THESIS

REDUCING HIRING BIAS IN ASYNCHRONOUS VIDEO INTERVIEWS

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ABSTRACT

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Due to COVID 19, many organizations have made the switch to asynchronous video interviews. Current research on video interviewing does not adequately address the potential bias that may arise from using a video platform rather than a face-to-face interview. Online, candidates may inadvertently give off signals that are interpreted as indicators of competence, potentially leading to lower hiring rates of minority interviewees. The current study aims to determine how a hiring manager's perception of warmth and competence of an interviewee, coupled with their Social Dominance Orientation, affects hiring decisions. Experimental stimuli include fictitious Hispanic, Black, and White job applicants who provide video interview responses with manipulations made to impact video quality. Hiring manager perceptions of warmth and competence, along with overall perceptions of hirability, were assessed considering the impacts of candidate race, video quality, and manager Social Dominance Orientation. This work may highlight considerations that should be made to ensure equity in online video interviews.

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LITERATURE REVIEW

The effects of COVID-19 have been far-reaching, upending the day-to-day processes in the workplace. Businesses have had to adapt quickly to many challenges including transitioning employees to work from home and finding new ways to interview applicants without meeting face-to-face. Moreover, millions were left without a job as businesses struggled to adapt to a new normal. The impact of the pandemic has not been equal. Black and Hispanic workers had 19.8 and 20.3 percent of their respective populations out of work when businesses began shutting down in the Spring of 2020. Similarly, nearly 1 in 5 women in minority groups were unemployed and the rates of minority male unemployment were almost double that of white men (Kochhar, 2020). Given the extreme impact of the pandemic, reemployment of affected individuals will likely be a long-term process.

During the height of the pandemic, organizations began transitioning to online video interviews to move their hiring process forward without risking infection (Maurer, 2020). It seems unlikely that organizations will fully revert to their previous use of in-person interviews as video interviews are more convenient for both parties. Moreover, they cost organizations less as the organization does not have to pay for travel for interviewees as well as increasing the distance from which candidates can be recruited (Archibald et al., 2019). Third-party video interviewing software provider Hirevue claims a 90% reduction in time to hire and a 131% return on investment compared to traditional face-to-face interviews (Hirevue, 2020). Thus, an examination of online video interviews is timely and potentially wide-reaching.

One specific form of online interviewing, asynchronous video interviews (AVIs), is gaining considerable traction. An AVI is conducted when a firm sends an applicant a link to

chosen software in which the applicant completes the interview independently with their webcam. Questions are provided to the applicant either through pre-taped videos or as a text file. AVIs are growing in popularity because it allows for greater flexibility for when both the interviewee performs the interview and when the hiring manager reviews the applicant's responses. Performing the interview asynchronously allows the applicant to do the interview whenever is most convenient for them. Similarly, the hiring manager has access to a taped version of the interview and can confer with other managers (Torres & Gregory, 2018). Thus, the increased use of AVIs is likely to continue due to their benefits as businesses continue to re-open.

Research on video interviewing in general, AVIs in particular, is underdeveloped compared to other methods of interviewing. This is largely due to its more recent introduction to the industry, with the first article focusing on AVI validity published in 2018 (Gorman et al., 2018). Comparatively, popular video interviewing platforms Vidrecruiter and Hirevue were established in 2004 and 2012, respectively. The literature that does exist on AVIs focuses on the areas of applicant and hiring manager perceptions and validity/reliability compared to in-person interviews (Brenner et al., 2016; Torres & Gregory, 2018; Levashina et al., 2014). Despite this research, few studies have investigated potential differences in hiring equity between in-person and video interviews. In light of the staggering unemployment rate of some groups in the United States due to the pandemic, it is critical to determine whether race influences hiring manager perceptions in an AVI.

The current study aims to determine whether AVIs can lead to adverse impact for some populations based on perceptions of the hiring manager. The focus on AVI's rather than other interview methods is due to their popularity as well as the lack of research on their impact on

hiring outcomes.During an interview, employers are looking for indicators that an applicant would be a strong candidate. Signaling theory would suggest these indicators come in the form of signals from applicants, for example, past education or experience on their resume. These signals may be given off by the applicant to attempt to demonstrate the ability for the given job (Connelly et al., 2011). Some signals are under the control of the applicant, such as resume information and how they respond to interview questions. Other signals are less discretionary and not always under the control of the applicant like race and ethnicity (Fetscherin et al., 2020). The current signaling theory literature has lacked emphasis on the potential signals introduced by the medium itself. With a medium like video interviewing, new signals like video quality may be introduced that applicants cannot readily control and are unaware of, potentially impacting biases in the hiring process. While receiving signals from applicants, perceptions of candidate competence may be influenced by stereotypes held by the hiring manager. The Stereotype Content Model explains that stereotypes are multidimensional and grow out of intergroup and interpersonal interactions. Groups are viewed on the dimensions of competence and warmth, with past work showing that Black and Hispanic individuals were consistently viewed as lower on these dimensions compared to White individuals (Fiske et al., 2002). If a hiring manager views a Black or Hispanic applicant as less competent and warm than a White applicant, their perception of how well an applicant can perform a specific job is altered. The possibility explored in this work is whether the breadth of signals suggested by signaling theory (Connelly et al., 2020) are interpreted differently by hiring managers through AVIs, based on candidate race, as implied by the Stereotype Content Model (Fiske et al., 2002).

For this study, the traditional definitions of race and ethnicity are conflated. Hispanic individuals may identify as any race; however, many Hispanic people do not feel they identify

with any of the race options offered on the United States Census (Cohn et al., 2021). Moreover, race and ethnicity can be difficult to disentangle due to their societal construction and changing definitions (Flanagin et al., 2021). When the categorical groupings of "White", "Black", and "Hispanic" are used in this study, this is in reference to the perceived categorization of an individual, not how they may identify themselves. This choice is made as the hypothesized outcomes of this study depend on the perceptions of the hiring manager rather than the racial and ethnic groups an individual self-identifies with.

Stereotype Content Model

The Stereotype Content Model suggests stereotypes of individuals or groups are based on two dimensions: perceived warmth and competence. Warm individuals are seen as friendly and trustworthy while competent individuals are capable and assertive (Fiske, 2018). These dimensions are considered integral to human social cognition at both the group and individual level as 82% of the variance in social behavioral perceptions can be attributed to warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2006; Wojciszke et al., 1998). Thus, these perceptions of warmth and competence are category-based generalizations that link members of a specific category to typical attributes, creating a stereotype (Correll et al., 2010). Fiske et al. (2002) suggest that stereotypes arise from intergroup and interpersonal encounters as we attempt to determine an individual's goals and how effective they may be in achieving them. When others have goals that are in line with our own goals, that leads to a warm perception. Similarly, if the individual appears to be able to fulfill that goal, we perceive them as competent. The warmth dimension is also considered primary as it is judged before competence and has a stronger influence on behavioral and affective reactions. Moreover, people are cognitively more sensitive to information that indicates warmth. Conversely, competence behaviors are viewed as highly

diagnostic as they are not under the personal control of the individual (Fiske et al., 2006). Thus, perceptions of competence can be difficult to change. This framework has been applied cross-culturally, finding that perceived warmth and competence differentiate stereotypes of social groupings (Cuddy et al., 2009). These findings suggest warmth and competence are crucial in shaping subsequent evaluations of individuals.

