discrimination in the workplace. Whereas blatant or "old-fashioned" racism is unacceptable and illegal as a means for making selection decisions, subtle cues may be triggering unconscious or implicit forms of ethnicity bias in judgments and decisions.

A combination of ethnic minority cues (i.e., as opposed to a single cue) may be more likely to trigger an unconscious and automatic negative reaction because of the salience of the cues and the ease in which one is more confident about placing someone in a class or category; essentially, stereotyping.   Further, "when one's attention is differentially directed to one portion of the environment rather than to others, the information contained in that portion will receive disproportionate weighting in subsequent judgments" (Taylor & Thompson, 1982, p. 175).   Thus, observing a combination of two or more ethnic cues might lead to an unconscious, automatic, negative labeling of an individual. However, a single ethnic cue is less likely to trigger an automatic stereotype. In this case, a single cue might trigger a more conscious process of labeling an individual. When an individual is conscious of placing another into a class or category, stereotyping due to modern racism is less likely to occur.

Hypotheses

Based on the previous discussion, we argue that the interaction of ethnic cues (i.e., ethnic name and accent) is more likely to elicit ethnic stereotypes and negative appraisals than a single cue. Thus, the following hypothesis is proposed:

Hypothesis 1: Ethnic name and ethnic accent will interact to predict unfavorable judgments about the applicant and a reduced likelihood of deciding to hire the applicant. The synergistic combination of two ethnic cues (i.e., when both ethnic name and ethnic accent are present), will lead to the most negative judgments of applicants.

Within the context of modern ethnicity bias, individuals may unconsciously attend to the ethnicity without recognizing its impact on their decisions. We expect that those who have an ethnicity bias will react more negatively to ethnic cues and will be more likely to hold unfavorable judgments about ethnic minorities than those who do not have an ethnicity bias. Further, these judgments will likely affect interviewers' decisions to hire ethnic minorities. In accordance with the previous discussion of ethnicity bias, it would be expected that ethnic applicants also would be judged less favorably in an interview context by both minority and non-minority interviewers. In light of the relationship between prejudicial attitudes, stereotypes, and perceptions of ethnic group members, the following relationship is hypothesized:

Hypothesis 2: The ethnicity of the applicant will interact with modern ethnicity bias such that the negative relationship between the ethnicity of the applicant and judgments and decisions to hire the applicant will be exacerbated when modern ethnicity bias is high.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and twelve students enrolled in basic management courses at a large southeastern university voluntarily participated in this study in exchange for extra course credit. The mean age of the participants was 22 with a range from 18 to 47 years. The average total work experience was 2.7 years. The ethnicity composition of the sample was as follows: 66% Caucasian (not of Hispanic origin); 18% African American; 11% Hispanic; 4% Asian / Pacific Islander; and 1% Other. For data analysis purposes, the following three classifications were used for *participants' ethnicity*: 0 = Caucasian / White (not of Hispanic origin); 1 = Other Minorities; 2 = Hispanic. Fifty-six percent of the participants were male.

Procedure

Although previous employment interview research has examined ethnicity cues on interviewer decisions, the study of Hispanic ethnicity has been neglected relative to other minority applicants (Lin, Dobbins,

& Farh, 1992). This dearth in research persists even though the Hispanic segment of the population is growing rapidly in the United States (Grow, 2004; Mosisa, 2002; Sanchez & Brock, 1996), and despite evidence that biases against Hispanic employees exist (Kenney & Wissoker, 1994; Sanchez & Brock, 1996). Thus, we chose to examine sources of bias toward Hispanics.

In order to reduce the potential of experimenter bias due to differences in sex or ethnicity, White (non-Hispanic), male doctoral students were selected and trained to administer the surveys. The administrators were personally trained by one of the researchers, and given specific written instructions to follow.

Two large entry-level management classes ($N = 115$, $N = 150$) were selected for the study. One week prior to data collection, the instructor informed these students of an extra credit opportunity that would take place the following week during the scheduled class time. The participants reported to their regular classroom where they were randomly assigned to one of four separate, prearranged rooms. All participants were told they would serve as employment interviewers, and they were asked to watch a video of a job applicant participating in an interview. However, the video in each of the rooms differed on the basis of applicant name and applicant accent. Participants were exposed to one of four conditions: a Hispanic accent with a Hispanic name, a Hispanic accent with a non-Hispanic name, a standard American-English accent with a Hispanic name, or a standard American-English accent with a non-Hispanic name.

After the participants reported to their assigned room, they were seated so that they could clearly view and hear the videotaped interview. They signed an informed consent form. The participants were instructed to imagine that they were hiring for the Human Resources Manager position. The general procedure was then explained.

The participants were given the job description and the resume with the appropriate name manipulation (Michael Fredrickson/ Miguel Fernandez) to review. The job description for the Human Resource Manager was adapted from the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (U.S. Department of Labor, 1991). The resume informed

the participants that the applicant had the following qualifications: an MBA with a concentration in Human Resource Management from a large state university (3.7 Grade Point Average - GPA); a B.S. in Business Administration from a large state university (3.5 GPA); and internship experience with two major corporations, performing duties such as designing training programs, updating job position descriptions, and working with salary surveys.

Finally, the participants watched the ten-minute videotaped job interview that included the accent manipulation and name manipulation (i.e., ethnicity cue), and then answered a two-part anonymous survey related to the interview. When participants finished with the first part of the survey, they turned it in to the administrator and received the second matched part of the survey. The first part of the survey contained questions related to the following: the applicant's perceived characteristics, the interviewer's attitude toward hiring the applicant, decision to hire, hire decision, participant demographics, and perceptions of the videotaped job applicant's demographics.

Precautions were taken to conceal the true nature of the study. Items tapping individuals' perceptions of accent and ethnicity were embedded among many other demographic-type items. The second part of the survey included the ethnicity bias scale questions. This section of the survey was given separately in order to prevent the participants' answers on the first part of the survey from being primed by the modern ethnicity bias scale questions.

