

3-2-2004

Hypocrisy Induction to Alter Selection Decisions among Aversive Racists: Analyzing the Role of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

Andrew Biga
University of South Florida

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd>

 Part of the [American Studies Commons](#)

Scholar Commons Citation

Biga, Andrew, "Hypocrisy Induction to Alter Selection Decisions among Aversive Racists: Analyzing the Role of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice" (2004). *Graduate Theses and Dissertations*.
<https://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/961>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact scholarcommons@usf.edu.

Hypocrisy Induction to Alter Selection Decisions among Aversive Racists:

Analyzing the Role of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

by

Andrew Biga

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
Department of Psychology
College of Arts and Sciences
University of South Florida

Major Professor: Joseph Vandello, Ph.D.
Tammy Allen, Ph.D.
Toru Shimizu, Ph.D.

Date of Approval:
March 2, 2004

Keywords: selection, prejudice, implicit, explicit, motivation

© Copyright 2004, Andrew Biga

Table of Contents

List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	iv
Abstract	v
Introduction	1
Historical Perspectives on the Study of Prejudice	2
Aversive Racism	4
Implicit and Explicit Attitudes	5
Implicit and Explicit Attitudes within the Aversive Racism Framework	8
Internal and External Motivation	10
Hypocrisy Induction as a Mechanism to Reduce Prejudice	12
Present Study	14
Hypotheses	15
Method	21
Participants	21
Materials	22
Explicit prejudice	22
Implicit prejudice	22
Internal and External Motivation	24
Job applicant ratings	25
Design	26
Procedure	27
Analyses	30
Results	31
Hypotheses	31
Hypothesis 1	31
Hypothesis 2	32
Hypothesis 3	33
Hypothesis 4	33
Hypothesis 5	34
Additional Analyses	34

Hypocrisy Effect: Mediation by Emotions	34
Individual Differences	36
Discussion	38
References	44
Appendices	50
Appendix A: Modern Racism Scale	51
Appendix B: Internal/External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice	52
Appendix C: Business Hiring Decision	53
Appendix D: Hypocrisy Manipulation	62
Appendix E: Positive Affect / Negative Affect Scales	65

List of Tables

Table 1	Correlation matrix for independent variables	66
Table 2	Correlation matrix for dependent variables	67
Table 3	Cell means for (hypocrisy x applicant race) interaction	68

List of Figures

Figure 1.	Hypothesis 1	16
Figure 2.	Hypothesis 2	17
Figure 3.	Hypothesis 3	18
Figure 4.	Hypothesis 4	19
Figure 5.	Hypothesis 5	20
Figure 6.	Distribution of IAT Scores	68
Figure 7.	Mediation of hypocrisy	69

Hypocrisy Induction to Alter Selection Decisions among Aversive Racists:
Analyzing the Role of External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice

Andrew Biga

ABSTRACT

The present study will examine the effects of hypocrisy induction on selection decisions for two populations: Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced individuals. Aversive Racists are operationally defined as individuals who are low in explicit prejudice and high in implicit prejudice, whereas truly non-prejudiced individuals are defined as being low in both explicit and implicit prejudice. These two groups of people will differ on their ratings of job applicants, so that Aversive Racists will rate Black applicants lower than White applicants (with comparable job credentials) while truly non-prejudiced individuals will rate them similarly. The induction of hypocrisy will serve as a manipulation that reverses Aversive Racists ratings of job applicants; Black applicants will now be rated higher than White applicants with similar job credentials. External motivation to respond without prejudice will moderate these effects in the expected direction.

Introduction

The expression of racism has changed dramatically over the last century. Social norms now dictate that overt forms of racial prejudice are unacceptable, while more covert forms have emerged (Dovidio, 2001). Racial attitudes among Whites have generally become more liberal in the past half-century, and it is now the norm to support broad principles of equality (Schuman & Krysan, 1999; Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002). As egalitarian beliefs among Whites have become more prominent, obvious discrimination against Blacks has become unacceptable by today's legal and social standards. This has had a large impact upon hiring procedures used in organizations, but there still may be subtle biases that affect these processes.

Selection issues are a core area of research in Industrial/Organizational Psychology. Racial prejudice may still bias how employers and organizations select employees (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Prejudice can occur without an individual being aware of its influence. This basic premise has led to research on more subtle forms of prejudice that have emerged under the existing social norms that prohibit overt expressions of racial intolerance.

Covert forms of racial prejudice are not as easily detected, but still have a major impact on our society (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Traditional self-report

measures of racial prejudice do not adequately quantify subtle forms of racial prejudice. Racism has changed conceptually and new measures have been developed and researched that tap into this change, such as measures of implicit racial attitudes and motivation to respond without prejudice. The following introduction will cover four topics. First, the concept of Aversive Racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) will serve as a framework to assist in understanding how subtle prejudice manifests itself in selection decisions. Second, the distinction between implicit and explicit attitudes will be discussed in the context of the Aversive Racism model. Third, different motivational aspects of prejudice will be examined, focusing specifically on the motivation to respond without prejudice and how this factor may moderate selection decisions. Fourth, the induction of hypocrisy will be reviewed as a means to change prejudiced behavior. The goal of this research is to determine how the induction of hypocrisy is related to individual characteristics, such as implicit and explicit prejudice, in the rating of job applicants for a high status job position. External motivation to respond without prejudice will be examined to determine if this individual variable may moderate the interaction between hypocrisy induction and Aversive Racism.

Historical Perspectives on the Study of Prejudice

In order to understand the contemporary view towards racial prejudice, it is important to look back at past research on the subject. Dovidio (2001) identifies three waves of research that help to explain the current trend in the analysis of racial prejudice. The first wave, from the 1920's through 1950's, viewed racial prejudice as

a deviant pathology. With roots in Freudian theory, the authoritarian personality was seen as a major indicator of racial prejudice (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). Authoritarian personality places a large emphasis on order and respect, which manifests itself in high obedience to authority figures. Authority is not to be questioned, and these individuals value strict rules and regulations. In part because prejudice was far more widespread and normative, the authoritarian personality proved inadequate to explain prejudice.

Coinciding with the emerging cognitive revolution in social psychology in the 1970's and in contrast to the first wave, the second wave of research viewed racial prejudice as a normative process and the result of an adaptive cognitive process in which a person attempts to simplify an immensely complex world. Stereotypes serve a function that is normal and necessary. Without the ability to quickly classify people into meaningful categories, individuals would have an extremely difficult time interacting without using this simplification tool. Several similar theoretical perspectives emerged during the mid-1980s to describe prejudice as more subtle and normative. Theories of aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), modern racism (McConahay, 1986), and symbolic racism (Sears, 1988) were developed to explain the changing trend in racial attitudes that overt measures of racial prejudice were reflecting. These theories all share the theme that Whites experience a conflict between non-prejudiced values and prejudiced tendencies. Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) provided significant evidence that discrimination was still occurring in more subtle ways that would not have been detected by overt measures of racial prejudice

by using experiments that focused on helping behavior, judicial court decisions, and reaction times to positive and negative words paired with “Blacks” and “Whites.” In experiments like these, racial prejudice seemed to have become more covert and subtle in nature, while significantly affecting the behavior of individuals (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; McConahay, 1986).

Aversive Racism

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) introduced the idea of Aversive Racism to explain the contemporary nature of discrimination and prejudicial attitudes that categorize many White Americans. Overt “old-fashioned” racism is less accepted today than it once was in American society. A social norm against the expression of prejudicial beliefs and discriminatory actions against Black Americans has developed. The construct of Aversive Racism was originally proposed to describe White Americans that have strong egalitarian ideals and support non-prejudicial values, but who tend to find interactions with Blacks unpleasant and who hold some level of anti-Black sentiment. These individuals do not consider themselves to be prejudiced, but research shows that a pattern of discriminatory behavior is evident in certain situations (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). Aversive racism can only be detected when the social norms that dictate how to interact are unclear. Ambiguity allows aversive racists to act in a discriminatory fashion because they can attribute their decisions to alternative, non-prejudiced reasons. Aversive racists are able to justify their behavior by rationalizing that their actions are appropriate. While the construct of Aversive Racism has been applied to other minority groups (Dovidio, Gaertner, Anastasio, &

Sanitioso, 1992; Son Hing, Li, & Zanna, 2002), the majority of research on Aversive Racism has focused on White attitudes toward Blacks, and will be the focus of the proposed study.

Measuring racial prejudice became more difficult with the development of the social norms against its expression. A need existed for improved measures to address this issue. More covert measures, such as the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986), were developed to deal with the shift in the nature of racial prejudice. This scale is intended to be non-reactive, so that a more accurate description of a person's attitudes could be measured in contrast to earlier scales. Non-reactive scales are designed to avoid social desirability bias by wording the questions so as to not directly reveal the content of the measure (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995). The Modern Racism Scale takes into account the change in norms regarding the expression of racial prejudice; whether it promotes non-reactivity in respondents has recently been debated (Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995).

In order to avoid the issue of reactivity, recent measures have been created that attempt to circumvent conscious processing by using reaction times to measure the strength of associations between the categories of "White" and "Black" with positive or negative words. These types of measures have sparked the third wave of research on racial prejudice.

Implicit and Explicit Attitudes

The third wave of research began recently in the 1990s, with a focus on the multidimensional features of racial prejudice (Dovidio, 2001). The concepts of

implicit and explicit attitudes were incorporated into the theoretical framework established in the second wave. Implicit attitudes are defined to be “introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experience that mediate favorable or unfavorable feeling, thought, or action toward social objects” (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995, p. 8). Theoretically, implicit attitudes are automatic and outside the awareness of the individual. In contrast, explicit attitudes are conscious and under the control of the individual.