The Stereotype Content Model is used in the present study to demonstrate how warmth and competence explain why certain hiring decisions are made (Fiske et al., 2002). Categorical labels that are ascribed to different populations, such as White, Black, and Hispanic, can bolster the belief that members of a respective category share an essence that reflects their identity (Rhodes & Mandalaywala, 2017). I focus on race in this study as this category has been shown to have the biggest impact on competence perceptions compared to other categorical variables (e.g., gender, sexual orientation) (Strinic et al., 2020). Further, the Minimal Groups Phenomenon suggests that an individual's positive concept of themselves usually extends to their ingroup, creating a preference for those like oneself (Dunham, 2018). With societal groupings based on race and ethnicity, a preference is created for those of the same race. In 2019, almost 70% of all human resource managers in the United States were White, thus making it likely that White individuals will be the ingroup during the hiring process (Data USA, 2021). The Minimal Groups Phenomenon's extension of positive self-concept would suggest that White hiring managers will likely prefer other White candidates (Dunham, 2018). Therefore, a hiring manager's preference for a candidate is likely impacted by whether they are in the ingroup of the hiring manager.

Perceptions of warmth and competence tied to groups of individuals have also been associated with other emotional and behavioral outcomes. When an ingroup member rated outgroups on emotions they elicited, especially those low on perceptions of warmth and

competence, the outgroup elicited disgust and resentment (Fiske et al., 2002). Similarly, warmth perceptions of someone directly impact feelings of pity for them and negatively affect feelings of envy (Kotzur et al., 2019). Further, perceptions of warmth and competence have been found to predict behavior. Low perceptions of warmth and competence of mentally ill employees predicted social distancing behavior in other employees, meaning individuals actively withheld potential assistance and passively avoided the individual with a mental illness when possible (Follmer & Jones, 2017). Similarly, Ponsi et al. (2016) demonstrated that individuals use the criteria of warmth and competence to determine if others are part of their ingroup or an outgroup. The more often a face is evaluated to have "warm" and "competent" characteristics, the more likely the face is to be categorized as an ingroup member. Thus, perceptions of warmth and competence are critical in influencing perceptions, emotions, and behavior in relation to a given group. Considering this, I hypothesize that hiring managers will have higher perceptions of warmth for White candidates compared to Black and Hispanic candidates based on out-group perceptions. Similarly, I hypothesize that hiring managers will have higher perceptions of competence for White candidates compared to Black and Hispanic candidates.

H1: *Hiring managers will have higher perceptions of warmth for White candidates compared to Black and Hispanic candidates.*

H2: *Hiring managers will have higher perceptions of competence for White candidates compared to Black and Hispanic candidates.*

Perceptions of competence are viewed as highly diagnostic due to perceived individual control. Behaviors that signal competence are not as easily controlled, thus perceivers view competence information as more important in conceiving perceptions of an individual (Cuddy, Fiske & Glick, 2008). Perceptions of competence are also seen as diagnostic because they are not

easily manipulated by the individual, making the judgment of that individual highly stable (Ponsi et al., 2016). Considering their stability, perceptions of competence are highly impactful in hiring decisions (Fetscherin et al., 2020). Further, characteristics that negatively impact a candidate's perceived competence also negatively impact their perceived hirability (Rakić et al., 2011). Thus, a lack of perceived competence means the candidate is unlikely to be hired. Therefore, I hypothesize that a hiring manager's perception of candidate competence will be related to their ratings of candidate hirability.

H3: *Perceived candidate competence will be related to candidate Hirability such that candidates who are perceived as more competent are more likely to viewed as hirable.*

As described previously, race has been impactful in influencing perceptions of both warmth and competence such that outgroups are perceived as less warm and less competent (Fiske et al., 2002). Moreover, with a decreased perception of competence, there is a decrease in the hirability of the applicant (Rakić,et al., 2011). Therefore, I hypothesize that:

H4: *The relationship between candidate race and hirability will be partially mediated by perceptions of competence.*

While perceptions of competence have been found to have a stronger impact on hirability than warmth, low perceptions of warmth still can adversely impact candidates (Fetscherin,et al., 2020). From an evolutionary perspective, warmth more accurately represents our perceptions of the intent of others, making it important to assess accurately for survival. Additionally, warmth judgments are considered primary, meaning they are judged before competence and are more important in influencing affective reactions (Cuddy et al., 2008). In a workplace context, warmth is a predictor of several outcomes such as salary and overall likability (Puttaravuttiporn & Boonyasiriwat, 2018; Varghese et al., 2018). Low warmth groups may also be viewed as

concerned only with furthering their goals, thus, ingroup members may feel justified in feeling resentment toward them (Fiske et al., 2002). Therefore, I hypothesize that hiring manager perceptions of warmth will be positively related to candidate hirability.

H5: *Perceptions of warmth will be related to candidate hirability such that candidates who are perceived as warmer will also be perceived as more hirable.*

Groups who are perceived as having low warmth can be viewed as selfish while those perceived as having high warmth are considered trustworthy and friendly (Fiske et al., 2002). Similarly, warmth is one of the first things assessed in an individual, making it highly salient to a hiring manager (Cuddy et al., 2008). Considering this, I hypothesize that:

H6: *There will be a partial indirect effect of candidate race on hirability through perceptions of warmth.*

Signaling Theory

Signaling theory is used in the present study to explain how hiring managers attempt to deal with incomplete information about an applicant's quality and abilities. This theory is beneficial in describing the interaction between two parties who are attempting to gain information about each other. Each party must attempt to communicate the information they believe is relevant and the other must interpret that information. Communication from one party is referred to as a signal (Connelly et al., 2011). Moreover, this theory applies to all interactions in which individuals who have different goals and aim to cooperate. For example, the organization wants to obtain the most accurate information about a candidate, while the candidate aims to present themselves as an attractive prospective employee. Thus, the goals are not perfectly aligned but both parties must work together to achieve their desired outcomes (Bangerter et al., 2012). This is a specific formulation of signaling theory proposed by Spence

(1973) that suggests that job applicants attempt to signal competencies to provide information to help employers engage in selection. In this way, signaling theory is beneficial in describing the interactions between candidate and hiring manager as the hiring manager can perceive a signal as promoting or inhibiting the decision to hire the candidate.

When considering whether to hire a candidate, the baseline for a future employee is that they can perform the job. Hiring managers look for additional characteristics that may indicate success in the job other than just baseline ability, suggesting potential competence in the position (Caldwell & Burger, 1998). Drawing from signaling theory, these indicators of job success can be referred to as signals that interviewees give off and hiring managers perceive (Connelly et al., 2011). Signals may be given by what applicants write on their resumes, such as their place of education, prior work experience, or proficiencies. Applicants who note on their resumes they attended an Ivy League college may be sending out a signal they expect to be viewed positively by hiring managers as those institutions are highly regarded. Applicants may omit information from their resume that they feel may indicate a poor fit, as well as exaggerate or embellish past qualifications during an interview. This suggests that applicants are aware the hiring managers are looking for signals of fit and are choosing to signal things that they believe are relevant to acquiring the position (Ma & Weiss, 1993; Bangerter et al., 2012). Yet not all signals may be interpreted positively. For example, the signal of a long gap in employment on a resume could lead to conclusions by the hiring manager about the laziness or unemployability of the applicant. Further, signals may be interpreted as positive or negative depending on the background and experiences of the signal receiver. In all, hiring managers perceive signals given off by the applicant and use these indicators to make judgments about an employee's ability and overall competence.