Experimental Manipulations

Early linguistics researchers often used a matched-guise technique in an experimental situation in order to control for extraneous factors. The present study utilized this approach to examine the influence of ethnicity cue (i.e., name) and accent in the interview process by having the same actor perform identical interview scripts while the accent and ethnicity cues of the actor were manipulated. With this technique, factors such as

appearance and voice tone were held constant in order to focus on the variables of interest (i.e., accent and ethnicity cue).

When creating the matched-guise videotapes for the accent and ethnicity cue manipulations, details were thoroughly considered to insure quality manipulations. An experienced videographer donated her time and equipment to the project, including a professional video camera, lights, and microphones. An interview script, adapted from research by Howard and Ferris (1996), was used to ensure the same information was communicated in all conditions. The interview script combined with the applicant's resume showed that the applicant was articulate, enthusiastic and motivated, as well as highly qualified for the position with the relevant university degrees and work experience.

Accent. Auditions were held in order to find an actor for the applicant role who had the ability to speak with a standard American-English accent and a Hispanic accent. The chosen actor was a White male who had experience with theater and with national commercials in both Spanish and English. Three linguistic experts independently verified the realism and the understandability of the Hispanic accent. The actor was instructed to keep body movements, facial expression, and posture as similar as possible in both the accented and non-accented conditions. Because the applicant was the same person in both videos, factors such as applicant attractiveness, tone of voice, and other mannerisms were virtually identical. Finally, the actor wore the same conservative business suit and tie in both conditions.

The second actor, a male with a standard American-English accent, assumed the role of the interviewer and was not shown in the video to prevent interference with the manipulations. Both actors had microphones, with the applicant's microphone hidden under his clothing to prevent interference with realism. Participants were either exposed to the Hispanic-accented applicant (coded 1) or to the standard American-English accent (coded 0).

Name. For the name manipulation, two identical resumes were constructed, with the only difference being the name. Miguel Fernandez was used for the Hispanic ethnic cue, and Michael Fredrickson was used for the non-Hispanic ethnic cue. Thus, participants encountered one of the following four conditions: Miguel with a standard American-English accent; Miguel with a Hispanic accent; Michael with a standard American-English accent; or Michael with a Hispanic accent. Additionally, the videotapes were professionally edited to reinforce the name manipulation by inserting the title "Human Resource Manager Applicant: Michael Fredrickson (Miguel Fernandez)" into the introduction. At the beginning of the videotaped interviews, the applicant name was displayed for approximately seven seconds. Editing also was used to insert the beginning segment of dialogue in which both the interviewer and the applicant use the appropriate applicant name for added emphasis. The participants were asked to write the applicant name on the survey to check that they were aware of the name manipulation. All of the participants correctly recorded the applicant's name.

The main actor (Miguel/ Michael) was a White male. Care was taken to choose an individual with physical characteristics such as white skin, brown eyes, and brown hair that could typically be considered either Anglo American or Hispanic American. This race/gender mix was chosen in an effort to control for the potentially negative effect of other races and sex, because white males are still predominant in high-status positions in U.S. organizations (Ely, 1995). Controlling the race of the individual was imperative; as previously mentioned, past studies examining biases against Hispanics have failed to control for this potentially important factor. The participants were exposed to either Michael (non-Hispanic, coded 0) or to Miguel (Hispanic, coded 1).

Model Variables

Interviewer perceptions of applicant accent. Perceptions of accent were measured with an item used in previous linguistics research (Ryan, Carranza, & Moffie, 1977). This item was embedded with other items that measured the applicant's perceived characteristics in an effort to conceal the fact that accent was a main

variable of interest in the study. Participants rated the applicant on a seven-point scale ranging from *ethnic accented speech* to *Standard American accented speech* (e.g., television/radio accent). Higher scores indicate perceptions of ethnic accented speech.

Interviewer perceptions of applicant ethnicity. The participants indicated which of the following categories they believed applied to the video applicant: Caucasian (0); African American (1); Hispanic (2); Native American (3); Asian/ Pacific Islander (4); and Other (5). These categories for race/ethnicity were based on EEOC guidelines. Perceived ethnicity was coded "0" for Caucasian, "1" for Other Minority, and "2" for Hispanic.

Modern ethnicity bias. Currently, no published modern ethnicity bias scale exists in the research literature that focuses specifically on Hispanics. Therefore, a scale was derived from McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale in order to specifically assess the degree of the participants' biases against Hispanics.

The Modern Racism Scale was originally designed to inconspicuously measure prejudice against African Americans (McConahay, 1986). In our scale, all occurrences of the word "African American/s" were changed to "Hispanic/s". In addition to the word adaptations, five items were added to the scale based on research examining controversial issues related to Hispanics, such as Spanish language usage in the United States, border crossing issues, affirmative action, and treatment of migrant farm workers. One item that related to segregation issues appeared to be irrelevant to Hispanics, so it was adapted to reflect issues related to Hispanics and school language issues.

All of the items were significantly correlated, and the Cronbach alpha reliability estimate was .79 in this study, and .85 in an earlier pilot study. Evidence of the construct validity (Nunnally, 1978) of our measure is demonstrated in the present study by virtue of its significant negative correlation with perceptions of Hispanics ($r = -.42$, $p < .001$). Participants who have higher scores on the modern ethnicity bias scale tend to describe Hispanics in more negative terms than those with lower scores on the scale. Please see the Appendix for all of

the items included in the modern ethnicity bias scale. Participants responded to a 7-point scale (7 = *strongly agree* and 1 = *strongly disagree)* with higher numbers indicating greater levels of prejudice.

This scale was designed to be less vulnerable to social desirability effects due to the type of questions used. The items used for this scale dealt with issues that are political in nature (e.g., Discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States), instead of directly asking the respondent about their prejudice (e.g., Do you believe that Hispanics are less industrious than non-Hispanics). Therefore, it assessed prejudice in a less conspicuous manner than previous scales.

Interviewer judgments of applicant characteristics. Participants' judgments of the applicant's characteristics were assessed by asking the participants to rate the applicant on twenty-six bipolar pairs of adjectives using a seven-point scale, with 7 as the anchor for favorable traits and 1 as the anchor for unfavorable traits (α = .87). The adjective pairs were adapted from previous research focusing on characteristics of the ideal employee, effective top managers, and motivated workers (Larkin & Pines, 1979), and from research concentrating on Hispanics and accent discrimination by employment recruiters (Brennan & Brennan, 1981). The following are examples of the adjective pairs used: unsuccessful-successful, lazy-industrious, unstable-stable, and tardy-prompt.