One such model that explains the co-existence of two attitudes is the Model of Dual Attitudes, proposed by Wilson, Lindsey, and Schooler (2000). The model postulates that a person’s attitudes can have two dimensions, one implicit and one explicit. These two attitudinal dimensions do not have to agree and can coexist, such that possible disagreement does not necessarily cause a state of conflict (Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000). An important distinction between dual attitudes and ambivalence is made by Wilson et al. (2000): where ambivalence can create a state of conflict, dual attitudes allow for the individual to express the most accessible attitude. Implicit attitudes are thought to be automatic and difficult to control, while explicit attitudes require cognitive effort to express. Because explicit attitudes are under the conscious control of an individual, they can be changed fairly easily, while implicit attitudes are much more difficult to alter. This has implications for how attitudes affect behavior. Even when a person has the cognitive capacity to express an explicit attitude, implicit attitudes may unconsciously influence nonverbal behavior (Wilson, Lindsey, & Schooler, 2000).

Evidence has shown that explicit racial attitudes are related to self-perceptions of behavior in interracial interactions, whereas implicit attitudes are related to actual nonverbal behavior, such as eye contact and blinking (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). White individuals' perceptions of their own behavior were related to their explicit attitudes toward Blacks in an interracial interaction. But, Black individuals' ratings of the White individual's behavior during the interaction was directly related to the White individuals' levels of implicit racial prejudice (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). This evidence supports the conceptualization of implicit and explicit attitudes controlling different types of behavior.

The distinction between implicit and explicit has fairly strong empirical support. A relatively new measure, the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz 1998), has been extensively used to measure implicit attitudes. The basic idea behind the IAT is that if two concepts are strongly associated (e.g. "Black" with negative words), then there will be a shorter response time than when the two concepts are incongruent with the stereotype (e.g. "Black" with positive words). Pressing keys on a keyboard are used to measure response times during a computerized administration of the IAT (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001). Research using this measure has explored the relationship between explicit and implicit measures. Explicit measures (e.g. Modern Racism Scale, feeling thermometer, semantic differential measures) demonstrate an average correlation of .25 with the IAT (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Nosek, Banaji, and Greenwald (2002)

found the correlation between explicit and implicit measures ranges from .08 to .47 depending on which attitudes the IAT was measuring. Although the validity of the IAT has been questioned by some authors (Bosson, Swann, & Pennebaker, 2000; Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001), its ability to measure an aspect of an individual that is distinct from explicit attitudes appears well established. The IAT, and similar measures, have shown evidence for the existence of implicit attitudes, “Thus weak correlations between explicit and implicit attitudes may not reflect weak measures, but may instead represent the nature of contemporary prejudice” (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Beach, 2001, p. 183). While implicit attitudes are outside of conscious awareness, the contextual environment has been shown to have an effect on the expression of these attitudes (Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001).

Implicit and Explicit Attitudes within the Aversive Racism Framework

Because traditional paper-and-pencil measures ask people to consciously reflect on their racial attitudes, these measures assess explicit prejudice. With a new focus on implicit attitudes, the framework of Aversive Racism has been modified to more accurately reflect the contemporary view of prejudice.

Aversive Racists are currently operationally defined as individuals who are low on explicit prejudice, but high on implicit prejudice (Son Hing, Li, & Zanna, 2002). Theoretically, high and low levels of implicit and explicit prejudice can combine to form four categories of individuals as shown in the following chart:

	High Explicit Prejudice	Low Explicit Prejudice
High Implicit Prejudice	Overt Racists	Aversive Racists
Low Implicit Prejudice	Compliant Racists (small group)	Truly Non-Prejudiced

Compliant racists can theoretically exist, although this group is not typically very large in a sample. This group of individuals may interpret the social norms to support prejudice while holding conflicting internal attitudes. Historically, compliant racists may have been more abundant during the Jim Crow era when social norms established racial prejudice as the expected position of White Americans (Pettigrew, 1959).

The present research is primarily concerned with the two groups on the right of the chart, Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced individuals. The reasoning behind this interest is that Aversive Racists, who consciously reject prejudice, may be more able to alter their subtle biases if they are more aware of how these processes operate, and thus may be an opportune group to target for intervention.

Reanalysis of the construct of Aversive Racism has led to different interpretations of the original theory. Instead of anti-Black sentiment being at the root of Aversive Racism, pro-White attitudes might instead drive this process (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997). Just because an action favors a person's in-group does not necessarily indicate negative feelings towards a person's out-group. Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) investigated past research that

supports this conclusion. A previous study surveying Whites found that positive characteristics were associated more strongly with Whites than with Blacks, whereas negative characteristics were not more associated with Blacks than with Whites. Whites and Blacks were both rated similarly on negative attributes, but not on positive attributes (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000). It seems that Whites may view other Whites in a positive manner, but view Blacks in a neutral rather than negative manner. In addition, Wittenbrink, Judd, and Park (1997) found that implicit measures of racial attitudes correlated with explicit measures of racial attitudes except for the Anti-Black scale. Aversive racists are by definition low on explicit prejudice and high on implicit prejudice, so the findings that implicit racial attitudes did not correlate with the Anti-Black scale seem to support the reanalysis of Aversive Racism as being rooted in pro-White, not anti-Black, sentiment. This has implications for the prevention of racial discrimination where social norms that dictate the inhibition of negative actions toward Blacks may not be effective because the nature of Aversive Racism is pro-White and not anti-Black (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1998). The reanalysis of Aversive Racism needs to be incorporated into current research on racial prejudice that focuses on the ideas of implicit and explicit prejudice.

Internal and External Motivation

The strength of the social norm against overt expression of prejudice makes measuring prejudice a difficult task; however, looking at prejudice from a motivational perspective has relevance. Plant and Devine (1998) postulate that there are two dimensions, internal and external, on which a person can be motivated to

respond without prejudice. This research resulted in the development of two scales that measure these two sources of motivation to respond without prejudice: the internal motivation to respond without prejudice scale (IMS) and the external motivation to respond without prejudice scale (EMS). These two sources of motivation are separate from each other, distinguishing between “people who are primarily motivated by personal concerns to respond without prejudice (i.e., internally motivated) and those who are primarily motivated by concerns over how they might appear in the eyes of others (i.e., externally motivated)” (Plant & Devine, 1998, p. 812). Each source of motivation theoretically falls on a distinctive continuum; a person could be high or low in both internal and external motivation. These motivational processes may strengthen or weaken the effects of Aversive Racism and the present research attempted to clarify this relationship.

Internal and external sources of motivation to respond without prejudice should have different effects on the expression and inhibition of prejudice. Individuals high in internal motivation should likely be consistent in their attempts to control any expression of prejudice, whereas individuals high in external motivation should be more influenced by the situational context (Devine, Plant, and Blair, 2001).

These two sources of motivation are related to implicit and explicit racial attitudes. Implicit racial prejudice is affected by the interaction between internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice (Devine, Plant, Amodio, Harmon-Jones, & Vance, 2002). Devine and colleagues (2002) showed that individuals who scored high on the IMS reported lower explicit prejudice scores than individuals who

scored low on the IMS. More importantly, individuals who scored high on the IMS scale and low on the EMS scale had lower scores on implicit racial prejudice measures. This effect was replicated with two different measures of implicit prejudice and also under conditions of cognitive busyness, suggesting “that the low levels of race bias among high internal, low external individuals are not a result of effortful control” (Devine et al., 2002, p. 844). This relationship pattern ties into the Aversive Racism framework and demonstrates that individuals high in internal motivation and low in external motivation are the most effective at inhibiting racial prejudice.

Hypocrisy Induction as a Mechanism to Reduce Prejudice

A major goal of the present research was to explore strategies for reducing bias among Aversive Racists in the ratings of job applicants and subsequent selection. One strategy used to alter undesirable behavior is a hypocrisy manipulation. Hypocrisy manipulations have been used successfully to encourage condom use, recycling, and water conservation (Dickerson, Thibodeau, Aronson, & Miller, 1992; Fried & Aronson, 1995; Stone, Wiegand, Cooper, & Aronson, 1997). In hypocrisy-induction experiments, individuals first make a public commitment requesting others not behave in a certain manner (e.g. non-prejudicial), and are then reminded of their own past behavior that contradicts this request (e.g. remembering a time when they behaved in a prejudicial manner) (Dickerson, Thibodeau, Aronson, & Miller, 1992). Hypocrisy procedures are similar to self-confrontation procedures (Rokeach, 1971) that are designed to create dissatisfaction in individuals by revealing inconsistent

information about the person's values and attitudes. Evidence shows that the hypocrisy effect is a form of cognitive dissonance (Fried & Aronson, 1995), occurring when two contradictory thoughts held simultaneously create a motivated state to resolve this contradiction. Subsequently, this dissonance may result in a self-modification of behavior. Research supports this assertion. The induction of hypocrisy has been shown to change later relevant behaviors, whereas just reminding an individual of past failures to behave accordingly or making a public request advocating the behavior alone does not elicit change (Dickerson et al., 1992). A direct change in behavior as a result of the hypocrisy induction was preferred to self-affirmative strategies designed to restore self-integrity (Stone, Wiegand, Cooper, & Aronson, 1997). Self-affirmative strategies allow individuals to avoid negative affect by focusing on positive self-attributes that are not related to the inconsistency made salient by the hypocrisy induction. In summary, the induction of hypocrisy involves reminding a person of past failures to adhere to an ideal and making a public commitment to change, in an effort to elicit actual behavioral change in the individual.

Hypocrisy induction can be very useful for studying racial attitudes and behavior. According to the Model of Dual Attitudes proposed by Wilson, Lindsey, and Schooler (2000), a person can have two separate attitudes (one implicit and one explicit), that may not agree, toward an object. Because implicit attitudes are outside of conscious control, a contradiction between implicit and explicit attitudes does not create a state of cognitive dissonance. Therefore, a person who has implicit, but not

explicit prejudice, is not necessarily motivated to change, because he/she may not be aware of his/her implicit prejudice. A study by Son Hing, Li, and Zanna (2002) found that using hypocrisy procedures to reveal inconsistency between implicit and explicit attitudes reduced prejudicial behaviors in a sample of aversive racists, but it did not have an effect on individuals whose implicit and explicit attitudes agreed. Hypocrisy makes salient this contradiction in attitudes. Using hypocrisy procedures has been shown to lower discriminatory behaviors. This has implications for selection decisions in the workplace. By using hypocrisy to expose internal contradictions, the present study will investigate its effect on fairness in selection decisions.