With the use of technology to facilitate employment interviews, it is possible that technology itself also provides signals to the hiring manager about applicant competencies that the applicant is unaware of. As Fiechter et al. (2018) suggest, using video interviewing technology allows for sources of interference that would not impact an in-person interview. The internet speed may be slow, allowing for lags between questions and answers or the video feed may cut in and out. Video quality is high on signal observability, meaning it is one of the most dominant signals when present in an interaction. Further, interview candidates with better audio-visual quality were said to be more hirable by hiring managers than those with poorer quality audio-visuals (Fiechter et al., 2018). Previous work on video interviewing has demonstrated that the lack of face-to-face communication distorts signals, making it difficult to interpret verbal and non-verbal communication (McColl & Michelotti, 2019). These findings provide evidence that signals may be misconstrued during an AVI. An applicant may attempt to give off a signal that demonstrates competence, but it may be misheard or not heard by the hiring manager. Therefore, reduced video quality could produce a signal that indicates lower competence. I hypothesize that poor video resolution during an asynchronous video interview will negatively impact hiring manager perceptions of competence compared to high video quality.

H7*: Reduced video resolution negatively impacts hiring manager perceptions of applicant competence.*

Past work has demonstrated the connection between perceptions of competence and the likelihood of hire (Rakić et al., 2011). This, coupled with the impact on hirability that signals that are given off by the video medium might introduce (Fiechter et al.,2018) leads me to hypothesize that:

H8: *There will be a partial indirect effect of video quality on hireabilty through*

perceptions of competence.

Similarly, warmth signals will be more difficult to interpret with poor video quality. Fiske et al.'s (2002) conceptualization of warmth was measured by questions reflecting warmth, intention, good-naturedness, friendliness, and trustworthiness. Previous work has demonstrated that the sharing of information between a dyad is positively related to trust and that the strength of a relationship between two individuals can impact perceptions of warmth (Nifadkar et al., 2018). In an interview with poor audiovisual quality, a hiring manager may not be able to understand enough information to properly assess an applicant's trustworthiness. Thus, the inability to assess trustworthiness will impact a hiring manager's perceptions of warmth as trustworthiness is a key component of warmth. Therefore, I hypothesize that poor video quality will negatively impact hiring managers' perceptions of warmth compared to interviews with high video quality.

H9: *Reduced video quality will negatively impact hiring manager perceptions of applicant warmth*

Considering past work has demonstrated that video interviews make it difficult to convey signals of warmth (McColl & Michelotti, 2019) and that warmth is a highly salient individual characteristic intertwined with trustworthiness (Cuddy et al., 2008), I hypothesize that:

H10: *There will be a partial indirect effect of video quality on hirability through perceptions of warmth.*

In addition to general negative perceptions of outgroup members, outgroup members invoke internal dispositional explanations for negative behavior rather than situational attributions. Conversely, negative behaviors exhibited by ingroup individuals are attributed to situational explanations (Schnake et al., 2006). Orpen (1981) found that the performance of

White employees was attributed to internal factors such as ability while Black employees' success was perceived to be due to external factors like luck. Furthermore, perceptions of competence may also be impacted by previously held beliefs and stereotypes of groups. Hispanic individuals are viewed as more foreign than Black individuals while Black individuals are perceived as inferior to White individuals rather than foreign. Interestingly, perceived foreignness does not seem to be related to perceptions of warmth and competence. suggesting that Hispanic applicants may be less adversely impacted by their foreign perception (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). However, feelings of inferiority are likely to impact perceptions of competence by invoking the paternalistic ambivalent stereotype (Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, if there were to be video interference during an interview, it is more likely that a hiring manager would attribute the issue to a situation in the case of an ingroup applicant and in the case of the outgroup applicant, may consider the video quality to be a dispositional characteristic. Considering this, I hypothesize that Black and Hispanic applicants will receive the worst ratings of perceptions of competence as video interference will likely be attributed to disposition. Hispanic applicants will likely fair better due to their stereotypical attribution of foreignness compared to perceptions of Black individuals as inferior. Meanwhile, White applicants will not be significantly affected by poor video quality as it is likely attributed to the situation.

H11: *Reduced video quality will have the strongest negative relationship with perceptions of competence for Black applicants, then Hispanic, then White applicants.*

Given that perceptions of competence are related to hirability (Rakić et al., 2011), if race moderates the relationship between video quality and perceptions of competence then I hypothesize that:

H12: *Candidate race moderates the indirect effect of reduced video quality on hirability through perceptions of competence, such that the indirect effect will be more (less) negative for Black and Hispanic candidates (vs. White Candidates).*

Social Dominance Orientation

The impact of video quality is likely to differ based on candidate characteristics in relation to the dominant ingroup. The same level of video interference for any number of applicants could be the same, but the impact on hiring manager opinions of candidate ability will change based on the attribution of the interference and perceptions of competence. However, hiring managers themselves may possess traits that may further adversely impact some applicants. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) refers to an attitudinal orientation that impacts views of intergroup relations, specifically whether an individual prefers group relations to be hierarchical versus equal. Individuals who are high on SDO are more likely to support ideas of cultural elitism and be against programs of social welfare and restorative racial policy (Pratto et al., 1994). A relevant example of a widespread restorative policy of this nature would be programs like affirmative action. Someone with high SDO may find the nature of this policy unfair as they have been found to subscribe to hierarchy-legitimizing myths, for example, those who are disadvantaged are so of their own accord, not by society. Further, SDO is strongly correlated with measures of anti-Black racism (Pratto et al., 1994). Past research on SDO and the Stereotype Content Model found that SDO moderated the extent to which stereotypes were applied to high and low-status groups. When individuals with high SDO were asked to evaluate perceptions of competence of specific groups, a group's high status in society was found to be significantly related to perceptions of competence. (Oldmeadow & Fiske, 2007). Moreover, when an out-group is perceived as having low warmth they may be viewed as only concerned

with achieving their goals, thus justifying resentment towards them by the ingroup (Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, an individual's level of SDO is an important trait considering the impact it may have on how a hiring manager perceives and selects candidates.

Moreover, considering a hiring manager's SDO is likely relevant to determining the impact video quality has on any given candidate. A hiring manager with low Social Dominance Orientation may still subscribe to the aforementioned in-group biases, but the impact on perceptions of hirability is likely considerably less than those who advocate for hierarchy attenuating structures. If candidate race moderates the relationship between video quality and perceptions of warmth and competence, I hypothesize that Social Dominance Orientation will moderate this effect, amplifying it in cases of high SDO.

H13: *Social Dominance Orientation moderates the moderating effect of candidate race on the relationship between reduced video quality on perceptions of competence, such that the impact of race will be greater when SDO is higher in a hiring manager. Thus, there will be a three-way interaction between SDO, candidate race, and video quality on perceptions of competence.*

Given that high Social Dominance Orientation is related to racism and cultural elitism (Pratto et al., 1994) as well as the relationship between competence and hirability (Fetscherin et al., 2020) I hypothesize that:

H14: *Hiring manager Social Dominance Orientation moderates the moderating effect of candidate race on the indirect effect of reduced video quality on hirability through perceptions of competence, such that the indirect effect will be more (less) negative for Black and Hispanic candidates (vs. White Candidates) when SDO is high.*

METHOD

Participants

Participants were asked to participate in a study in which they are looking to determine the hirability of potential candidates for a job. A total of 537 participants met all inclusion criteria for the study. Excluding those who did not fill out the majority of the questionnaire, 508 individuals were included in the final analyzed sample. Participants were recruited through Mechanical Turk and were required to be over 18 and have a current position where they work in hiring or have had previous hiring experience. Hiring experience was assessed in ranges, so the mode for hiring experience for participants was 5 or more years. All participants were White to account for in-group preferences demonstrated by the Minimal Groups Phenomena as participants of a different ethnicity would not extend their positive self-concept to the same group (Dunham, 2018).