Interviewer decision to hire. Three statements, coded 1-7 (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree; α = .94), measured interviewers' decision to hire the applicant. The scale items were: "I will probably NOT hire the applicant for the Human Resource Manager position" (reverse-coded); "It is likely that I WILL hire the applicant for the Human Resource Manager position"; and "I plan to hire the applicant for the Human Resource Manager position." Higher scores indicate a stronger decision to hire the applicant.

Control Variables

Social desirability. Because past research has indicated that social desirability among raters may affect the results of ethnicity-oriented studies (Mullins, 1982), an abbreviated 10-item form of the social desirability

scale was used (Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972) (coded 1-7, with 1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree; $\alpha = .70$) as a control variable. Higher scores indicate a tendency to give socially desirable responses.

Accent understandability. Due to concerns that negative evaluations might be due to the applicant not being understandable, and not due to the ethnic cues of accent and name, we controlled for the understandability of the applicant. We asked participants to indicate their ability to understand the applicant's speech on a one-item, seven-point scale that ranged from "not understandable accent" to "understandable accent". Higher scores indicate a higher degree of understandability.

Participants' demographic features. Self-reported demographic information on participants' race/ethnicity, gender, GPA, and work experience were collected and used as control variables, based on previous research suggesting these variables may bias the results (Kenney & Wissoker, 1994; Vrij & Winkel, 1994).

<div align="center">Results</div>

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, and the zero-order correlations among study variables. After list-wise deletion of cases with missing data, 200 participants were included in the analyses. Diagonal entries indicate the internal consistency reliability estimates (i.e., Coefficients alpha). As indicated in the table, understandability and social desirability among participants had a greater number of significant correlations with the study variables than the other control variables (i.e., work experience, gender, GPA, and participant ethnicity). Following are more details regarding the manipulation checks, as well as the analytical results relating to the hypotheses.

<div align="center">

Insert Table 1 about here

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Manipulation Checks

For the manipulation checks, there were two primary considerations: the name and the accent manipulations. Among the four experimental conditions, the strongest ethnicity manipulation was when accent and Hispanic name were combined. In this case, 100% of the participants identified the applicant as Hispanic or Other Minority. When Miguel had no accent, 85% of the participants identified the applicant as Minority, and when Michael had an accent, 96% of the participants identified him as Minority. In the condition where there were no Hispanic ethnicity cues, 32% of the participants identified the applicant as Hispanic.

We conclude that the combination of Hispanic name and accent is a strong cue to the ethnicity of the applicant. However, it is also clear that only one ethnic cue is needed to trigger the identification of the applicant as Hispanic or Other Minority. Interestingly, 32% of the participants identified the applicant with no Hispanic ethnicity cues as Hispanic or Other Minority. Because all of the participants were from management classes, perhaps topics such as diversity in organizations were salient to them, which may have impacted their perception. Unfortunately, because the surveys were anonymous, no follow-up interviews were possible.

The correlation between perceived accent and the manipulated applicant accent was .79 ($p \leq .001$), which demonstrates that the accent manipulation was effective. We also asked the participants to indicate their ability to understand the applicant's speech. A mean score of 5.95 ($SD = 1.47$), on a seven-point scale, was obtained for this measure, which indicates that the applicant was generally well understood. The mean score for understandability in the Ethnic Accent condition was 5.64, and for the Standard Accent condition the mean score was 6.19 ($t = 2.63$, $df = 188$; $p \leq .01$). These results suggest that somewhat lower understandability ratings were provided when a Hispanic accent was present, but in both conditions understandability was close to 6 on a 7-point scale.

Tests of Hypotheses

We tested Hypotheses 1 and 2 using hierarchical regression, and Tables 2 and 3 provide the results of the data analyses for both hypotheses. To test Hypothesis 1, we entered the control variables, social desirability, modern ethnicity bias, work experience, GPA, participant ethnicity, perceived accent understandability, and participant gender in the first step of the regression analysis predicting the favorability of judgments of the applicant. At step two, we entered the name cue manipulation and accent cue manipulation variables, and in step three, we entered the interaction of the name cue and accent cue manipulations. Step three produced a significant interaction effect ($\Delta R^2 = .021$, $F_{1,189} = 5.157$, $p < .05$) for the prediction of interviewers' judgments of the applicant. These results are presented in Table 2, indicating that Hypothesis 1 was partially supported. Namely, applicant name and accent interacted to predict interviewers' favorable judgments of the applicant. The name and accent interaction was not significantly related to decision to hire.

Insert Table 2 about here

Procedures outlined by Cohen and Cohen (1983) were used to compute regression equations showing the relationship between accent and favorable judgments of the applicant for the Hispanic and non-Hispanic name conditions. A graphic representation of these equations is shown in Figure 1.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Figure 1 demonstrates that perceptions of the Hispanic named applicant became more negative when the Hispanic named applicant also had an accent. However, this effect did not occur for the applicant with an Anglo name, which corresponds to research that suggests accents associated with countries of lower socio-

economic status or darker skinned people are often viewed negatively (Ryan & Carranza, 1975; Callan, Gallois, & Forbes, 1983). Factors such as the applicant qualifications, clothing, physical attractiveness, and age were held constant by utilizing the same person and identical resume content. Only accent and name varied, yet perceptions of the applicant changed. Moreover, in this study, the accented applicant was fluent in English, used correct grammar, and had an understandable accent. Therefore, any accent discrimination against this individual could not be justified as a legitimate communication issue**.**

As previously mentioned, it appears that only one ethnic cue is needed to trigger interviewers to identify applicants as Hispanic. However, as expected, one ethnic cue did not result in as negative of a judgment as the synergistic effect of two cues. Interestingly, the most favorable judgment was triggered by applicants with a Hispanic name and with no accent.

