

# **SKIN COLOR BIAS AND RACIAL PREJUDICE: PRE-INTERVIEW IMPRESSIONS OF HISPANIC SALES APPLICANTS**

**Stevie Watson, Ph.D.<sup>1</sup>, Ayanna Alexander-Laine<sup>2</sup>, Denise Chambers<sup>3</sup>, Theresa T. Patton<sup>4</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Associate Professor of Marketing, James T. George School of Business, Department of Marketing, Hampton University

<sup>2,3,4</sup>Ph.D. Student, Business Administration, Hampton University

## **Abstract**

This study tested for an interaction between applicant skin color (light vs. dark) and racial prejudice (high vs. low) on salespersons' pre-interview impressions of Hispanic sales applicants. Using a sample of 193 White salespersons, the results of between-subjects ANOVA revealed a significant interaction. High-prejudice salespersons held less (more) favorable pre-interview impressions toward dark-skinned (light-skinned) Hispanic sales applicants than did low-prejudice salespersons. In addition, high-prejudice and low-prejudice salespersons exhibited different skin color biases for the Hispanic sales applicant. The findings suggest that diversity issues in sales employment should extend race and ethnicity paradigms to include skin color.

## **Keywords**

Employment Discrimination, Skin Color Bias, Pre-Interview Impressions, Racial Prejudice, Sales Employment

---

## **Introduction**

Employment discrimination occurs when job-irrelevant factors or characteristics are considered when making an employment decision (Wilson, Gahlout, Liu, & Mouly, 2005). Although Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 prohibit employers from discriminating based on such factors (Chay, 1998; Edelman, 1992), there is growing anecdotal and empirical evidence to suggest that skin color may trigger biased judgments in employment decisions (Harrison, Reynolds-Dobbs, & Thomas, 2008).

For example, research studies have shown that light-skinned Blacks earn higher wages (Goldsmith, Hamilton, & Darity, 2007), work in more prestigious jobs (Hughes & Hertel, 1990), and enjoy higher employment rates (Hochschild, 2005) than dark-skinned Blacks. While skin color bias has been less studied in the Hispanic community (Fuentes, Reyes-Portillo, Tineo, Gonzalez, and Butt, 2021; Hernandez, 2002), dark-skinned Hispanics often experience greater labor market discrimination, work in less prestigious jobs, and earn lower wages than do light-skinned Hispanics (Espino & Franz, 2002; Massey, 2001; Telles & Murguía, 1990).

Although dark-skinned minorities face difficult challenges in the job market (Hunter, 2007), skin color bias, defined as "the tendency to perceive or behave towards members of a racial category based on the lightness or darkness of their skin" (Maddox & Gray, 2002, p. 250), has been largely ignored by sales companies and managerial journals. This is unfortunate because skin color bias is a growing problem in workplace diversity management. Skin color bias complaints filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) have increased by more than 600% between 1992 and 2009 (Glanton, 2010). Several companies have recently settled lawsuits to resolve skin color bias complaints filed on behalf of Hispanic sales employees (*EEOC v. Koper Furniture, Inc.*, 2011), Black sales employees (*EEOC v. Applebee's Int'l Inc.*, 2003; *EEOC v. Family Dollar Stores, Inc.*, 2009), and other minority workers (*EEOC v. Blockbuster, Inc.*, 2008; *EEOC v. Fairfield Toyota, Barber Dodge*, 2004; *EEOC v. RUGO Stone, LLC*, 2012; Otis, 2013).

There are several reasons why EEOC complaints involving skin color bias are expected to increase. First, many employers are unaware of their own biases in employment decisions and practices. Second, an increase in U.S. interracial marriages has led to greater skin color diversity among Hispanics and other ethnic minorities (Earp,

2007; Findley, Garrott, & Wheatley, 2003-2004; Glanton, 2010; Mirza, 2003). Thus, the changing U.S. demographics are being reflected in the workplace as more skin color bias claims are included with claims of race discrimination. Third, skin color bias is inherent in many cultures and can occur within race or between races. Finally, there is an increased awareness of skin color discrimination as a legal basis among employees (Hersch, 2011).

If such biases persist, suboptimal hiring decisions could be made, which might lead to a salesforce incapable of fully catering to an increasingly diverse Hispanic population. In addition, skin color bias lawsuits can damage a firm's reputation, financial performance, workplace environment, and relationships with a rapidly growing Hispanic market. With Hispanics projected to become key players in U.S. sales forces (Comer, Nicholls, & Vermillion, 1998; Comer & Nicholls, 2000; Pew Hispanic Research Center, 2009), employment discrimination issues that intersect race, ethnicity, and skin color are likely to increase. Therefore, academicians and practitioners need to understand how skin color bias and racial prejudice affect employment perceptions of Hispanic sales job applicants.