Given the novelty of my study, I was unable to obtain a realistic estimate of the effect sizes I may observe. To calculate the estimated sample size and power, the average median effect size for correlations in organizational research (r = .16) along with the number of groups and an error rate of five percent was used in Gpower (Bosco et al., 2015). The result was a total sample size of 510 with a power of .95.

Procedure

A 3 (White, Black, Hispanic) by 2 (video interference/ no video interference) between-subjects research design was evaluated. Before viewing the stimuli, participants read the following statement: "You are about to watch an asynchronous video interview that a candidate uploaded to a third-party video interviewing website. The position the candidate is applying for

is as follows: “Company A is looking to hire for an entry-level sales position. This individual must interact with both customers and vendors, identify market trends, and assist with other administrative tasks. Applicants needed to have a high school diploma, be flexible and willing to multitask, have a positive attitude, and demonstrate a basic understanding of customer service and sales principles”. Participants then viewed a pre-recorded video of a person in one of the six conditions. Afterward, participants were asked to rate the interviewee on measures of warmth and competence (mediator) as well as their hirability (outcome). Social Dominance Orientation (moderator) was assessed last to avoid potential priming effects. SDO is conceptualized as a trait so participating should not influence responses. Finally, manipulation checks on interviewee race were performed.

Materials

Stimuli

Video stimuli were pre-recorded using three age- and sex-matched ‘candidates’ (i.e., undergraduate confederates). One confederate was recruited for each condition (White, Black, Hispanic). Further, clothing was neutral and un-patterned in an attempt to reduce its impact. In each video, the individuals responded to the same questions and have the same response. The question responses were pre-written and determined to be of average response quality (see Supplementary Materials). Interview questions are adapted from Campion, Palmer, and Campion’s (1997) review of structured interviews.

For the conditions in which video quality was impacted, the quality was technically altered. Videos remained the same across race conditions, but for the altered quality video, three audio cuts were added, and the resolution was decreased by 30%. This was done to ensure that differences in perceptions are solely based on the call quality rather than individual differences in

confederates used. Participants were asked to indicate the quality of the video and the race of the interviewee after filling out the questionnaire.

Pilot Data

The relationship between video quality and warmth and competence is unknown, thus the way video quality is manipulated may directly affect these perceptions. To further investigate this relationship and ensure that the manipulation was influencing perceptions of warmth and competence, a pilot test was conducted. Three conditions were created for each of the three video stimuli: one with edits that removed information that conveyed warmth, one with edits removing competence information, and one with no edits. An example statement that conveyed warmth was that the applicant's co-workers described them as friendly and competence information was about how they performed research before pitching to a client. This manipulation was chosen to determine whether specific cuts about warmth and competence information would influence their perceptions. 51 individuals were recruited from MTurk and met the inclusion criteria to participate in the pilot. In the unedited version, the mean perceived warmth on a 1(*very low*) to 5(*very high*) was 3.16, competence was 3.02, and hirability was 3. In the warmth edits condition, mean warmth was 3.62, competence was 3.40, and hirability was 3. In the competence edits condition, the average warmth was 3.69, competence was 3.58, and hirability was 3.35. Based on the sample size, significance tests were not used.Based on these means, it did not appear that edits based on warmth and competence information influenced their perspective measures. Thus, a two condition per stimuli (edited and non-edited) model was chosen for the study. Video stimuli were reconfigured to have cuts in audio where neither warmth nor competence information was specifically conveyed.

Measures

Self-report survey measures were used to assess hiring manager perceptions of experimental stimuli as well as various characteristics of the hiring manager themselves.

Perceptions of Warmth and Competence

Participants answered 12 questions from the Fiske et al. (2002) scale of warmth and competence, 6 for each dimension. An example question for the warmth dimension is "As viewed by society, how warm are members of this group?" and for competence "As viewed by society, how competent are members of this group." These questions were adapted to individuals rather than groups (ex "How warm is this individual" versus "As viewed by society, how warm are members of this group?") All items are on a scale of 1(*very low*) to 5 (*very high*). The reliability for warmth (α =.90) and competence (α =.90) were above the acceptable level. Follmer and Jones (2017) provide validity evidence, finding that perceptions of warmth and competence of mentally ill individuals predicted social distancing behavior from the individual.

Hirability

A hirability index was created using two items adapted from Rudman and Glick (1999). Participants indicated on a scale of 1 (*not at all likely*) to 5 (*extremely likely*), responses to questions like "How likely would you be to recommend hiring this applicant?". The correlation between the two items was high (r =. 88). Validity evidence is also demonstrated by Rudman and Glick (1999) demonstrating that females with agentic traits scored lower on the hirability index when the job was feminized. In this study, the scale was adapted by dropping the question "How likely is it you would interview this candidate" because it was not relevant to the current study as the video stimulus functions as the interview.

Social Dominance Orientation

Participants responded to 14 questions on the Social Dominance Orientation Scale developed by Pratto et al. (1994). This measure contains items that assess the belief that some people and or groups have inherent superiority over others and approve of such a relationship. Instructions ask participants to rate items on whether they have positive or negative feelings toward the presented statements (ex. "Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others"). Responses were measured on a 1-6 Likert scale with (*1) very negative* and (*6) very positive.* The reliability of the adapted SDO scale used is .88. Validity evidence is provided by Pratto et al. (1994) as SDO is negatively correlated with Kats and Hass' (1988) Humanitarian-Egalitarian Scale ($\alpha = .80$, $r = -.34$, $p < .01$).

Manipulation Checks and Control Variables

To assess the effectiveness of the study's manipulations, participants were asked to answer a series of questions. Specifically, whether the participant noticed the quality of the video call and the race of the interviewee. The measure of call quality was assessed using a t-test and the race/ethnicity measure was based on percent correct, where the participant indicates the target race/ethnicity of the manipulation. Call quality was measured on a Likert scale of 1-5, with five indicating excellent call quality. The call quality item was: "How would you rate the audio/visual quality of the call on a scale of 1(poor) to 5(excellent)?" Based on an independent samples t-test, call quality was significantly higher in the unedited group ($M = 4.04$ $SD = .88$) than in the edited group ($M = 2.18$, $SD = 1.07$, $t = 21.40$, $p < .05$). This indicates that the manipulation had the intended effect of worsening perceptions of call quality. Applicant race and ethnicity were combined into one measure to best capture differences across measured groups. This variable was measured by a questioning denoting all the race/ethnicity options given by the EEOC as well as the United States Census. The item assessing perceived race/ethnicity was

"Please indicate the perceived race and/or ethnicity of the interviewee" with response options as American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, and White. All candidates correctly identified the target identity in their manipulation, suggesting that participants paid attention to the candidate and perceived the race/ethnicity of the candidate as expected.