Present Study

The present study compared a sample of Aversive Racists to a sample of truly non-prejudiced individuals on a job applicant-rating task. Both of these groups of individuals score low on explicit prejudice, but Aversive Racists are high on implicit prejudice, whereas truly non-prejudiced individuals are low on implicit prejudice. Participants were presented with hypothetical resumes of four “applicants” for a management job. Selection ratings served as the dependent variable. Two of the applicants served as the critical comparison. These two applicants had very similar qualifications, but systematically differed by race (except in the control group, where no race information will be provided). Applicant qualifications were ambiguous for Black and White applicants. One applicant had higher scholastic achievements (grade point average), while the other applicant had greater work experience. Pre-

testing demonstrated that these two sets of qualifications are rated similarly when there were no race identifiers (Mean rating of the “superior scholastic” applicant = 70.54, mean rating of “greater work experience” applicant = 70.66, $N = 92$). In order to make sure that applicant qualifications was not a factor in the decision making process, race was applied to the two sets of applicant qualifications in a counterbalanced design. In this way, the ambiguity of the applicants’ credentials was ensured. Hypocrisy was used as a means of altering selection decisions involving race. The main prediction was that the hypocrisy manipulation would have different effects on individuals who are characterized as Aversive Racists in comparison to individuals who are characterized as truly non-prejudiced individuals.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses focused on participant characteristics (Aversive Racists versus truly non-prejudiced), situational manipulations (hypocrisy induction), and interactions between the two.

Hypothesis 1: Aversive Racists will rate Black applicants lower than White applicants, whereas truly non-prejudiced individuals will rate Black applicants similar to White applicants.

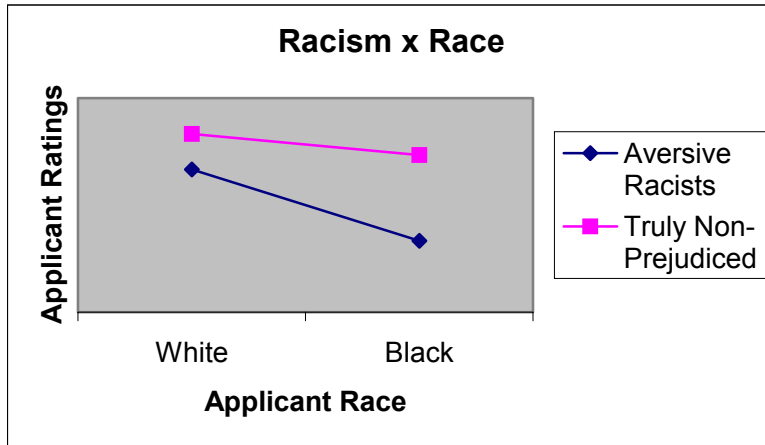


Figure 1. Hypothesis 1.

Hypothesis 2: Hypocrisy will alter applicant ratings so that participants in the hypocrisy condition will rate Black applicants higher than White applicants, while individuals in the control condition will rate Black and White applicants similarly.

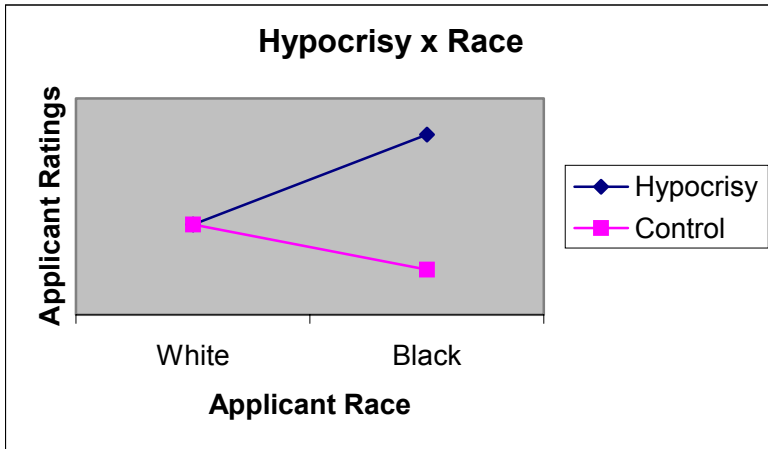


Figure 2. Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3: Hypocrisy will only have an effect for Aversive Racists. Aversive Racists who are in the hypocrisy condition will rate Black applicants higher than White applicants, whereas Aversive Racists in the control condition will rate White applicants higher than Black applicants.

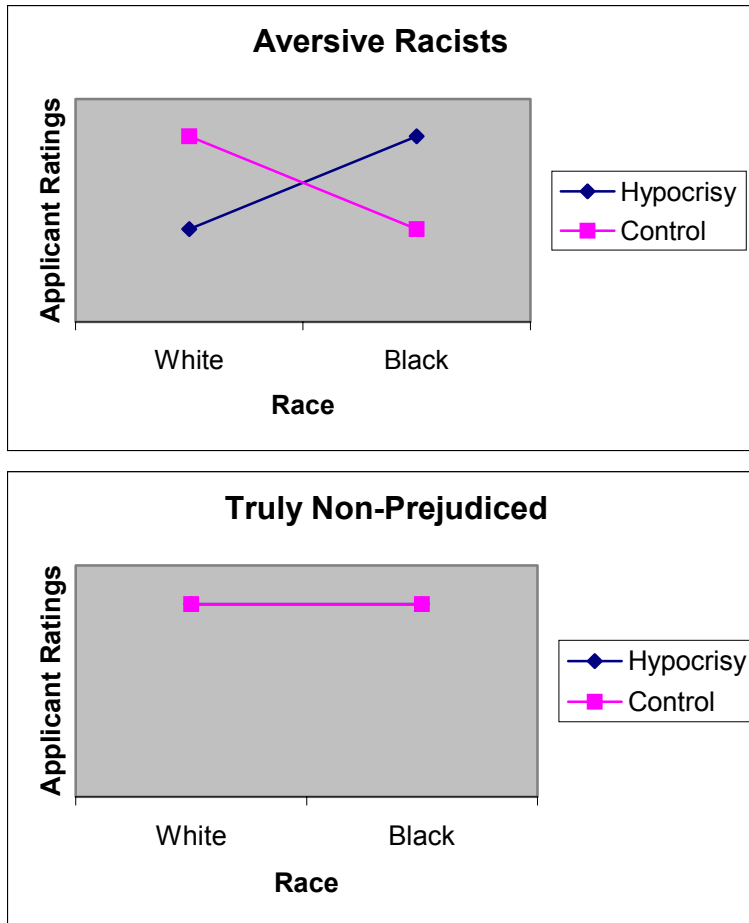


Figure 3. Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4: External motivation to respond without prejudice will affect applicant ratings for Aversive Racists, but will not affect truly non-prejudiced individuals.

Aversive Racists who are lower on external motivation will rate Black applicants lower than will Aversive Racists who are higher on external motivation to respond without prejudice.

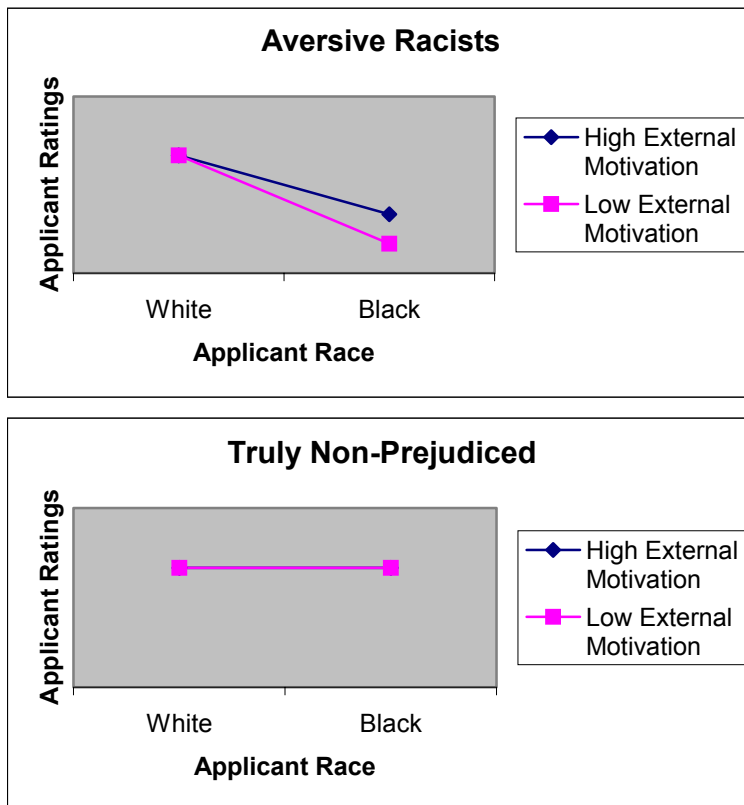


Figure 4. Hypothesis 4.

Hypothesis 5: External motivation to respond without prejudice will moderate the effect of hypocrisy so that participants who score higher on external motivation will rate Black applicants higher than will participants who score lower on external motivation.

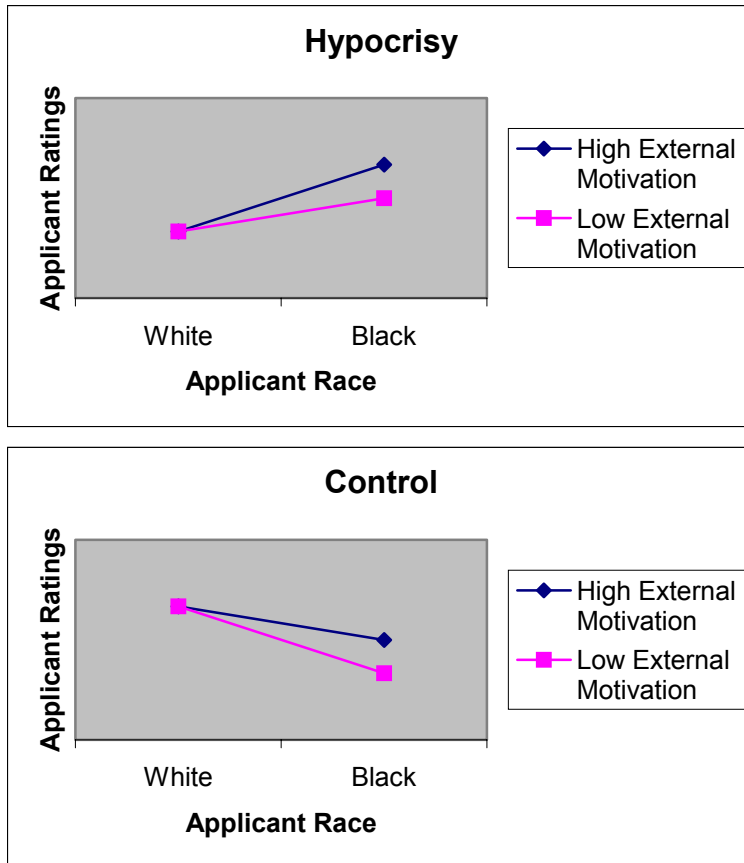


Figure 5. Hypothesis 5.