Hypothesis 2 stated that participants' modern ethnicity bias will interact with the ethnicity of the applicant such that the negative relationship between ethnicity and judgments and decisions to hire will be stronger when modern ethnicity bias is high. Hierarchical regression was used to test this hypothesis, with modern ethnicity bias, perceived applicant ethnicity, and their interaction as predictors of favorable judgments of applicant characteristics and decision to hire. The results of this analysis for favorable judgments are presented in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 about here

The interaction term introduced at step 3 was not significant, which indicates that participant modern ethnicity bias was not selectively associated with judgments about only the Hispanic applicant. However, step 2 was significant ($\Delta R^2 = .059$; $F_{2,191} = 7.226$, $p < .001$). The standardized beta weight for perceived accent understandability ($\beta = .286$, $t = 4.428$, $p \leq .001$) shows that the applicant was judged more favorably when his

accent was perceived higher in understandability. The beta weight for participant GPA (β = -.188, t = -2.851, p

$\leq$ .01) and gender (β = .147, t = 2.200, $p \leq$ .05) were also significant indicating that male participants and those

with higher GPA's tended to judge the applicant less favorably than female participants and those with lower

GPA's. The beta for modern ethnicity bias (β = -.183, t = -2.627, $p \leq$ .01) shows that this variable was

negatively related to favorable judgments of applicant characteristics.

In regard to decision to hire, the interaction term introduced at step 3 was not significant, which

indicates that participant modern ethnicity bias was not selectively associated with the decision to (or not to)

hire the Hispanic applicant. However, modern ethnicity bias was also negatively related to decision to hire (β =

-.261, t = -3.564, $p \leq$ .01).

Path Analysis Results

Although the hypothesized name and accent cue interaction was related to favorable judgments of the

applicant, but not significantly related to the decision to hire, modern ethnicity bias was significantly related to

these variables. To further understand the nature of the relationship among ethnic cues, modern ethnicity bias,

judgments of the applicant, and decision to hire, we performed a path analysis using these variables. Figure 2

shows the results of the path analysis.

Insert Figure 2 about here

Figure 2 demonstrates that these causal paths explain significant amounts of variance in decision to hire

(R^2 = .23; $F_{(5,206)}$ = 12.456; $p \leq$ .001). As one would expect, a significant positive path was demonstrated

between favorable judgments of the applicant and decision to hire (β = .42; t= 6.562; p $\leq$ .001). A significant

negative path to decision to hire was also obtained for modern ethnicity bias (β = -.16; t= -2.582; p $\leq$ .01).

Significant negative paths to favorable judgments of the applicant were obtained for modern ethnicity bias (β = -.24; t = -3.703; $p \leq$ .001), and the name/accent cue interaction (β = -.31; t = -2.934; $p \leq$ .01)

Table 4 shows the decomposition of causal effects through the path model (Alwin & Hauser, 1975). The path analysis demonstrates that modern ethnicity bias indirectly affects the decision to hire through the intervening variable, favorable judgments of the applicant, but it also exerts a significant negative direct effect as well. The ethnicity cue interaction seems to affect decision to hire through its negative indirect effect on favorable judgments about the applicant, but its direct effect is not significant.

Insert Table 4 about here

Discussion

Inappropriate, inaccurate, and even illegal decisions can occur regardless of the type of human resource management selection device utilized. However, the employment interview should be a prime target for research in this area, because it is the most frequently used tool for making employment decisions, and because more than other selection devices, the interview presents considerable opportunity for the influence of subtle cues and perceptual and judgmental biases to affect decisions. The present study examined the effects of ethnic cues on interviewers' favorable judgments and their decision to hire applicants. We hypothesized that the synergistic effect of ethnic cues (i.e., ethnic name and ethnic accent), were more likely to trigger negative interviewer reactions toward an applicant than one ethnic cue or no ethnic cues. Even after controlling for participant modern ethnicity bias, support was found for the effect of an accent x ethnicity cue interaction on the favorable judgments of applicants' characteristics.

As hypothesized, the most unfavorable judgments of the applicant were triggered by the combination of ethnic name and accent. Interestingly, the most favorable judgments were triggered when the applicant did not

have an accent, but had an ethnic name. These findings can be partially explained by the expectancy-violation theory (Jussim, Coleman, & Lerch, 1978), which suggests that there often are lower expectations for minorities, and when these expectations are violated in a positive direction (i.e., no accent), evaluations will be in the direction of the violation. In other words, the Hispanic named applicant might have been viewed positively because he spoke without an accent. This theory is similar to the accommodation hypothesis reported in the linguistics field by Giles and Bourhis (1976), which states that efforts by ethnic minorities to increase similarities between themselves and the majority group are associated with more favorable evaluations. To the extent that speech style contains prejudicial triggers, it can be altered to a style that is deemed more socially acceptable. Accommodating their speech allows minority members to potentially reduce social costs and increases the likelihood of social approval. Consistent with the accommodation hypothesis, participants may have perceived the candidates to be more similar to the majority group, thus rating them more positively.

Modern ethnicity bias toward Hispanics was predicted to relate negatively to favorable judgments of the Hispanic applicant, and not relate to judgments of the non-Hispanic applicant. We examined modern ethnicity bias, perceived applicant ethnicity, and their interaction as predictors of favorable judgments of applicant characteristics, and found that the interaction was not significant. This indicates that modern ethnicity bias was not selectively associated with judgments about only the Hispanic applicant. Based on this finding, we then examined the main effects of modern ethnicity bias on judgments of the applicant, attitudes about hiring, and decision to hire the applicant.

Modern ethnicity bias demonstrated a negative relationship with favorable judgments of the applicant, and these judgments of the applicant showed a positive association with the decision to hire. Further, modern ethnicity bias had a direct negative relationship with the decision to hire. Together, these results indicate that modern ethnicity bias seems to have a negative association with the favorable judgments of, and decisions to hire all applicants, not just Hispanic applicants. Perhaps interviewer ethnic biases trigger a skeptical and

guarded view of others, which is translated into more negative perceptions of applicants in general. Additional research on the effects of modern ethnicity biases is needed. Finally, having favorable judgments of applicants is associated with the decision to hire the applicant.