A measure of attractiveness was used as a control variable in the estimation of the hypothesis model to account for actor attractiveness effects. Participants were asked to indicate on a scale of 1-9, with 9 being the most attractive, how attractive the candidate was (Greitemeyer, 2020).

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

Using R, I conducted Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) for each of the proposed scales (R Core Team, 2021). In a review of the literature on CFA interpretation, Schreiber and colleagues (2006) suggest that the following cutoff values should be used to evaluate fit: CFI > 0.95, SRMR < 0.05, and RMSEA < 0.05. These values can be considered stringent as a variety of factors can affect CFA model fit (Nye & Drasgow, 2011). Subsequently, some have proposed more relaxed cutoff scores (CFI > 0.95, SRMR < 0.10, and RMSEA < .10) and suggest that multiple fit indices should be considered simultaneously to avoid one fit statistic alone, deciding fit or misfit (Schermelleh-Engle, Moosbrugger & Müller, 2003). Conducting confirmatory fit analyses aids in deciding how to model the data in further analyses. The best fitting and most parsimonious model for each construct was selected using fit indices as well as conceptual considerations to determine whether a multidimensional or unidimensional model is appropriate.

The warmth scale consisted of six items and the CFA indicated poor fit. However, when I allowed for errors to correlate between item with similar unique content (*How friendly/warm is this individual*), the model fit was acceptable ($\chi^2 = 90.15$, df = 8, CFI = .95, SRMR = .04, RMSEA = .14). The competence scale also contained six items and had excellent fit ($\chi^2 = 21.92$, df = 9, CFI = .99, SRMR = .02, RMSEA =.05). The SDO scale contained 14 items and initially had a poor fit. Upon further examination of the literature, several studies have proposed a two-factor model of SDO rather than a one-factor. The first seven items of the original scale create a sub-dimension of dominance which suggests a preference for a system perpetuating group-based inequality created through dominance while the second seven items constitute a sub-dimension

of egalitarianism indicating a preference for group-based inequality created through social policies (Ho et al., 2015). When running a CFA with the first seven items on one factor and the remaining seven on a second, the fit was improved. The original purpose of incorporating the SDO scale into the model was to capture the preference of inequality of the participant based on their ability to judge an applicant as warm or competent. In this scenario, the participant can demonstrate assert dominance over the interviewee, thus, the SDO dominance subscale is more aligned with the original model proposal. When performing a one-factor CFA with the first seven SDO items, the fit was acceptable (χ^2= 130.98, df = 14, CFI = .96. SRMR = .03, RMSEA = .13). The hirability measure included two items and the generally accepted minimum number of items needed to run a CFA is three. I determined that the items were highly correlated (r = .88) and used a mean score of the two items for the outcome variable. Following the determination that all scales had an acceptable fit, the model to assess hypotheses was estimated.

Hypotheses Testing

A structural equations model was estimated using MPlus to evaluate study hypotheses (Muthén & Muthén, 2017). Experimentally manipulated independent variables (White/Black/Hispanic and Edited/Not Edited) were incorporated as dummy coded variables in the structural model. Conditional indirect effects were estimated as the product of corresponding path estimates, whose significance was evaluated using bias-corrected confidence intervals estimated via 5,000 bootstrapped samples (Efron & Tibshirani, 1993; MacKinnon et al., 2004; Preacher et al., 2007). Latent variables used were the measures of warmth, competence, and SDO. It should be noted that when latent interaction terms are estimated in Mplus, conventional fit statistics are not provided and thus not reported here for the hypothesized model. All regression estimates provided below are unstandardized.

Control Variables and Manipulation Check

Both attractiveness and foreignness were included as predictors in the model to account for any unique variance they may add. Attractiveness was a significant predictor of competence *(b* = .12, *p* <. 05) and warmth (*b* =.10, *p* < .05). Perceived foreignness was not a significant predictor of competence (*b* =. 02, *p* > .05), but it was of warmth (*b* = .07, *p* < .05). A manipulation check was performed to confirm that participants correctly identified an applicant's race. All participants correctly identified the race of the applicant in the condition they viewed.

Evaluation of Hypotheses

H1 was that participants would view the White candidate as warmer compared to the Black and Hispanic candidates. This hypothesis was not supported as both the Black (*M* = 3.9, *SD* = .63, *b* = .38 , p < .05) and Hispanic candidate (*M* = 3.27, *SD* = .64*b* = .19, p < .05) were viewed as warmer than White candidates.

H2 was that the White candidate would be viewed as more competent compared to the Black and Hispanic candidates. Both the Black (*M*= 3.86, *SD*= .63, *b* = .27, p > .05) and Hispanic candidate (*M* = 3.41, *SD* = .66, *b* = .33, p < .05) were viewed as more competent compared to White candidate. Thus, H2 was unsupported.

H3 was that perceived competence would be related to hirability. This is demonstrated by competence significantly predicting hirability in the hypothesized model (*b* = 1.071, p < .05). Thus, H3 was supported.

H4 was that the relationship between candidate race and hirability will be partially mediated by perceptions of competence. The indirect effects for the Black applicant (*ab* = .29, 95% CI [.07, .52]) and the Hispanic applicant (*ab* = .35, 95% CI [.08, .64]) did not support this hypothesis as the positive indirect effects reflect how the Black and Hispanic candidates were

viewed as more competent, with perceived competence subsequently predicting hirability. Given that the Black and Hispanic candidate were expected to be viewed as less competent (H1), H4 was deemed unsupported.

H5 was that candidate warmth will be related to hirability. Warmth was a significant predictor of hirability (b =.24, $p < .05$). Thus, H5 was supported.

H6 was that there will be a partial indirect effect of candidate race on hirability through perceptions of warmth. The indirect effect for the Black (ab = .09, 95% CI [.03, .17]) applicant was significant while the effect for the Hispanic applicant was not (ab = .05 95%, CI [.00, .13]). Given that the Black and Hispanic candidates were hypothesized to be perceived as less warm when compared to the White candidate, the positive indirect effects reflect that the Black and Hispanic candidates are viewed as warmer and H6 was not supported.

H7 was that reduced video resolution negatively impacts hiring manager perceptions of applicant competence. Video resolution was not shown to significantly impact perceptions of competence. (b = .00, $p > .05$). Thus, H7 was not supported.

H8 was that there will be a partial indirect effect of video quality on hirability through perceptions of competence. There was no indirect effect of video quality on hirability, (ab = .00, 95% CI [-.25, .24]) though competence does predict hirability (H3). Therefore, H8 was not supported.

H9 was that reduced video quality will negatively impact hiring manager perceptions of applicant warmth. Video quality did not significantly predict perceptions of warmth (b = -.07, $p > .05$). As such, H9 was not supported.

H10 was that there will be a partial indirect effect of video quality on hirability through perceptions of warmth. This hypothesis was not supported (ab = .00, 95% CI [-.05 .01]).

H11 was that reduced video quality will have the strongest negative relationship with perceptions of competence for the Black applicant, then Hispanic, then White applicant. This hypothesis was not supported as the interaction effects relevant for making these comparisons were not significant for the Black candidate (Black candidate by video quality interaction: b = -.03, p >.05) or Hispanic candidate (Hispanic candidate by video quality interaction: b = -.11, p >.05). Thus, H11 was not supported.

H12 was that candidate race moderates the indirect effect of reduced video quality on hirability through perceptions of competence, such that the indirect effect will be more (less) negative for the Black and Hispanic candidates (vs. the White Candidate). Based on the lack of evidence for the requisite moderation effect (H11), the conditional indirect effect was not evaluated, thus the H12 was not supported.