Method

Participants

Three-hundred twenty-four White undergraduates participated in the study, race being pre-selected through an online participant pool service. Seven participants identified themselves as non-Whites and were subsequently removed from the analyses. In addition, eight participants failed to fill out the Racial Climate Survey (the second part of the hypocrisy manipulation) and were removed from the analyses. A total of 309 participants were included in the final analyses. Participants were awarded extra credit in exchange for their contribution in the study. Typical of undergraduate samples, the mean age was 20.89 (SD = 4.49). In addition, the sample was 84.8% female (N = 262) and 15.2% male (N = 47).

This study is concerned with comparing two groups of individuals, Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced. These two groups are both conceptualized as being low in explicit prejudice. Participants were given an explicit measure of racial prejudice (Modern Racism Scale), and those that scored above one standard deviation were not included in the analyses that involved comparing Aversive Racists to truly non-prejudiced individuals.

Materials

Explicit prejudice. Explicit racial prejudice was measured using the Modern Racism Scale (MRS). This six-item scale demonstrated acceptable internal reliability, $\alpha = .72$. It also correlated with the Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice Scale ($r = -.48$), demonstrating some level of convergent validity. See Appendix A for the MRS.

Implicit prejudice. The Implicit Association Test (IAT) is a computerized test, which records reaction times that are used to measure implicit prejudice. The general logic of the test is that quicker reaction times indicate a stronger relationship between two concepts. For example, race can be divided up into two categories, White and Black. These two concepts are then paired with positive or negative words. A quicker reaction time for the pairing (e.g. Black faces with negative words) demonstrates a stronger cognitive association. Administration of the IAT was done in five stages: initial target-concept discrimination, initial evaluative attribute discrimination, initial combined task, reversed target-concept discrimination, and reversed combined task (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Stage one (initial target-concept discrimination) involved being able to quickly categorize faces presented on a computer screen as Black/African American or White/European American by pressing an appropriate key. Stage two (initial evaluative attribute discrimination) involved being able to categorize words as positive or negative. This stage makes sure that individuals can differentiate between positive and negative words. Stage three (initial combined task) involved combining the previous two

stages, for example White or positive versus Black or negative. Half of the trials in this stage served as practice, and the other half were actually used in the analysis. Stage four (reversed target-concept discrimination) changed the side (left or right key) that was assigned to Black or White, and the rest of stage four replicated stage one. Stage five (reversed combined task) involved reversing the combination used in stage three, so continuing with the example White would now be paired with negative while Black would be paired with positive. The rest of this stage replicated stage three, and the order of presentation was counterbalanced across multiple participants. Order of presentation does have a small effect on the expression of the IAT, so it is important to keep this in mind when interpreting the results.

The conventional algorithm requires three steps in order to analyze the data. First, response latencies that are larger than 3,000 ms were recoded as 3,000 ms; response latencies that are smaller than 300 ms were recoded as 300 ms as recommended by Greenwald et al. (1998). Second, the response latencies were log transformed before averaging them. Third, trials with error-latency (when a participant answers incorrectly to the stimulus) were included in the data (Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, in press). The IAT effect was measured by the difference between stage 3 and 5, excluding the practice portion of each stage. This final score was the difference between the initial combined task and the reversed combined task. In practical terms, higher scores on the IAT reflect a stronger association of Black with negative and a stronger association of White with positive. The assumption is that

people who strongly associate Black with negative are demonstrating an implicit form of prejudice.

The IAT has shown acceptable levels of reliability. Greenwald et al. (1998) also showed a significant modified immediate test-retest reliability correlation of .46 for implicit racial attitudes. Test-retest reliability with a delay of 24 hours revealed a correlation of .65 (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001). Overall, the test-retest reliability performed by the authors has shown modest correlations between .27 and .85. Split-half reliability correlation for the IAT were from $r = .89$ to $r = .92$ and the race IAT had an average internal consistency of .57 (Greenwald & Nosek, 2001).

In our study, the IAT data were problematic and did not replicate previous findings of a pro-White bias in White participants (See Figure 6). Caution should be used when interpreting the results involving the IAT. The difference score computed for the IAT showed little bias or difference from zero ($M = .06$, $SD = .46$). The IAT is designed so that it is difficult for an individual to control their responses, but it is possible that the participants may have been able to alter their responses in a socially desirable manner. Another explanation for the unexpected non-effect for the IAT could be the nature of the data collection. Four undergraduate experimenters collected the data. It is possible that the experimenters did not run the IAT properly, but there is not evidence to indicate this.

Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. To measure motivation, two scales were used: the Internal Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice scale (IMS) and the External Motivation to Respond Without Prejudice

scale (EMS) (Plant & Devine, 1998). The IMS and EMS are theoretically different constructs and should not necessarily relate with each other. In support of this, the IMS and EMS had a small, non-significant correlation ($r = -.05$) with each other. The IMS showed strong convergent validity, as it had high correlations in the expected direction, with the measure of explicit prejudice (e.g. $r = -.48$ for Modern Racism Scale). So, higher scores on the IMS correlated with lower levels of racial prejudice.

Because the EMS was designed to measure a person's desire to respond without prejudice because of apprehension about how others would view them if they responded in a prejudicial manner, the authors did not make any predictions about how the scale would relate to other measures of racial prejudice. The EMS had a small, but significant correlation with MRS ($r = .26$). Both scales demonstrated good internal reliability; $\alpha = .79$ for the EMS, and $\alpha = .87$ for the IMS. See Appendix B for the IMS and EMS. See Table 1 for a correlation matrix of the independent variables.

Job applicant ratings. In order to simulate a hiring selection scenario, participants were presented with four potential job applicants. Only two of these job applicants are of interest in the analysis. The other two job applicants were used as anchors for the applicant ratings, and helped to mask the true intent of this study. For this purpose, one non-target applicant had extremely high credentials and the other non-target had extremely low credentials. The two job applicants of interest had more mixed qualifications. One target had a relatively high degree of work experience, and the other target had more education. Although these applicants had

distinct qualifications, the intent was to create resumes that would be seen as roughly equal. However, the resume qualifications did have an effect on the no race control condition, such that participants favored the resume with higher experience. See Appendix C for job applicant rating task materials, including the resumes.

Participants rated the applicants using a global 1-100 scale. In addition to the global ratings, participants also rated applicants on three questions: *This is a suitable candidate for the position of Intermediary Supervisor*; *I would offer this candidate the position of Intermediary Supervisor*; and *I would offer this candidate a position somewhere in the organization*. These ratings used Likert-type responses on a seven-point scale and were combined to form a composite rating. The composite rating demonstrated acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha > .85$. See Table 2 for a correlation matrix of the dependent variables.

Design

Individuals who scored high in explicit prejudice (two standard deviations above the mean) were eliminated from the analyses that involved the Aversive Racist and truly non-prejudiced distinction, while the remaining individuals who scored low in explicit prejudice were split into two groups (Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced). Eliminating those high in explicit prejudice left 256 participants. The participants were randomly assigned to either the hypocrisy condition or the control condition. Next, one of three different versions of job applicant qualifications was given to each participant: two of the sets of resumes included applicant photos (one Black and one White) to make race a salient characteristic of each applicant

(counterbalancing across applicant resumes), while the third condition did not have any pictures in order to serve as a race neutral control. In the two race conditions, the two non-target applicants were White. Gender was held constant (only male job applicants) in order to simplify the design, but should be looked at in future research.

Participants were asked to examine and rate four job applicants. The applicant ratings served as the dependent variable. Only the two mid-qualification applicants were used in the analysis, while the other two distracter applicants were intended to be used as comparison anchors for the applicant ratings such that one applicant had superior qualifications and the other had extremely low credentials. Applicant materials were systematically altered so that there were three between group conditions.

These three initial variables constituted a 2 (Aversive Racists versus truly non-prejudiced) x 2 (hypocrisy induction versus control) x 3 (applicant race) factorial design. The fourth independent variable, external motivation to respond without prejudice, was hypothesized to be a moderator in this process and was analyzed using ANCOVA.

Procedure

Participants were presented with three stages in the study. Each stage was presented to the participants as being independent experiments in order to mask the true intent of the research due to the sensitive nature of prejudice. In the first stage, participants were given the explicit prejudice scale (MRS), the motivation scales (IMS and EMS), and the Modern Sexism Scale (to serve as a distracter). This stage

was titled “Social Attitudes” and was described as an experiment being conducted by a social psychologist in the department.

The second stage involved the computerized administration of the IAT, and was described as a test of people’s automatic cognitive associations of various categories being done by a Cognitive psychologist in the psychology department. The description was intended to prevent participants from realizing later tasks were related to the IAT.

The third section was described as a miscellaneous questionnaire packet, which consisted of the hypocrisy manipulation in the guise of a public service study being conducted by the Diversity Committee of Graduate Researchers. The hypocrisy procedure is very similar to the one used by Son Hing, Li, and Zanna (2002). In the hypocrisy condition, participants were asked to write a persuasive essay discussing the message that racial prejudice and discrimination are still problems that exist in our society. Participants were told that excerpts from these essays would be eligible for inclusion in pamphlets aimed at high school students for a “Racial Equity Forum.” See Appendix D for specific instructions. Next, the participants completed a quick cognitive filler task (e.g. a word descramble, see Appendix D) and then filled out a racial climate survey that asks the following:

The psychology department is interested in understanding issues of race relations in our culture. Specifically, we are interested in developing some scenarios based on the actual experiences of people like yourself. We would like you to take a few moments to write about examples from your past.