Limitations of the Study

Some researchers may consider generalizability a problem when using students as interviewers. However, when examining ethnicity issues, the deviations between students and actual employees or managers may be minimal (Barr & Hitt, 1986). This may be due to the fact that students, like managers, have been exposed to similar ethnic stereotypes through the media and society in general. If stereotypes are less prevalent among students, due to more progressive ideas among the youth of society, then the evidence of ethnicity bias among students found in this study may be a conservative estimate of the ethnicity bias of practicing managers. Alternatively, it may be that practicing managers are more experienced with, and aware of, discrimination issues, and therefore would be less likely to respond in a biased manner. In order to investigate these potential differences, examining practicing professionals should help to extend this research.

A related concern is the potential lack of realism in the situation. As with most laboratory experimental situations, some realism is lost, but control is gained, by allowing for more precise manipulation of the variables of interest. Posthuma et al. (2002), in a review of the research pertaining to interviews, suggested that having participants view an interview without actively participating could lead to lack of involvement for participants, thus alleviating the responsibility that organizational members may feel in a real interview situation. Presumably, this lack of accountability could lessen participants' attention to the task at hand.

In the present study, the procedure was designed in order to increase participant involvement. Interviewers were instructed to examine the applicant's resume, to watch the interview carefully and imagine that they were actually interviewing the applicant, to rate the applicant on various aspects, and to make a hiring decision. Additionally, the use of a matched-guise video provided an opportunity to control verbal and

nonverbal cues (Posthuma, et al., 2002), which allowed accent to be teased apart and isolated from other cues in the environment.

In this study, the job description used for the applicant was for the Human Resource Manager position. The choice of this particular job description may have affected the results if participants perceived that this job was associated with a certain degree of status. Previous research by Kalin and Rayko (1978) documented varying effects due to differing degrees of job status. Specifically, they found that foreign accented applicants were given lower evaluations for high status jobs and higher evaluations for low status jobs. Therefore, different job descriptions of varying degrees of status should be examined in future research.

Further, the qualifications of the applicant for the Human Resource Manager position in this study were high, indicating the applicant was clearly qualified for the position. Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) found that ethnic bias was most likely to occur when applicants had only reasonable qualifications and least likely to occur when applicants had qualifications that were either low (i.e., clear decision not to hire) or high (i.e., clear decision to hire). This study found ethnic biasing effects even when the applicant was clearly qualified. In the workplace, it is likely that applicants will have some good qualities as well as some less attractive qualities and that interviewers are normally dealing with individuals who do not have such high qualifications that the decision to hire is clear. Thus, the results of this study may actually underestimate the degree to which ethnic biases affect the judgments and decisions of interviewers.

The results of this research also may vary depending on where the study is conducted, and on the composition of the sample. In other parts of the country, Hispanic ethnicity cues may be perceived more or less readily, and Hispanics may face more or less discrimination. For example, in the Miami, Florida, area where there is a large Cuban-American population, is there more or less accent and general ethnicity discrimination against Hispanics than in an area of the country where there is very little exposure to Hispanics? Research has found some support for the contention that ethnic minorities, like members of the majority ethnic group, tend to

have negative perceptions of ethnic accents and positive perceptions of standard accents (Ryan & Carranza, 1975; Callan et al., 1983).

Other research has suggested that individuals are more likely to gravitate toward others who are similar. For example, in a study of workgroup preferences, individuals demonstrated a clear desire for working with others who were racially similar (e.g., Hinds, Carley, Krackhardt, & Wholey, 2000). More research is needed to validate these results, and to examine various populations of Hispanics (e.g., Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans) to observe whether there are any subculture differences in responses.

Implications and Future Research Directions

A key contribution of the present study is that it allowed a closer look at the potential underlying triggers of bias in the employment interview process by examining cues associated with ethnicity. Building on this study, there are some important directions for future research. One area that needs attention is to investigate the influence of interview structure on ethnic/racial cue effects on interviewer decisions. The present study used a standard stimulus (i.e., videotaped interview) in presentation of applicant cues to an interviewer. This most closely resembles a structured interview format, where it would be argued that biases might be less observable because attention and focus is maintained on job-related content issues. Indeed, the unstructured interview tends to be where job-irrelevant information tends to emerge to influence interviewer decisions (e.g., Dipboye, 1994). It would be interesting to compare structured to unstructured interviews to see if the observed effects from this study regarding ethnic cues differ by interview format.

There has been growing research interest in recent years in the use of applicant impression management tactics, and their effects on interviewer ratings (e.g., Gilmore, Stevens, Harrell-Cook, & Ferris, 1999). Indeed, Gilmore et al. proposed an adaptation of the Ferris and Judge (1991) framework, which shows applicant impression management tactics affect interviewer decisions and actions through the potential mediating variables of liking, perceived similarity, or perceived competence. It would be interesting to investigate whether

applicants' impression management tactics overshadowed, and thus neutralized, their race or ethnicity in affecting interviewers' judgments and decisions. It might be the case that minority job applicant self-promotion tactics are successful in elevating their competence in the eyes of the interviewer to a level that eliminates any effects of ethnicity bias. This would be a new area of research because virtually no work has been done relating ethnicity to social influence (Ferris, Hochwarter, Douglas, Blass, Kolodinsky, & Treadway, 2002).

Besides interview format and impression management, future research should examine other factors that might constrain or magnify the effects of applicant ethnic/racial cues on interviewer judgments and decisions. It would be interesting to investigate the ethnicity of both applicant and interviewer in employment interviews to see if there are rating effects for ethnicity similarity. Effects of ethnicity or racial similarity on interview ratings have been reported for both African Americans (McFarland, Sacco, Ryan, & Kriska, 2000; Prewett-Livingston, Feild, Veres, & Lewis, 1996), and for Hispanics (Lin et al., 1992). However, all three of these studies used panel interviews as opposed to the more conventional one-on-one interviews. Because one-on-one interviews would seem even more likely to produce ethnic/racial similarity effects (Sacco, Scheu, Ryan, & Schmitt, 2003), interview scholars should proceed in this direction.