H13 was that Social Dominance Orientation moderates the moderating effect of candidate race on the relationship between reduced video quality on perceptions of competence (i.e. a three-way interaction), such that the stronger negative impact of video quality on competence among the minority candidates will be greater when SDO is higher in a hiring manager. Both relevant interaction terms for the Black applicant (b = .07, p > .05) and Hispanic applicant (b = .03, p > .05) with video quality and SDO were not significant, thus, the H13 was not supported.

H14 was that hiring manager Social Dominance Orientation moderates the moderating effect of candidate race on the indirect effect of reduced video quality on hirability through perceptions of competence, such that the indirect effect will be more (less) negative for the Black and Hispanic candidates (vs. White Candidate) when SDO is high. Due to the lack of requisite effects (H13), the conditional direct effect was not evaluated. Thus, H14 was not supported

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the possibility of bias due to candidate race and issues in video quality in asynchronous videos. Employment outcomes between White individuals and non-white individuals are unequal, in part due to the biases that some hiring managers may have (Kochhar, 2020). These biases can be unconscious, resulting from the Minimal Groups Phenomena, where a White hiring manager extends their positive self-concept to White candidates (Dunham, 2018). In a world shaped by a global pandemic, the shift to video interviews has been swift (Maurer, 2020). This new interview medium may produce unintended signals (video quality) that may be differentially interpreted by a hiring manager based on the candidate's race. For a negatively perceived event, in-groups often receive a situational attribution while out-groups receive dispositional ones (Schnake et al., 2006). Thus, Black and Hispanic candidates may have poor visual quality attributed to a disposition. This is likely to be exacerbated when a hiring manager is high on Social Dominance Orientation, as these individuals show a preference for inequality across groups (Pratto et al., 1994). I hoped that the findings from this study would be used to create new standards of best practice when conducting asynchronous interviews and reduce instances of biases and discrimination.

Based on the findings, the results replicated findings seen in previous literature. As hypothesized, perceptions of competence were related to hirability. Behaviors that signal competence are seen as diagnostic, as they are not easily manipulated by the individual. Competence is also a trait considered to be stable, making it useful when considering whether or not to hire an individual (Ponsi et al., 2016; Cuddy et al., 2008). Moreover, characteristics that negatively impacted a candidate's perceived competence also impact their hirability,

demonstrating the strong link between the two (Rakić et al., 2011). Thus, the support for H3 is replicated in other studies.

Similarly, H5 was supported, demonstrating a link between perceptions of warmth and hirability. Warmth is one of the first traits assessed when meeting someone new, making it critical to influencing our affective reactions Additionally, warmth is a predictor of overall likeability and from an evolutionary perspective, helps us determine the intent of those around us (Cuddy et al., 2008; Varghese et al., 2018). In a similar study investigating applicant characteristics, Fetscherin and colleagues (2020) also reported a relationship between warmth and hirability thus results linking warmth and hirability in this study are consistent with the literature.

The notion that demographics may be indirectly related to hiring decisions through perceptions of warmth does align with past literature (Fetscherin et al., 2020). When evaluating H6, there was a partial indirect effect of candidate race on hirability through perceptions of warmth for Black applicants but not for Hispanic applicants. As most hiring managers in the United States are White, the Minimal Groups Phenomenon suggests that one's positive self-concept extends to those in an individual's in-group but not an outgroup, such that hiring managers will be preferential to White Candidates (Dunham, 2018). Moreover, individuals use warmth to determine when someone is in their in or out group and the warmer a face is, the more likely it is to be judged as an ingroup member (Ponsi et al., 2016). However, the finding of a significant effect for Black applicants is contrary to what the literature suggests as Black applicants are still an outgroup to the White hiring manager. This contrary finding will be addressed with the remaining hypotheses that were not supported.

Overall, findings critical to the overall proposed model were unsupported. The relationship between candidate race and warmth and competence was contrary to the proposed hypotheses, such that Black and Hispanic candidates were perceived to have higher warmth and competence compared to White candidates (H1&2). Similar results were found for H4. Both Black and Hispanic applicants had significant indirect paths of candidate race on hirability through competence.

These unexpected findings may be due to social desirability bias, which is the tendency for individuals to represent themselves in what they believe is a favorable light (An, 2015). This bias often presents itself on self-report surveys when the topic is particularly sensitive and violates a social norm. Sensitive topics may include drug use, sexual behaviors, or attitudes toward specific racial and ethnic groups. Many of the questions on the SDO Scale were sensitive in nature as they attempted to assess whether an individual holds hierarchical views of societal groups. For example, items stated, "If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems" and "Sometimes other groups should be kept in their place". According to Lee and Renzertti (1993), participants do not always want to answer truthfully when a question is sensitive, as it may be associated with potential risks and costs. In this study, participants may not have been comfortable disclosing their preference for inequity as runs counter to societal expectations and policy. This notion is supported by the skew in the SDO scale. Overall, participants had a mean of 2.35 on a scale of 1-7, which is lower than the means in 11 of 12 other samples reported in the initial validation study (Pratto et al., 1994). Therefore, it is likely participants did not feel comfortable answering authentically due to the sensitive nature of the SDO questions presented after the interview manipulation.

Results for H4 suggested partial indirect effects for both Black and Hispanic applicants for race on hirability through competence, which was counter to the proposed effect. Similarly, in H6, which hypothesized the indirect effect of candidate race on hirability through warmth, there was not a significant effect for Hispanic applicants compared to White applicants. However, there was a significant indirect effect for Black applicants compared to White applicants. This difference between Black and Hispanic applicants is unexpected, as both groups would be considered outgroups to a White hiring manager. One difference between these conditions that may account for this effect is that the actor in the Hispanic condition spoke with an accent. Past research has shown that those who speak in a familiar accent are perceived as warmer than those who speak in a more unfamiliar accent (Rakić et al., 2011). Thus, having an actor with an accent may explain why there were significant indirect effects with competence as the mediator, but not warmth.

For the Black and Hispanic candidates, there was an indirect effect of race on hirability through competence (H4), and for the Black candidate, there was an indirect effect of race on hirability through warmth (H6). These findings were contrary to their respective hypotheses, as White individuals were the in-group and thus predicted to favor their ingroup. This likely occurred due to demand characteristics, which are cues that indicate to the participant what the experimenter expected to find or how they anticipate participants will behave. Participants were told that the study was titled "The Impact of Asynchronous Video Interviews" which may have led participants to guess what the study manipulations were. Participants only saw one video, which did not make the race manipulation obvious, but questions about warmth and competence could have suggested a race was a variable of interest. Demand characteristics can affect responses in three ways: they respond by trying to confirm the hypotheses, they respond by

trying to disconfirm the hypothesis, or there is no measurable response difference (Nichols & Maner, 2008). Due to the nature of the study and the sensitivity of the subject, it is unlikely that participants wanted to confirm that they held racist biased beliefs, thus they may have acted in an attempt to disconfirm them.

Moreover, MTurk samples are younger and more educated compared to the average population (Pew Research Center, 2016). All participants were required to have hiring experience, potentially increasing the likelihood of higher education in participants. This may have impacted results as those with a college education are generally better at self-monitoring their behavior, making them better at adjusting their attitudes and behaviors to be in alignment with social norms (An, 2015). Therefore, the level of education of participants in the study may have also contributed to both the skew in SDO scores and the lack of replication of the relationship between race and outgroup perceptions of warmth and competence.