Briefly write about 2 instances in which you reacted negatively in some way toward an African American – for instance, treating someone in a prejudiced manner, having a negative thought or attitude, having a negative job-related or school-related experience, and so on. Keep in mind that this information will be kept confidential and anonymous.

Participants then completed a revised version of the Positive and Negative Affect Scale (PANAS; Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988) aimed at measuring feelings of discomfort and guilt. See Appendix E. This served as a check to make sure that the hypocrisy procedure worked. Previous research has shown that hypocrisy is a form of dissonance, which leads to negative feelings such as guilt (Fried & Aronson, 1995). Hypocrisy only results when an individual first publicly advocates a particular opinion, and then remembers a time in which they behaved contrary to that opinion (Stone, Aronson, Crain, Winslow, & Fried, 1994). The control condition followed these exact proceedings except the persuasive message advocated against smoking in order to ensure that just remembering a time in which a person behaved negatively toward an African American does not alone elicit guilty feelings.

The “Business Hiring Decision” task was also included in stage three. This simulated job selection scenario was described as an experiment being conducted by an industrial/organizational psychologist in the department who is interested in selection decisions. Again, participants were asked to rate four job applicants. Only two of these applicants were used in the analysis (Candidates B and C in Appendix C materials). Once a rating was obtained for each of the job applicants, the participants

were asked to give explanations for their ratings. This served as a check to ensure that the two ambiguous applicants did not differ on some important qualification other than race.

Analyses

To test the first three hypotheses, a 2 (aversive racists vs. truly non-prejudiced) x 2 (hypocrisy versus control) x 3 (applicant race) factorial ANOVA design was used.

Although implicit and explicit prejudice scores are continuous, they needed to be treated as categorical in order to create the Aversive Racist and truly non-prejudiced categories, which are interactions between the implicit and explicit measures. If left as continuous variables, interpretation of interaction scores would be problematic (that is, a high score on implicit and a low score on explicit, *or vice versa*, would result in the same interaction score).

For hypotheses four and five, ANCOVAs were performed to test for the moderating effects of external motivation to respond without prejudice, because this variable is being treated as continuous. A three-way interaction determines whether external motivation moderates the interactions between Aversive Racism and applicant ratings, and between hypocrisy induction and applicant ratings.

Results

Hypotheses

Overall, the Black applicant ($M = 81.03$, $SD = 12.29$) was rated higher than the White applicant ($M = 76.83$, $SD = 14.20$), $F(1, 205) = 17.89$, $p < .001$ on a global 1 to 100 rating. The two candidates were generally rated quite highly, but there were a few extreme outliers who gave unusually low ratings to the applicants. Twelve participants rated applicants below 50, a score roughly two standard deviations below the mean. Scores below 50 were rescored to 50 in order to lessen the effect of these outliers while keeping these individuals in the sample. When reanalyzed using the corrected scores, race still had a main effect on ratings such that the Black applicant ($M = 81.44$, $SD = 10.62$) was rated higher than the White applicant ($M = 77.60$, $SD = 11.65$), $F(1, 205) = 19.37$, $p < .001$. In addition, using the mean Likert composite revealed a similar main effect for race: the Black applicant ($M = 5.14$, $SD = 1.03$) was rated higher than the White applicant ($M = 4.49$, $SD = 1.15$), $F(1, 205) = 39.85$, $p < .001$. All analyses reported below use the corrected global ratings.

Hypothesis 1. Aversive Racists will rate Black applicants lower than White applicants, whereas truly non-prejudiced individuals will rate Black applicants similar to White applicants.

There was a significant interaction between applicant race and level of racism (Aversive Racists versus truly non-prejudiced individuals), $F(1, 163) = 4.16, p = .04$. Contrary to Hypothesis 1, the pattern of this interaction revealed that both Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced individuals rated the Black applicant (for Aversive Racists, $M = 84.05, SD = 8.56$; for truly non-prejudiced, $M = 80.64, SD = 11.80$) higher than the White applicant (for Aversive Racists, $M = 76.79, SD = 11.65$; for truly non-prejudiced, $M = 77.15, SD = 12.40$), but this effect was greater for the Aversive Racists ($F(1, 83) = 29.49, p < .001$) than for truly non-prejudiced ($F(1, 80) = 7.53, p = .007$). However, this interaction was not significant when examining the Likert composite average, ($F(1, 163) = 1.52, p = .22$). In addition, the data from the Implicit Association Test (IAT) did not replicate previous findings that found a pro-White bias (see Figure 6). Interpretation of the results involving the IAT should be made with caution. Other individual difference measures, such as explicit prejudice (the Modern Racism Scale), are addressed in the additional analyses section. These measures may be more appropriate for interpretation.

Hypothesis 2. Hypocrisy will alter applicant ratings so that participants in the hypocrisy condition will rate Black applicants higher than White applicants, while individuals in the control condition will rate Black and White applicants similarly. In support of Hypothesis 2, the induction of hypocrisy produced a significant interaction with applicant race, using both the corrected global (50-100) ratings, $F(1, 204) = 4.04, p = .046$, and the Likert composite ratings, $F(1, 204) = 4.36, p = .038$. The pattern of this interaction was such that inducing hypocrisy increased the difference

between participants' ratings of the Black and White applicant (see Table 1). When participants were not induced with hypocrisy, they rated the Black candidate 2.11 points higher than the White candidate ($F(1, 103) = 3.34, p = .07$) on the global ratings. However, this difference between the candidates increased to 5.60 ($F(1, 101) = 18.78, p < .001$) when they were made to feel hypocritical. This pattern was also found when analyzing the Likert composite. When participants were not induced with hypocrisy, they rated the Black candidate .44 points higher (on a 7 point scale) than the White candidate ($F(1, 103) = 10.38, p = .002$) on the Likert composite. This difference increased to .87 when the participants were made to feel hypocritical ($F(1, 101) = 32.19, p < .001$).

Hypothesis 3. Hypocrisy will only have an effect for Aversive Racists.

Aversive Racists who are in the hypocrisy condition will rate Black applicants higher than White applicants, whereas Aversive Racists in the control condition will rate White applicants higher than Black applicants.

Contrary to Hypothesis 3, the 3-way interaction between racism, applicant race, and hypocrisy was not significant using the corrected global ratings ($F(1, 161) = .089, p = .77$) or the Likert composite ($F(1, 161) = .755, p = .39$). The effect of the hypocrisy manipulation did not differ for Aversive Racists in comparison to truly non-prejudiced individuals.

Hypothesis 4. External motivation to respond without prejudice will affect applicant ratings for Aversive Racists, but will not affect truly non-prejudiced individuals. Aversive Racists who are lower on external motivation will rate Black

applicants lower than will Aversive Racists who are higher on external motivation to respond without prejudice.

Contrary to Hypothesis 4, the 3-way interaction between racism, applicant race, and external motivation to respond without prejudice was non-significant using the corrected global ratings ($F(1, 161) = .051, p = .82$) and the Likert composite ($F(1, 161) = .100, p = .75$). External motivation to respond without prejudice did not moderate the effect of racism on the applicant ratings.

Hypothesis 5. External motivation to respond without prejudice will moderate the effect of hypocrisy so that participants who score higher on external motivation will rate Black applicants higher than will participants who score lower on external motivation.

Contrary to Hypothesis 5, the 3-way interaction between hypocrisy, applicant race, and external motivation to respond without prejudice was non-significant using the corrected global ratings ($F(1, 202) = .048, p = .83$) or Likert composite ($F(1, 202) = .247, p = .62$). External motivation to respond without prejudice did not moderate the effect of hypocrisy on the applicant ratings.

Additional Analyses

Hypocrisy Effect: Mediation by Emotions. Hypocrisy also had an effect on the emotional state of the participants. After being introduced to the hypocrisy manipulation, participants reported their current mood by responding to twenty mood items, two of which were included to measure feelings of guilt specifically: guilty and ashamed. Participants in the hypocrisy condition reported feeling more guilty ($M =$

2.04, $SD = 1.51$) than the participants in the control condition ($M = 1.69$, $SD = 1.33$), $F(1, 308) = 4.72$, $p = .03$, and more ashamed ($M = 1.85$, $SD = 1.32$) than the participants in the control condition ($M = 1.59$, $SD = 1.10$), $F(1, 307) = 3.53$, $p = .061$.

Of the eighteen remaining mood ratings, no other significant differences emerged (all p s $> .05$), with two exceptions. Participants in the hypocrisy condition reported feeling less excited ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 1.38$) than participants in the control condition ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.53$), $F(1, 308) = 4.00$, $p = .046$, and more upset ($M = 2.46$, $SD = 1.67$) than participants in the control condition ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 1.34$), $F(1, 308) = 5.65$, $p = .018$.

Because only feelings of guilt and shame are of theoretical interest, guilt and shame ratings were combined ($\alpha = .84$). A four-step mediation analysis was run with this composite variable following the procedure outlined by Baron and Kenny (1986). Please see Figure 7 for a graphical depiction. The dependent variable was the difference between the corrected Black and White applicant ratings, with higher scores indicating a preference for the Black candidate. In step one, regressing the Black-White difference score on hypocrisy was statistically significant, $\beta = .139$, $t(205) = 1.74$, $p = .046$. In step two, regressing the guilt composite on hypocrisy was statistically significant, $\beta = .123$, $t(205) = 2.17$, $p = .031$. In step three, regressing the Black-White difference score on both hypocrisy and the guilt composite rendered guilt marginally significant, $\beta = .131$, $t(205) = 1.87$, $p = .063$, but not hypocrisy, $\beta = .116$, $t(205) = 1.66$, $p = .10$. Therefore, the effect of hypocrisy on the difference

between the corrected ratings of Black and White applicants is mediated by feelings of guilt.