Additionally, we would suggest that future research investigate the area of person -organization fit as it relates to interviewer decision making regarding ethnic/racial cues. Some recent work has proposed social-cognitive theoretical underpinnings for an integrative theory of multidimensional fit that focuses on a prototype-matching approach (Wheeler, Buckley, Halbesleben, Brouer, & Ferris, 2005). Most fit research in the employment interview has investigated supplementary fit, which considers how applicants seek to match particular characteristics they possess to the employing organization's environment. The investigation of ethnic/racial cues in the area of person-organization fit would be applicable to the concept of complimentary fit, whereby applicants' personal attributes and characteristics are viewed as adding something new that is not presently found in the organizational environment.

Future research is needed to determine if the results found in this study replicate to other scenarios or samples. One area for further exploration is investigate whether name and accent cues trigger interviewer perceptions based on country of origin as well as race. For instance, is a Caucasian applicant with a Russian accent and Russian name perceived more negatively or positively than when the applicant has a Russian name and no accent, or a Russian accent and non-Russian name? Furthermore, future research may address the extent to which these effects occur in decision-making processes with internal applicants (e.g., promotions, opportunities for training). Perhaps these efforts will help delineate the relative strength of name and accent cues in different samples, as well as identify situations in which the effects generalize.

The results of the present study suggest the need for continued efforts to increase the effectiveness of interviewer judgment and decision making. As demonstrated in this study, interviewers are vulnerable to making biased judgments about applicants. Potential solutions to reducing interviewer biases include training interviewers, structuring the rating procedures, using multiple interviewers, using videotaped interviews, and selecting effective interviewers. In particular, future research focused on interviewer training is needed. Although there is evidence that trained interviewers may be able to make more objective hiring decisions, most interviewers still do not receive much training, if any at all, before being allowed to conduct employment interviews (Howard & Ferris, 1996; Kennedy, 1994). More research is needed that explores the effectiveness of interviewer-training methods in reducing biases.

Interviewer characteristics, besides a bias toward ethnic minorities, also should be examined in future research. For example, international experience may be correlated with more positive perceptions of applicants with diverse characteristics, such as non-standard accents. Personality differences among interviewers also may be important in this research. Perhaps interviewers that rate high on the "openness to experience" dimension of the Five-Factor Model of personality are less likely to be prejudiced toward ethnic minorities, or less likely to

apply these prejudices toward particular job applicants. Openness to experience or extraversion of the trainees also may be important individual difference variables related to the effectiveness of interviewer training.

Conclusion

This study offers several notable contributions to the research literature. First, because it allows for excellent control in experimental conditions, the matched-guise technique was employed in the present study. Although this technique has not been widely used in management research to date, perhaps the present study will encourage researchers to consider using this type of methodological approach in studying organizational phenomena. Second, this research separates the effects of accent from the effects of ethnicity cues. Previous ethnicity research generally has failed to separate the confounding factors of accent and ethnicity, factors that appear to have interactive effects. The results of the present study indicate that, to a degree, interviewers are still allowing illegal and often irrelevant factors, such as the combined effects of ethnicity and accent, to affect judgments and decisions about job applicants, instead of focusing only on job-related qualifications. In essence, we are still judging the book by the cover rather than solely by the contents.

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Figure Captions

Figure 1

Graphic Representation of Name Cue x Accent Cue Interaction on Interviewer Judgment of

Applicant

Figure 2

Path Analysis of the Effects of Modern Ethnicity Bias, Name Cue and Accent Cue on Interviewer