Based on the results, there was likely an issue in the creation of the video stimuli as all hypotheses including the video edits variable were not supported (H7-14). Three video cuts and audio distortions were added for each edited condition in the same spots and audio was decreased by 30%. Results suggest that this manipulation was strong enough to impact perceptions of call quality as the manipulation check demonstrated that there was a significant difference between the perceived audio-visual quality in the edited and non-edited conditions. This raises the possibility that though participants perceived differences in call quality, these differences had no impact on perceptions of warmth and competence. Unexpected differences were observed in the pilot data - the mean warmth, competence, and hirability for conditions in which warmth and competence information had been edited out were higher compared to the unedited conditions. This was attributed to the targeting of warmth and competence topics in the

video cuts rather than the manipulation itself. Moreover, while there was an indication that edits made a change, even in an unexpected direction, it may be due to sampling error and the manipulation may never have elicited its intended effect. Based on the lack of direct findings of video quality on candidate warmth and competence, related moderation and mediation were unable to be meaningfully evaluated.

Taken together, these results suggest that neither candidate race nor issues in video impacted perceptions of hirability in the hypothesized ways. While the connections between warmth and competence and hirability were replicated, the overall pattern of results indicates that the manipulation used in this study was not effective in capturing the biases that may be at play during the hiring process.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of this study was that there was only one actor per condition. If more actors had been recruited, actors could have been randomized across participant trials. This likely would have decreased the impact of the Hispanic candidate having an accent as well as any other individual characteristics that may have impacted perceptions of warmth and competence. While attractiveness was used as a predictor in the path model to remove any unique attributable variance, other individual factors like hairstyle, jewelry, and eye contact may have had unwanted impacts.

A second limitation was the lack of SDO convergence as one scale and its face validity. While previous literature has demonstrated that the two-factor SDO-D and SDO-E scales are valid and reliable, many studies still use the original 14-item scale (Ho et al., 2015), leading to a lack of consensus on best practice. SDO also was also highly skewed in this sample which violates the regression assumption of a normal distribution. Moreover, participants were likely

able to discern the construct that the SDO scale intended to measure, creating a social desirability effect in which individuals were unlikely to want to go against societal norms and expectations.

The use of a Mturk sample was also a limitation as the samples tend to be younger and more educated than the general population, with 37% percent of Mturkers in their 30's (Pew Research Center, 2016; Moss & Litman, 2022). Previous research has demonstrated a positive relationship between age and prejudice, hypothesized to be due to decreasing levels of inhibitory control (Alvarez Castillo et al., 2014; von Hipple et al., 2000). Thus, a younger sample may not demonstrate the same levels of prejudice and discrimination seen across the age spectrum of hiring managers. A snowball sampling method of reaching hiring managers starting through LinkedIn likely would have created a more representative sample.

Further, the video manipulation failed to influence perceptions of warmth and competence in the hypothesized way. Video edits were created to be intentionally noticeable to the participant to ensure the manipulation was noticed. However, by making the difference in quality in the edited condition so drastic, it may have indicated the importance of the video quality condition creating a demand characteristic. Participants may have overcompensated in the Black and Hispanic applicant conditions, rating them higher in warmth and competence, in an attempt to disprove what they believed the hypothesized outcome to be. More subtle changes in audio and visual quality may be necessary to create a more realistic experience, similar to what may happen in a typical video call and limit the demand characteristic on participants.

While this study was unable to detect any meaningful impact of candidate race and video quality on perceptions of warmth and competence, it does not mean that a relationship does not exist. For future research, a field study approach would be useful in investigating hiring managers' perceptions at a broader level. Rather than using a video created for a lab condition,

responses could be gathered from hiring managers after interviews they conduct about overall perceptions of the candidate. Asking about perception rather than specifically warmth and competence may decrease the unwanted demand characteristic in which managers are aware that there may be a race component at play. From there, responses could be coded on whether they indicate warmth or competence. The videos could remain asynchronous such that they could be independently coded for audio and video quality. Overall, a study that removes some of the artificiality of a lab-made stimulus and is tied to real job offers is more likely to elicit accurate responses from hiring managers.

Future research should address the effectiveness of measuring hirability as a perception. This study replicated the links found in previous research between warmth, competence, and perceptions of hirability, but the literature has not fully addressed whether perceptions of hirability are linked to actual outcomes. If perceptions do not significantly predict the actual hiring of candidates, that may change the way we measure outcomes when researching hiring.

Furthermore, the Stereotype Content Model lacks an acknowledgment of individual differences in stereotype formation, making it difficult to apply to real-world scenarios with specific people forming evaluations. For example, younger individuals are less likely to be biased when compared to older individuals which may lead to less extreme stereotypes than describes in Fiske's original model (Fiske et al., 2002). This is not to say that younger individuals do not have biases, but rather they may not be as detectable in a research context. Thus, the assumptions of the Stereotype Content model may need to be revisited with more consideration given to individual differences and demographics, like age, education, and gender. By taking the average across a variety of groups of people, the model becomes less precise when investigating how a specific population's biases may present. Parsing out how specific groups

indicate their perceptions of warmth and competence may allow the Stereotype Content Model to be more accurate across groups.

Conclusion

The present research fails to replicate several previously demonstrated relationships and lacks novel contributions to the literature. However, this should not be taken as evidence that relationships between these variables do not exist, but rather that this method was not an effective way of measuring them. Future studies focused on these topics could benefit from using more subtle measures to capture biases and use real-world situations rather than lab studies to elicit the most accurate reactions from hiring managers.