Individual Differences. There was a significant interaction between applicant race and scores on the Modern Racism Scale (MRS) on the corrected ratings of the job applicants, $F(1, 204) = 16.26, p < .001$, such that those higher in racism rated the Black applicant lower than those lower in racism ($r = -.27, p < .001$) while the MRS was not related to the White applicant rating ($r = .05, p = .52$). A similar interaction resulted when the composite Likert ratings of the applicants were used, $F(1, 204) = 13.03, p < .001$.

There was also a significant interaction between applicant race and scores on the Internal Motivation to Respond without Prejudice Scale (IMS) on the corrected ratings of the job applicants, $F(1, 204) = 8.97, p = .003$, such that those higher on the IMS scored the Black applicant higher than those lower in internal motivation ($r = .22, p = .001$) while the IMS was not related to the White applicant rating ($r = -.02, p = .80$). A similar interaction resulted when the composite Likert ratings of the applicants was used, $F(1, 204) = 12.20, p = .001$.

A significant interaction was found between applicant race and scores on the External Motivation to Respond without Prejudice Scale (EMS) on the Likert ratings of the job applicants, $F(1, 204) = 3.90, p < .05$, such that those higher on the EMS scored White applicants higher than those lower on external motivation ($r = .16, p = .03$) while the EMS was not related to the Black applicant rating ($r = -.03, p = .73$).

But this interaction was not found when examining the corrected job applicant scores, $F(1, 204) = 1.32, p = .25$.

There were no significant three-way interactions between applicant race, hypocrisy, and any of the individual difference measures (all p s $> .05$). This refutes the idea that individual differences moderate the interaction between hypocrisy and applicant race on the ratings of the job applicants.

Discussion

This study examined how Whites' subtle prejudices could impact selection decisions in a hiring context. Hypocrisy was examined as a means to alter selection decisions, so that the ratings of a Black applicant would be increased. It was predicted that Aversive Racists, those individuals who show little overt prejudice but who may harbor automatic and less controllable bias, would be especially affected by a hypocrisy manipulation.

The analyses that involved comparing Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced individuals should be interpreted with caution. The IAT data were somewhat problematic in that they did not show the anticipated pro-White bias. When looking at the results for hypothesis one (Aversive Racists will rate Black applicants lower than White applicants, whereas truly non-prejudiced individuals will rate Black applicants similar to White applicants), it appears that applicant race was more of an important factor for individuals categorized as Aversive Racists. Although the results reveal a bias in favor of the Black candidate, this was only significant for the Aversive Racists. Aversive Racists are assumed to harbor some level of subtle prejudice that is automatic and implicit; a different interpretation could be that these individuals are the most uncomfortable in regards to race, or wrestle with their own ambivalence with race. When race is salient, they may try to

overcompensate for these negative feelings and actually demonstrate an out-group bias. In this study, Aversive Racists could have been primed by the emphasis of race in the social attitudes questionnaire packet (MRS, IMS, and EMS). Ideally, these prejudice measures could have been collected after the dependent variable (hiring decisions) and the IAT. Because of the hypocrisy manipulation, this was not an option. The manipulation would have probably influenced those scores; consequently, the individual difference measures needed to precede the dependent variable. Still, the IAT used to create these two groups (Aversive Racists and truly non-prejudiced) does not lead to a clear interpretation of this interaction. Other analyses that did not utilize the IAT appear to be more interpretable. When group categorization (Aversive Racists or truly non-prejudiced) was ignored, the hypocrisy effect was still found. Regardless of individual differences in prejudice, the hypocrisy manipulation caused people to rate the Black applicant higher than the White applicant.

The results support the idea that White people can be made to feel racial anxiety, which is made salient through the hypocrisy condition. This study provides evidence in support of hypocrisy as an effective strategy in altering selection decisions involving race. Unlike previous research, these findings were not dependent upon individual differences (Song Hing, Li, & Zanna, 2002). Instead this depiction described the entire sample of college students. The induction of hypocrisy increased the advantage given to the Black applicant relative to the White applicant compared to participants not made to feel hypocritical.

The hypocrisy effect appears to be driven by emotions, specifically guilt and shame. The hypocrisy manipulation created higher levels of guilt and shame than did the control condition. A mediation analysis showed that the hypocrisy effect was mediated (at least partially) by these two emotions. This result replicates previous research that has shown hypocrisy to be effective in changing behavior (Dickerson, Thibodeau, Aronson, & Miller, 1992; Fried & Aronson, 1995; Stone, Wiegand, Cooper, & Aronson, 1997), and improves upon them by showing that guilt and shame are the specific emotions that mediate the hypocrisy effect in the context of a race based decision. Further research is needed in order to examine whether or not guilt and shame, with regard to race, are distinct emotions.

The hypocrisy manipulation alters selection decisions, but this does not necessarily mean that these decisions are more objective. The goal of the hypocrisy manipulation was to change White participants' ratings of Black job applicants. Whether this type of a procedure would be useful outside of the lab setting is debatable. Further research is needed to determine whether or not these findings can be replicated in an applied setting with an older population. More importantly, research needs to determine what other consequences hypocrisy may have on individuals. It appears that guilt and shame are the emotions that are involved in this process. Using these emotions as a strategy to change behavior may or may not be appropriate in the corporate environment and could potentially have negative side effects for long-term behavior. Further research is necessary to resolve these concerns about the use of hypocrisy technique outside of the lab.

Individual differences, such as the modern racism and internal motivation to respond without prejudice, were found to predict a significant difference in the ratings of the White and Black applicants regardless of whether the participants were in the hypocrisy or control condition. The modern racism scale and internal motivation to respond without prejudice scale are highly (negatively) correlated, but are theoretically distinct constructs. Individuals who were high in modern racism rated the Black applicant lower than those who were low in modern racism. Individuals who were high in internal motivation to respond without prejudice rated the Black applicant higher than those who were lower in internal motivation. Neither of these constructs was related to the ratings of the White applicant. It appears that these individual differences were related to out-group inflation and did not affect the ratings of the in-group member. Additional research should address how this process works. Are people fairly set in their assessment of in-group versus out-group members? This study gives us a preliminary guess that there is a difference between in-group and out-group evaluations.

The results demonstrating an overall main effect for applicant race should be interpreted with caution. Due to the sensitive nature of the study (or to demand characteristics of the study), it seems premature to conclude that Whites in general inflate out-group ratings. Some scholars have used the term White Guilt to describe such a phenomenon in which a White individual actually favors an out-group member (usually in terms of racial categorization), which leads to preferential treatment for the out-group member (Steele, 2002; Swim, & Miller, 1999; Iyer, Leach, & Crosby,

2003). Limitations in the study design prevent this conclusion. The participants answered sensitive questions pertaining to race for about ten minutes before completing the IAT task. Even though these two parts of the study were said to be unrelated to the final section in which the selection task was performed, it is conceivable that the participants did not believe the experimenter or that this material primed the participants resulting in the inflation of the Black applicant ratings. In fact, follow-up data show a reverse effect. When only the selection task was performed (no prejudice measures or hypocrisy manipulation), participants rated the White applicant higher than the Black applicant. It seems that Whites can be made to feel guilt and shame due to their race, but this is not necessarily the social norm for Whites in absence of these particular cues. Further research is needed in order to resolve this issue and determine what types of cues elicit such behavior and in what context.

Improvements in the study design could be made in order to conceal the true nature of the research by posting individual difference (MRS, IMS, EMS, etc.) online as a prerequisite for participation. The disadvantage is that the IAT would be extremely difficult to administer given the data collection procedures at USF. Future research should tease apart the independent effects of hypocrisy on shame versus guilt. It seems possible that guilt (an inward-focused emotion) and shame (an outward-focused emotion) may have differing effects on whether the individual deflates the ratings of their in-group or inflates their ratings of an out-group. In addition, the effects of hypocrisy could be influenced by racial identification. For

instance, Whites who highly identify with their race may be less likely to be affected by hypocrisy, while Whites who do not strongly identify with their race may be more likely to be affected by hypocrisy. Overall, this study has replicated and extended previous research in that hypocrisy induction was shown to have an effect on Whites' ratings of Blacks, and this induction was mediated by feelings of guilt and shame.

References

- Adorno, T., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). The authoritarian personality. New York: Harper.
- Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). The moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic and statistical considerations. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *51*, 1173-1182.
- Bosson, J. K., Swann, W. B., & Pennebaker, J. W. (2000). Stalking the perfect measure of implicit self-esteem: The blind men and the elephant revisited? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *79*, 631-643.
- Brigham, J. C. (1993). College students' racial attitudes. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, *23*, 1933-1967.
- Cohen, J. (1988). Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences (2nd ed.). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A. & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *82*, 359-378.
- Dasgupta, N., & Greenwald, A. G. (2001). On the malleability of automatic attitudes: Combating automatic with images of admired and disliked individuals. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *81*, 800-814.

- Devine, P. G., Plant, E. A., Amodio, D. M., Harmon-Jones, E., & Vance, S. L. (2002). The regulation of explicit and implicit race bias: The role of motivations to respond without prejudice. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82, 835-848.
- Devine, P. G., Plant, E. A., Blair, I. V. (2001). Classic and contemporary analyses of racial prejudice. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Eds.), Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes. (pp. 198-217). Blackwell Publishing, Malden: MA.
- Dickerson, C. A., Thibodeau, R., Aronson, E., & Miller, D. (1992). Using cognitive dissonance to encourage water conservation. Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 22, 841-854.
- Dovidio, J. F. (2001). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The third wave. Journal of Social Issues, 57, 829-849.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S.L. Gaertner (Eds.), Prejudice, discrimination, and racism. (pp. 61-89). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (1998). On the nature of contemporary prejudice: The causes, consequences, and challenges of aversive racism. In J. Eberhardt & S. T. Fiske (Eds.), Confronting racism: The problem and the response. (pp. 3-32). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. Psychological Science, 11, 315-319.

- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Anastasio, P. A., & Sanitioso, R. (1992). Cognitive and motivational bases of bias: Implications of aversive racism for attitudes toward Hispanics. In S. B. Knouse, P. Rosenfeld, & A. L. Culbertson (Eds.), Hispanics in the workplace. (pp. 75-106). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., & Beach, K. R. (2001). Implicit and explicit attitudes: Examination of the relationship between measures of intergroup bias. In R. Brown & S. Gaertner (Eds.), Blackwell Handbook of Social Psychology: Intergroup Processes (pp. 198-217). Blackwell Publishing, Malden: MA.
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., & Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Implicit and explicit prejudice and interracial interaction. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *82*, 62-68.
- Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the nature of prejudice: Automatic and controlled processes. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, *33*, 510-540.
- Fazio, R. H., Jackson, J. R., Dunton, B. C., & Williams, C. J. (1995). Variability in automatic activation as an unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes: A bona fide pipeline? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *69*, 1013-1027.
- Fried, C. B., & Aronson, E. (1995). Hypocrisy, misattribution, and dissonance reduction. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *21*, 925-933.

- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). Aversive racism and intergroup biases. In S. L. Gaertner & J. F. Dovidio (Eds.), Reducing intergroup bias: The common ingroup identity model. (pp. 13-31). Ann Arbor, MI: Sheridan Books.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Banaji, M. R. (1995). Implicit social cognition: Attitudes, self-esteem, and stereotypes. Psychological Review, *102*, 4-27.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Nosek, B. A. (2001). Health of the Implicit Association Test at age 3. Zeitschrift fur Experimentelle Psychologie, *48*, 85-93.
- Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring individual differences in implicit cognition: The Implicit Association Test. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *74*, 1464-1480.
- Greenwald, A. G., Nosek, B. A., & Banaji, M. R. (in press). Understanding and Using the Implicit Association Test: 1. An Improved Scoring Algorithm. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology.
- Iyer, A., Leach, C. W., & Crosby, F. J. (2003). White guilt and racial compensation: The benefits and limits of self-focus. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *29*, 117-129.
- Lowery, B. S., Hardin, C. D., & Sinclair, S. (2001). Social influence effects on automatic racial prejudice. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *81*, 842-855.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), Prejudice, discrimination, and racism. (pp. 91-125). Orlando, FL: Academic.

- Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Harvesting implicit group attitudes and beliefs from a demonstration website. Group Dynamics, 6, 101-115.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1959). Regional differences in anti-negro prejudice. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59, 28-36.
- Plant, E. A., & Devine, P. G. (1998). Internal and external motivation to respond without prejudice. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 75, 811-832.
- Rokeach, M. (1971). Long-range experimental modification of values, attitudes, and behavior. American Psychologist, 26, 453-459.
- Schuman, H. & Krysan, M. (1999). A historical note on Whites' beliefs about racial inequality. American Sociological Review, 64, 847-855.
- Sears, O. (1988). Symbolic racism. In P. A. Katz & D. A. Taylor (Eds.), Eliminating racism: Profiles in controversy. (pp. 53-84). New York: Plenum Press.
- Son Hing, L. S., Li, W., & Zanna, M. P. (2002). Inducing hypocrisy to reduce prejudicial responses among aversive racists. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 38, 71-78.
- Steele, S. (2002). The age of white guilt and the disappearance of the black individual. New York: HarperPerennial.
- Stone, J., Aronson, E., Crain, A. L., Winslow, M. P., & Fried, C. B. (1994). Inducing hypocrisy as a means of encouraging young adults to use condoms. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 20, 116-128.

- Stone, J., Wiegand, A. W., Cooper, J., & Aronson, E. (1997). When exemplification fails: Hypocrisy and the motive for self-integrity. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *72*, 54-65.
- Swim, J. K., & Miller, D. L. (1999). White guilt: Its antecedents and consequences for attitudes toward affirmative action. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, *25*, 500-514.
- Watson, D., Clark, L. A., & Tellegen, A. (1988). Development and validation of brief measures of positive and negative affect: The PANAS scales. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *54*, 1063-1070.
- Wilson, T. D., Lindsey, S., & Schooler, T. Y. (2000). A model of dual attitudes. Psychological Review, *107*, 101-126.
- Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (1997). Evidence for racial prejudice at the implicit level and its relationship with questionnaire measures. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *72*, 262-274.
- Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (2001). Spontaneous prejudice in context: Variability in automatically activated attitudes. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, *81*, 815-827.

Appendices

Appendix A: Modern Racism Scale

PLEASE USE THE SCALE BELOW TO RESPOND TO THE ITEMS THAT FOLLOW BY WRITING A NUMBER BETWEEN 1-9 IN THE BLANK BEFORE EACH STATEMENT.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Strongly Disagree				Neutral				Strongly Agree

- ___ 1. It is easy to understand the anger of Black people in America.
- ___ 2. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
- ___ 3. Over the past few years, Blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.
- ___ 4. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to Blacks than they deserve.
- ___ 5. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.
- ___ 6. Discrimination against Blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.

Appendix C

Business Hiring Decision





When businesses hire new employees, many factors go into their decisions. They must consider multiple pieces of information, and decide how much weight to give to each. Often, they have little more to base their decision on than a stack of resumes or some brief interviews. Learning about the types of information that employers find important in the decision-making process is an important goal.

Industrial-Organizational psychologists at USF are interested in learning what criteria college students think are important when making hiring decisions and for predicting later success.


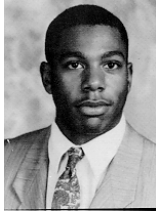


For this task, we would like you to imagine that you are on the Board of Executives at a large corporation. *Your job is to select the applicant who will be hired for the job of **Senior Supervisor**.* This is a mid-level job in your corporation that requires a highly competent person. The only formal job requirement is that the job applicant has a Bachelors degree in Business Administration.

On the next page, you will see summaries of 4 applicants resumes. Then on the following 4 pages, you will find ratings (1 page for each candidate). Your task is to review the qualifications of each applicant and make some ratings (assume this is the only information available to you).

Appendix C (Continued)

<p><u>CANDIDATE A</u></p> <p>Stephen R. Williamson</p>  <p>Wallace University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration Masters of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.93/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Program Assistant (1992-1994) Event Specialist (1994-1998) Design Director (1998-2000) Administration Manager (2000-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Microsoft Office Systems Development Visual Basic Macromedia Manuscript Production Performance Appraisal</p>	<p><u>CANDIDATE B</u></p> <p>Jason L. Atkinson</p>  <p>Spencer University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.78/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Director Assistant (2002-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Marketing Development Macromedia Microsoft Office</p>
<p><u>CANDIDATE C</u></p> <p>Raymond D. Stevens</p>  <p>Bellevue University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.08/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Design Specialist (1995-1997) Project Director (1997-1999) Assistant Manager (1999-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Marketing Development Visual Basic Design Microsoft Office</p>	<p><u>CANDIDATE D</u></p> <p>Robert T. Jackson</p>  <p>Carnot College</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 2.70/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Graphic Engineer (1999-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Microsoft Office Internet Design</p>

Appendix C (Continued)

<p><u>CANDIDATE A</u></p> <p>Stephen R. Williamson</p>  <p>Wallace University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration Masters of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.93/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Program Assistant (1992-1994) Event Specialist (1994-1998) Design Director (1998-2000) Administration Manager (2000-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Microsoft Office Systems Development Visual Basic Macromedia Manuscript Production Performance Appraisal</p>	<p><u>CANDIDATE B</u></p> <p>Jason L. Atkinson</p>  <p>Spencer University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.78/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Director Assistant (2002-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Marketing Development Macromedia Microsoft Office</p>
<p><u>CANDIDATE C</u></p> <p>Raymond D. Stevens</p>  <p>Bellevue University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.08/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Design Specialist (1995-1997) Project Director (1997-1999) Assistant Manager (1999-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Marketing Development Visual Basic Design Microsoft Office</p>	<p><u>CANDIDATE D</u></p> <p>Robert T. Jackson</p>  <p>Carnot College</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 2.70/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Graphic Engineer (1999-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Microsoft Office Internet Design</p>

Appendix C (Continued)

<p><u>CANDIDATE A</u></p> <p>Stephen R. Williamson</p> <p>Wallace University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration Masters of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.93/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Program Assistant (1992-1994) Event Specialist (1994-1998) Design Director (1998-2000) Administration Manager (2000-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Microsoft Office Systems Development Visual Basic Macromedia Manuscript Production Performance Appraisal</p>	<p><u>CANDIDATE B</u></p> <p>Jason L. Atkinson</p> <p>Spencer University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.78/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Director Assistant (2002-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Marketing Development Macromedia Microsoft Office</p>
<p><u>CANDIDATE C</u></p> <p>Raymond D. Stevens</p> <p>Bellevue University</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 3.08/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Design Specialist (1995-1997) Project Director (1997-1999) Assistant Manager (1999-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Marketing Development Visual Basic Design Microsoft Office</p>	<p><u>CANDIDATE D</u></p> <p>Robert T. Jackson</p> <p>Carnot College</p> <p>Education: Bachelor of Business Administration</p> <p>GPA: 2.70/ 4.00</p> <p>Experience: Graphic Engineer (1999-2003)</p> <p>Skills: Microsoft Office Internet Design</p>

Appendix C (continued)

Selection Page

Based on the summaries of the 4 applicants' resumes on the previous page, answer the following questions:

For Candidate A:

- 1) Please rate the applicant's overall credentials based on the information given (1-100, 1 being the lowest and 100 being the highest): _____
- 2) Indicate the extent you agree this is a suitable candidate for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

**Strongly
Disagree**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

**Strongly
Agree**

- 3) Indicate the extent you agree that you would offer this candidate the position of Senior Supervisor. (Please circle the appropriate number)

**Strongly
Disagree**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

**Strongly
Agree**

- 4) Indicate the extent you agree that this candidate is your top choice for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

**Strongly
Disagree**

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

**Strongly
Agree**

Appendix C (continued)

For Candidate B:

- 1) Please rate the applicant's overall credentials based on the information given (1-100, 1 being the lowest and 100 being the highest): _____
- 2) Indicate the extent you agree this is a suitable candidate for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 3) Indicate the extent you agree that you would offer this candidate the position of Senior Supervisor. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 4) Indicate the extent you agree that this candidate is your top choice for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix C (continued)

For Candidate C:

- 1) Please rate the applicant's overall credentials based on the information given (1-100, 1 being the lowest and 100 being the highest): _____
- 2) Indicate the extent you agree this is a suitable candidate for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 3) Indicate the extent you agree that you would offer this candidate the position of Senior Supervisor. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 4) Indicate the extent you agree that this candidate is your top choice for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree **Strongly Agree**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

For Candidate D:

- 1) Please rate the applicant's overall credentials based on the information given (1-100, 1 being the lowest and 100 being the highest): _____
- 2) Indicate the extent you agree this is a suitable candidate for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- 3) Indicate the extent you agree that you would offer this candidate the position of Senior Supervisor. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

- 4) Indicate the extent you agree that this candidate is your top choice for the Senior Supervisor position. (Please circle the appropriate number)

Strongly Disagree							Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Please rank the applicants in the order that you would hire them.