Judgment of Applicant and Interviewer Decision to Hire

Figure 1

For Hispanic Name: Interviewer Judgment of Applicant = -.237 x Accent + 5.411

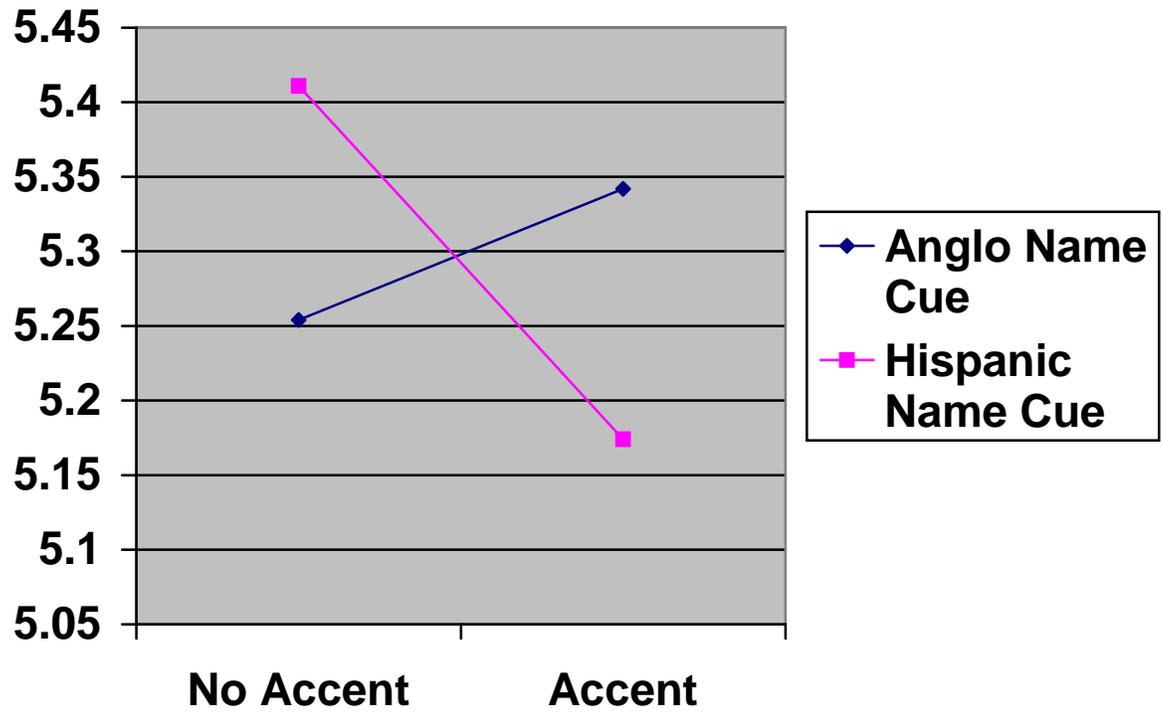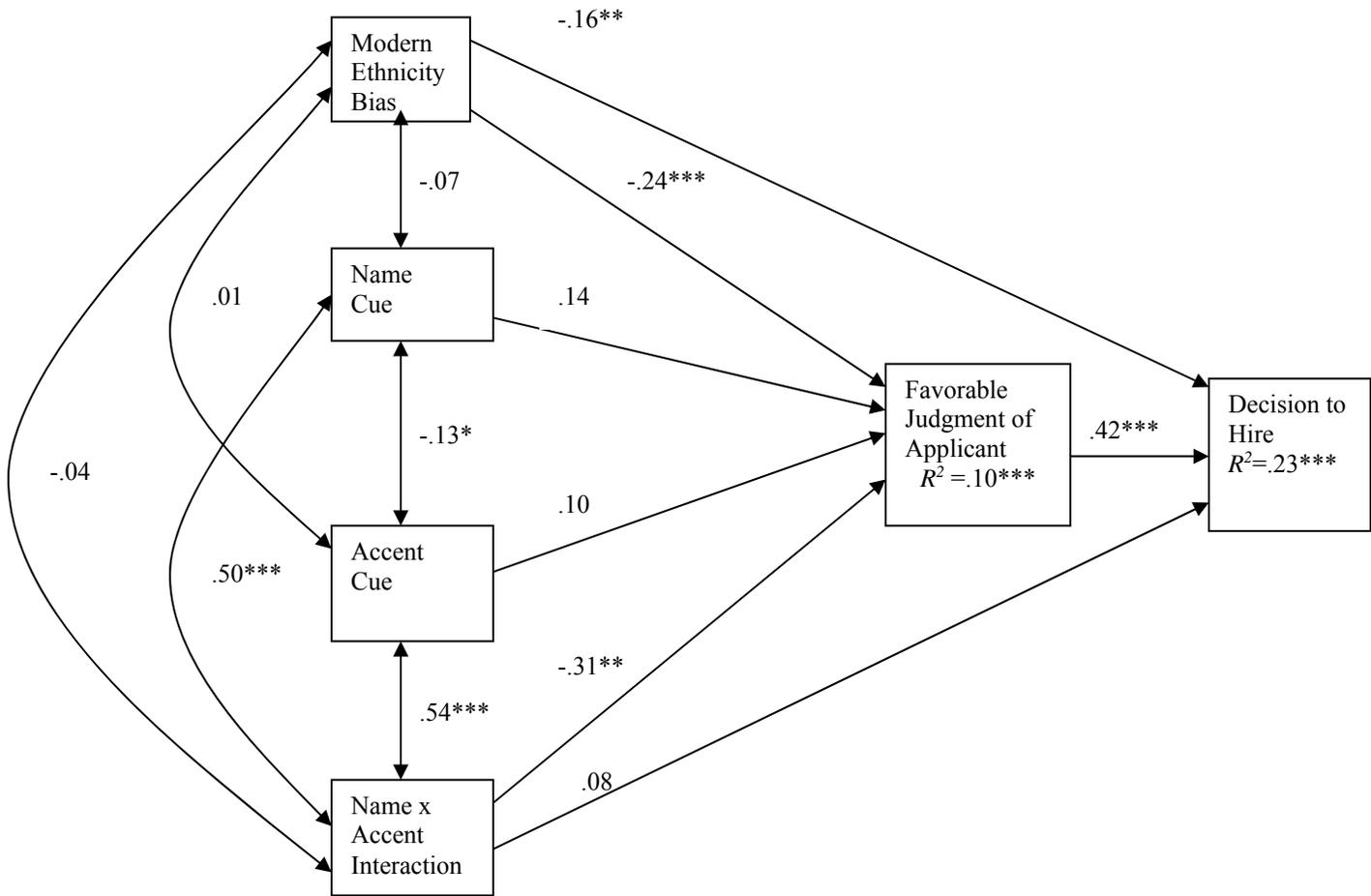For Anglo Name: Interviewer Judgment of Applicant= .088 x Accent + 5.254

Figure 2

Numbers on paths are *r*'s (i.e., double arrows) and β's (i.e., single arrows).

*   *p* ≤ .05
**   *p* ≤ .01
*** *p* ≤ .001

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Study Variables (Diagonal Values Are Reliabilities)
(*N*=200)

		M	SD.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1	Applicant Name[a]	0.52	0.50	-												
2	Applicant Accent[b]	0.46	0.50	-.118*	-											
3	Perceived Accent	3.70	1.97	-.122*	.792***	-										
4	Perceived Accent Understandability	5.95	1.47	.114	-.198**	-.155*	-									
5	Perceived Applicant Ethnicity[c]	1.53	0.80	.312***	.380***	.376***	-.014	-								
6	Modern Ethnicity Bias	3.18	0.95	-.064	-.017	.060	-.086	-.065	.84							
7	Interviewer Favorable Judgment of Applicant	5.09	0.54	.032	-.094	-.146*	.292***	.172**	-.223***	.87						
8	Interviewer Decision to Hire	5.10	1.60	.035	-.002	-.039	.172**	.116*	-.286***	.447***	.94					
9	Social Desirability	4.36	0.87	-.028	.036	.020	.071	-.053	-.192**	.151*	.160*	.70				
10	Work Experience (Months)	5.05	3.65	.061	-.123*	-.032	.019	-.075	-.145*	-.076	-.071	.160*	-			
11	Grade Point Average	3.00	0.43	.013	.034	-.039	.001	.025	.009	-.148*	-.058	-.042	-.052	-		
12	Participant Ethnicity[d]	0.47	0.70	-.027	.096	.156*	.005	.037	-.294***	.035	.083	-.001	-.053	-.131*	-	
13	Participant Gender[e]	0.46	0.50	-.078	.093	-.014	-.089	.040	-.105	.118*	.061	-.028	-.140*	.186**	.082	-

[a] 0= Anglo name cue; 1= Hispanic name cue
[b] 0= North American English accent; 1= Hispanic accent
[c] 0= Caucasian; 1= Other Minority; 2= Hispanic
[d] 0= Caucasian; 1= Other Minority; 2= Hispanic
[e] 0= Male; 1= Female