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SUPPLEMENTATRY MATERIALS

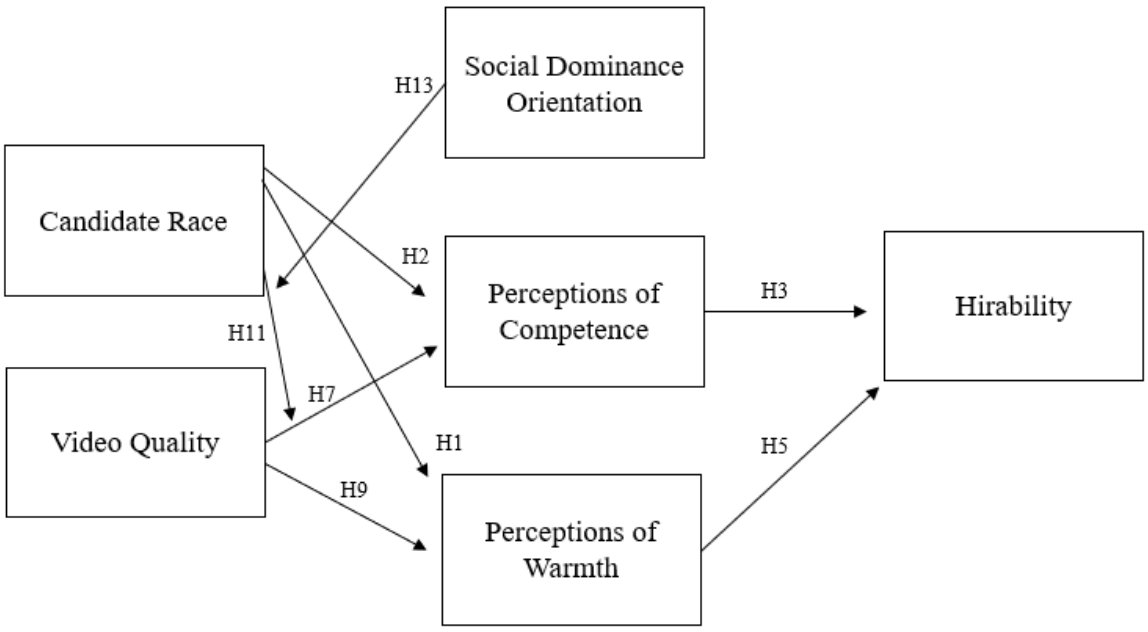

Figure 1

Note. Additional hypotheses not depicted in the figure include hypotheses 4,6,8,10,12, and 14. Hypothesis 4 is a combination of hypotheses 2 and 3; Hypothesis 6 is a combination of Hypotheses 1 and 5, 8 is 7 and 3; Hypothesis 10 is a combination of 9 and 5; Hypothesis 12 is a combination of hypotheses 11,7, and 3; Hypothesis 14 is a combination of hypotheses 11,7,3, and 13.

Table 1

Means, standard deviations, and correlations

Variable	*M*	*SD*	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Black app.	0.33	0.47	-							
2. Hispanic app.	0.33	0.47	-.49**	-						
3. Video Edit	0.49	0.50	.01	-.00	-					
4. SDO Egalitarian	2.02	1.05	.05	-.06	-.07	.92				
5. SDO Dominant	2.35	1.30	-.01	-.04	-.05	.70**	.93			
6. Warmth	3.53	0.71	.36**	-.25**	-.05	-.14**	-.13**	.90		
7. Competence	3.49	0.69	.19**	-.08	-.02	-.17**	-.17**	.72**	.90	
8. Hirability	3.22	1.09	.30**	-.23**	-.05	-.11*	-.09*	.68**	.80**	-

Note. *M* and *SD* are used to represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

Table 2
Direct effects of the hypothesized model

	Mediators				*Outcome*	
	Warmth		Competence		Hirability	
Predictors	*b*	SE	*b*	SE	*b*	SE
Edit	-.07	.05	.00	-.02	-.04	.06
Black	.37*	.07	.27*	.11	.09	.07
Hispanic	.19	.11	.33*	.13	-.16	.11
Warmth	--	--	--	--	.24*	.08
Competence	--	--	--	--	1.07*	.06
Interaction Terms						
Black X Edit	--	--	-.04	.15	--	--
Hispanic X Edit	--	--	-.11	.15	--	--
Black X SDO	--	--	-.07	.08	--	--
Hispanic X SDO	--	--	-.07	.07	--	--
Black X SDO X Edit	--	--	.07	.09	--	--
Hispanic X SDO X Edit	--	--	.03	.98	--	--

Note. The *b* represents the unstandardized path coefficient and SE is the standard error. * indicates $p < .05$.

Perceptions of Warmth

Modified from (Fiske et al., 2002)

How friendly is this individual?

How well-intentioned is this individual?

How trustworthy is this individual?

How warm is this individual?

How good natured is this individual?

How sincere is this individual?

---

1 = not at all, 2 = somewhat, 3 = moderately, 4 = very, 5 = extremely

Perceptions of Competence

Modified from (Fiske et al., 2002)

How competent is this individual?

How confident is this individual?

How capable is this individual?

How efficient is this individual?

How intelligent is this individual?

How skillful is this individual?

---

1 = not at all, 2 = somewhat, 3 = moderately, 4 = very, 5 = extremely

Hirability

(Rudman & Glick, 1999)

What is the probability that you would personally hire the applicant for the job?

What is the probability the applicant would be hired for the job?

---

1 = not at all likely, 2 = somewhat likely, 3 = moderately likely, 4 = very likely, 5 = extremely likely

Social Dominance Orientation

(Pratto et al., 1994)

Which of the following objects or statements do you have a positive or negative feeling towards?

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equal of others.
2. Some people are just more worthy than others.
3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.
4. Some people are just more deserving than others.
5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a change in life than others.
6. Some people are just inferior to others.
7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.
8. Increased economic equality.
9. Increased social equality.
10. Equality.
11. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.
12. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.
13. We should try to treat one another as equal as much as possible.
14. It is important that we treat other countries as equals.

---

1 = very negative, 2 = negative, 3 = slightly negative, 4 = neither positive nor negative, 5 = slightly positive, 6 = very positive

*Items 8-14 are reverse coded

Screener Questions

1. Are you 18 years of age or older?
    a. Yes
    b. No
2. The term, gender, refers to the "socially constructed characteristics of women and men –such as norms, roles, and relationships of and between groups of women and men." Cisgender means that your gender corresponds to your sex assigned at birth, while transgender means that your gender does not correspond to your assigned sex. What do you consider your gender to be?
    a. Cisgender woman
    b. Transgender woman
    c. Gender queer
    d. Transgender man
    e. Cisgender man
    f. Prefer not to answer
3. Please indicate which race/or ethnicity best describes you.
    a. American Indian
    b. Alaskan Native
    c. Asian
    d. Black or African American
    e. Hispanic or Latino
    f. White

4. Do you now, or have you ever, worked in a position in which one of your job duties was to conduct interviews and/or hire applicants?
    a. Yes
    b. No
5. If yes, how many years of experience in hiring do you have?
    a. Less than 1 year
    b. 1-3 years
    c. 3-5 years
    d. 5 or more years
6. Do you live in the Unites States?
    a. Yes
    b. No

Interview Answers Script

1. What work experiences, training, or qualifications do you have for working in a sales environment?
    a. My previous job was in a sales role where I interacted quite a bit with clients. Most of the day was spent meeting with clients and figuring out their needs and budget. Then I would bring that information back to my team who would determine which products fit best. I think this job has really prepared me to work in other sales positions because of the amount of customer interaction I've had. I'm very comfortable making conversation with others and have developed the ability to read body language really well. My clients always describe me as very friendly and trustworthy. I don't have any qualifications or anything like that but in my opinion, my work experience really demonstrates my abilities.
2. Can you provide an example of a specific instance in which you developed a sales pitch that was highly effective?
    a. In my previous role, we had to pitch our product to a new client. I started by doing a lot of background research on the client and how they had interacted with previous vendors. I believe it's always important to do your research before deciding how to sell. From my research, I determined the client was focused on the bottom line over everything else so that's how I centered my pitch. I made sure to highlight how our product would be an investment and increase profits long term. When I presented them with the pitch, I made sure to demonstrate confidence in my product and emphasize that they would be benefited by buying. After asking some questions, they ended up buying.

3. Suppose a co-worker was not following standard work procedures. The co-worker was more experienced than you and claimed the new procedure was better. Would you use the new procedure?
    a. I think that would depend on the area the new procedure was being used. For example, if the coworker was changing the way we handled finances that might be a bigger deal than if it was a change to document customer interactions or something like that. My general instinct would be to check in with my manager before I made any changes I felt were big regarding work procedure. However, someone who has been in the organization a long time may have a better understanding of company culture, so things that are small and unimportant in the scheme of things, I might defer to my coworker's advice.

Screen Grabs for the Six Conditions

1. Hispanic Candidate: Edited vs. Non-edited

2. White Candidate: Edited vs. Non-edited

3.Black Candidate: Edited vs. Non-edited