First: _____

Second: _____

Third: _____

Fourth: _____

Appendix C (continued)

**WITHOUT LOOKING BACK at the resumes,
Please answer the following:**

Now we'd like you to consider the various criteria that went into your decision. Please **Rank Order** the following criteria in order of importance for your decision. Place a "1" next to the criterion that you feel is the most important; place a "2" next to the second most important; and so on until you have ranked all 4 dimensions below:

	RANK
Level of Education	___
GPA	___
Experience	___
Skills	___

Please circle the applicant with the highest GPA

Candidate: **A** **B** **C** **D**

Please circle the applicant with the most Experience

Candidate: **A** **B** **C** **D**

THANKS FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!

Appendix D: Hypocrisy Manipulation

Public Service Message

This research project is concerned with how young people in contemporary U.S. perceive the problem of racial prejudice. We are interested in exploring techniques that might be effective in teaching young people about problems and solutions to racial prejudice.

Specifically, we would like to create public service messages using real college students. We are interested in finding effective essays that get across the message that racial prejudice and discrimination are still problems that exist in our society. Excerpts from these essays may eventually be used in a public service pamphlet directed at high school students for the “Racial Equity Forum”. College students may be more credible with high school students because college students are seen as more experienced, but not so different that they would lose their credibility. The purpose of this study is to write a brief essay discussing racial prejudice and discrimination.

Your task will be to write a short essay on the following page highlighting the current problem of racial prejudice and discrimination. To assist in writing this essay, here is a list of facts from “The University of Michigan Documents Center” website:

- 1) The unemployment rate for Blacks has been twice that of Whites for more than 20 years.
- 2) On average, Black males earn only 74% of White males with similar education.
- 3) On average, Hispanic males earn only 63% of White males with similar education.
- 4) The relative pay of college-educated Black men compared to college-educated White men has fallen by more than 10 percentage points in the last twenty years.
- 5) Between 1979 and 1997, the pay of Black women relative to that of White women fell by nearly 10 percentage points.
- 6) The average Black family income is about 40% less than the average White family income. This is the same as it was in 1967.

You may use these facts above in your essay if they help, or you may come up with your own message. Please notify the experimenter when you are finished.

Appendix D (continued)

Public Service Message (*control*)

This research project is concerned with how young people in contemporary U.S. perceive the problem of smoking. We are interested in exploring techniques that might be effective in teaching young people about the dangers of smoking.

Specifically, we would like to create public service messages using real college students. We are interested in finding effective essays that get across the message that smoking is still a problem in our society. Excerpts from these essays may eventually be used in a public service announcement directed at high school students. College students may be more credible with high school students because college students are seen as more experienced, but not so different that they would lose their credibility. The purpose of this study is to make a brief essay discussing the dangers of smoking.

Your task will be to write a short essay on the following page highlighting the dangers of smoking. To assist in writing this essay, here is a list of facts from thetruth.com website.

- 1) Tobacco kills more people than AIDS, murder, suicide, fires, alcohol, and all illegal drugs combined.
- 2) If both a child's parents smoke, it is the equivalent of the child actively smoking between 60 and 150 cigarettes per year.
- 3) Tobacco companies know that 70% of smokers want to quit but can't.
- 4) Tobacco companies know that that of the smokers who try to quit only about 3% succeed.
- 5) Smokers are admitted to hospitals twice as often as nonsmokers.
- 6) The tobacco industry lets people believe that light cigarettes are better for you, when actually, they can be even worse.
- 7) Tobacco companies put ammonia in cigarettes, which makes your brain absorb more nicotine than it normally would.

You may use these facts above in your essay if they help, or you may come up with your own message. Please notify the experimenter when you are finished.

Are you a regular smoker? Yes No

Anagrams

Part of Cognitive Psychology involves the study of how people process information in short-term memory. Please unscramble the following words as fast as possible (you will only have a few minutes) and then answer the following question. If you cannot descramble a word, leave it blank

1. drow _____
2. ehos _____
3. alnp _____
4. acef _____
5. mepo _____
6. einl _____
7. rfou _____
8. lfog _____
9. glyu _____
10. krow _____
11. ilst _____
12. hmeo _____

Please circle the 3 words that were the hardest for you to descramble.

Table 1. Correlation matrix for independent variables.

	MRS	IMS	EMS	IAT
MRS	1			
IMS	-.481**	1		
EMS	.263**	-.051	1	
IAT	.031	-.048	.037	1

** . Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

Table 2. Correlation matrix for dependent variables.

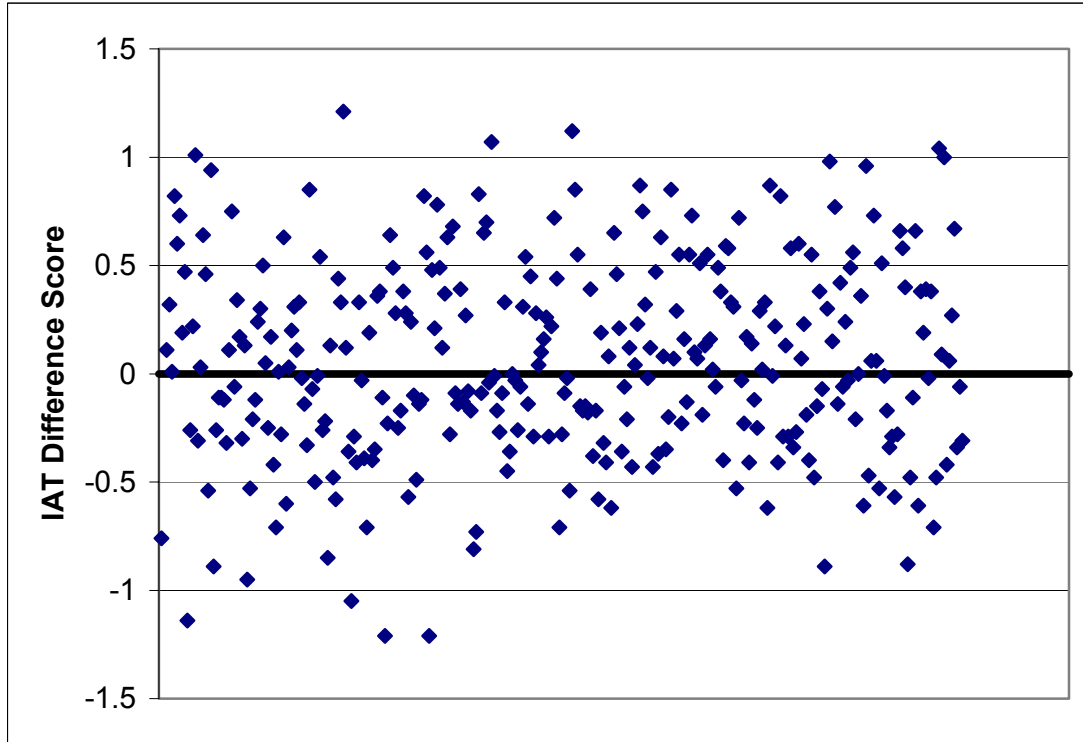
	Corrected Global Black Rating	Corrected Global White Rating	Likert Composite Black Rating	Likert Composite White Rating
Corrected Global Black Rating	1			
Corrected Global White Rating	.370**	1		
Likert Composite Black Rating	.603**	-.024	1	
Likert Composite White Rating	-.036	.568**	.082	1

** . Correlation is significant at the .01 level.

Table 3. Cell means for (hypocrisy x applicant race) interaction.

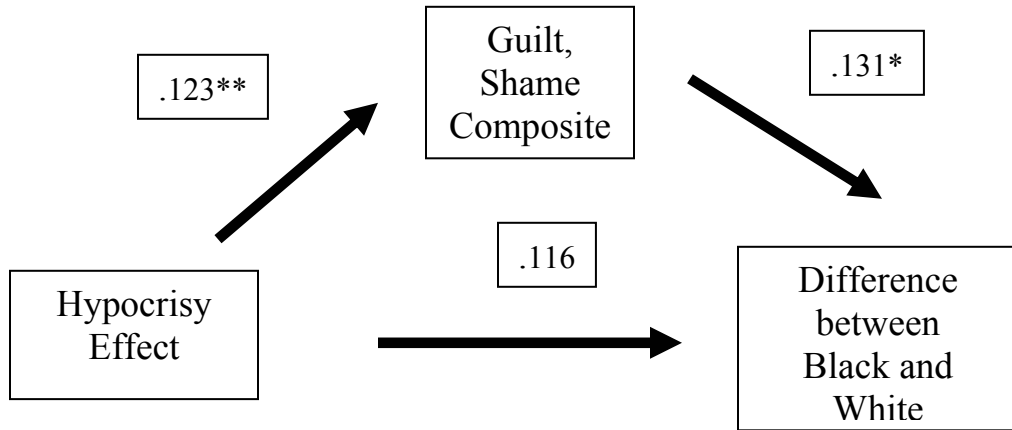
	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>
Hypocrisy	82.7	77.1
Control	80.2	78.1

Figure 6. Distribution of IAT Scores.



*Difference score is calculated by subtracting the average latency for stereotype congruent condition (White with Good) from the average latency for the stereotype incongruent (Black with Good). Higher Scores indicate bias towards White (longer responses when Black is paired with Good).

Figure 7. Mediation of hypocrisy.



** p<.05

** p<.01