One-tail significance
   * $p \leq .05$
  ** $p \leq .01$
 *** $p \leq .001$

Table 2

Hierarchical Regression of Interviewer Favorable Judgment of Applicant on Name Cue, Accent Cue, and Their Interaction (N =200)

	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
Independent Variables	**B**	**β**	**t**	**B**	**β**	**t**	**B**	**β**	**t**
Control Variables									
Accent Understandability	.104	.283	4.331***	.099	.270	4.017***	.089	.242	3.584***
Social Desirability	.068	.109	1.632	.114	.071	1.694	.071	.115	1.723
Work Experience	-.018	-.120	-1.790	-.019	-.128	-1.889	-.018	-.120	-1.787
GPA	-.234	-.185	-2.768**	-.231	-.183	-2.726**	-.225	-.179	-2.682**
Participant Ethnicity[a]	-.052	-.067	-0.971	-.047	-.061	-0.878	-.036	-.047	-0.683
Participant Gender[b]	.161	.149	2.204*	.165	.152	2.240*	.161	.149	2.213*
Modern Ethnicity Bias	-.112	-.197	-2.790**	-.112	-.197	-2.776**	-.109	-.192	-2.739**
Predictor IV's									
Name Cue Manipulation[c]				.005	.005	0.074	.157	.145	1.613
Accent Cue Manipulation[d]				-.071	-.065	-0.965	.088	.081	0.872
Name-Accent Product							-.325	-.243	-2.271*
Intercept	5.275		13.349***	5.314		13.262***	5.254		13.223***
Regression Statistics									
R	.441			.446			.469		
F (df) Regression	6.639 (7,192)***			5.242 (9,190)***			5.337 (10,189)***		
Adj. *R²*	.166			.161			.179		
ΔR²	.195			.004			.021		
F (df) of *ΔR²*	6.639 (7,192)***			.478 (2,190)			5.157 (1,189)*		

[a] 0= Caucasian; 1= Other Minority; 2= Hispanic
[b] 0= Male; 1= Female
[c] 0= Anglo name cue; 1= Hispanic name cue
[d] 0= North American English accent; 1= Hispanic accent
Two-tail Significance: * $p \leq .05$;   ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression of Interviewer Favorable Judgment of Applicant on Modern Ethnicity Bias, Perceived Applicant Ethnicity, and Their Interaction ($N = 200$)

Independent Variables	Step 1			Step 2			Step 3		
	B	β	t	B	β	t	B	β	t
Control Variables									
Accent Understandability	.110	.299	4.508***	.105	.286	4.428***	.105	.285	4.390***
Social Desirability	.088	.142	2.119*	.073	.118	1.787	.073	.117	1.774
Work Experience	-.013	-.091	-1.345	-.016	-.108	-1.627	-.016	-.108	-1.625
GPA	-.228	-.180	-2.652**	-.238	-.188	-2.851**	-.237	-.187	-2.826**
Participant Ethnicity[a]	-.007	-.009	-0.130	-.053	-.069	-1.010	-.052	-.067	-0.978
Participant Gender[b]	.185	.170	2.496*	.159	.147	2.200*	.159	.147	2.199*
Predictor IV's									
Perceived Ethnicity[c]				.110	.163	2.539*	.083	.123	0.506
Modern Ethnicity Bias				-.104	-.183	- 2.627**	-.117	-.206	-1.378
Product							.008	.046	0.171
Intercept	4.724		13.561***	5.057		12.674***	5.099		10.879***
Regression Statistics									
R	.403			.470			.470		
F (df) Regression	6.229 (6,193)***			6.780(8,191)***			5.999(9,190)***		
Adj. R^2	.136			.189			.184		
ΔR^2	.162			.059			.000		
F (df) of ΔR^2	6.229 (6,193)***			7.226 (2,191)***			.029(1,190)		

[a] 0= Caucasian; 1= Other Minority; 2= Hispanic
[b] 0= Male; 1= Female
[c] 0= Caucasian; 1= Other Minority; 2= Hispanic
Two-tail Significance: * $p \leq .05$;   ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$

Table 4

Decomposition of Direct and Indirect Effects for Modern Ethnicity Bias and Name/Accent Cue Interaction on Decision to Hire

Coefficients (β)

Independent Variables	Dependent Variables		
	Favorable Judgment of Applicant	Decision to Hire Step 1	Decision to Hire Step 2
Modern Ethnicity Bias	-.244***	-.267***	-.163*
Name Cue	.144	.018	-.043
Accent Cue	.101	.039	-.004
Name x accent	-.314**	-.028	.105
Favorable Judgment of Applicant			.423***

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	Total Effect	Indirect Effect via Favorable Judgment of Applicant	Direct Effect
Favorable Judgment of Applicant	Modern Ethnicity Bias	-.244	----	-.244
	Name Cue	.144		.144
	Accent Cue	.101		.101
	Name x Accent	-.314		-.314

Decision to Hire	Modern Ethnicity Bias	-.265	-.103	-.162
	Name Cue	.061	.061	.000
	Accent Cue	.042	.042	.000
	Name x Accent	-.051	-.132	.081
	Favorable Judgment of Applicant	.421		.421

Appendix

Please indicate the degree to which you *disagree* or *agree* with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate number.

1. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Hispanics than they deserve.
    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

2.   It is easy to understand the frustration of Hispanics in America.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

3. Discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the United States.
    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

4. Over the past few years, Hispanics have gotten more economically than they deserve.
    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

5.   Hispanics have more influence upon school language issues than they ought to have.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

6. Hispanics are getting too demanding in their push for the usage of the Spanish language.
    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

7.   Hispanics should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

8.   Hispanics are taking advantage of their minority status.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

9.   Hispanics are taking too many jobs from non-minorities.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

10. Migrant farm-workers have been treated poorly in many instances.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

11. Hispanics often intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers in their conversations.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

12. Mexicans crossing the US border are often dealt with too harshly.

    Strongly Disagree 1   2   3   4   5   6   7 Strongly Agree

Modern Ethnicity Bias Scale (Adapted from McConahay's Modern Racism Scale, 1986). Items 1 through 7 are adapted from the original scale and items 6 through12 are additions. Questions 2, 10, and 12 are reverse-coded.