The current study tests for interaction between applicant skin color (light vs. dark) and racial prejudice (high vs. low) on sales professionals' pre-interview impressions of Hispanic job applicants. Pre-interview impressions are opinions, attitudes, and beliefs about job applicants before employment interviews that can take the form of cultural stereotypes, expectations, and preferences tangential to job requirements (Comer et al., 1998; Marshall, Stamps, & Moore, 1998; Purkiss, Perrewé, Gillespie, Mayes, & Ferris, 2006). Pre-interview impressions are important, because employment decision-makers are often unaware that they automatically attend and respond to limited information about an applicant's characteristics that denote racial and ethnic background (Kulik, Roberson, & Perry, 2007; Marshall et al., 1998). Since skin color is a salient, perceptual feature that infers category membership (i.e., racial and ethnic background) and affects impression formation (Dasgupta, Banaji, & Abelson, 1999; Golash-Boza, 2006; Hunter, 2004), this study raises awareness of diversity issues in sales employment beyond race and ethnicity.

## Conceptual and Theoretical Perspectives

### *Skin Color Bias and Racial Prejudice*

In the United States, the dominant cultural-racial group consists of persons belonging to the Caucasian race whose members are distinguished from other racial groups who are generally viewed and treated less favorably based on skin color and cultural group affiliation (D'Andrea & Daniels, 2001). The impact of skin color bias on the Hispanic community dates back to colonialism, slave trade importation, and the conquest of the Americas by European powers (Herring, 2003; Hochschild, Burch, & Weaver, 2005). European soldiers took part in creating a new race as they established themselves in the New World. *Mestizos*, light-skinned Hispanics of mixed European and indigenous bloodlines were born to the Americas. *Mestizos* were associated with Whiteness, which made them racially superior to *Costeños*, darker-skinned Hispanics of mixed Indigenous and African bloodlines (Hall, 1997, 2002; Herring, 2003; Martinez & Iyer, 2008). Hence, skin color bias derives from and is considered a subcategory of racism (Jones, 2000; Thompson & Keith, 2001). Eurocentric favoritism toward lighter-skinned *Mestizos* became globally embedded in many societies.

It should be noted that while "Hispanic" is an ethnic label, it is often assigned to people based on physical appearance (i.e., skin color). Thus, Hispanic also functions as a racial label (Golash-Boza, 2006; Jones, 1999). Today, an emerging tri-racial stratification system places Whites at the top, honorary Whites (e.g., light-skinned Hispanics) in the middle, and collective Blacks (e.g., dark-skinned Hispanics) at the bottom (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Lee & Bean, 2007). Hispanics who do not fit the *Mestizo* image generally preferred by mainstream Americans are more likely to experience discrimination (Golash-Boza, 2006; Massey, 2001). Thus, skin color continues to not only be the physical trait most visible in race distinctions (Fluehr-Lobban, 2005; Russell, Wilson, & Hall, 1992) but is also the most pertinent trait to the experience of racism by all racial and ethnic subcultures (Hall, 1992; Hernandez, 2006; Pascoe, 1996).

While empirical studies are limited, researchers have reported a significant relationship between racial prejudice and skin color (Smith-McLallen, Johnson, Dovidio, & Pearson, 2006; Williams, 1969). High-prejudice persons have expressed more hostility toward dark-skinned versus light-skinned ethnic minorities (Longshore & Beilin, 1980). More recently, empirical studies have reported that racial prejudice may affect Caucasians' evaluations of dark-skinned ethnic minorities (Terkildsen, 1993; Watson, DeJong, & Slack, 2009).

### *Racial Typicality Theory*

Researchers have suggested that categorization is an automatic process based on visually prominent and culturally relevant characteristics (Bartholow & Dickter, 2008; Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). Although categorization can reduce the complexity and amount of information that perceivers need to evaluate social targets, the process often activates stereotypes, which can constrain how social targets are evaluated (Bartholow & Dickter, 2008; Hamilton & Sherman, 1994). Stereotyping allows perceivers to place individuals into "categories according to some easily

and quickly identifiable characteristics such as age, sex, ethnic membership, nationality, or occupation, and then to attribute him qualities believed to be typical of members of that category” (Tagiuri 1969, p. 422).

Racial typicality theory suggests that certain phenotypic characteristics (e.g., skin color) are more easily associated with racial categories than others (Locke, Macrae, & Eaton, 2005; Maddox, 2004). Perceivers identify phenotypic characteristics of social targets that cue salient category dimensions and then compare these characteristics to category-based knowledge structures to determine goodness of fit (Locke et al., 2005; Maddox, 2004). Stereotypes are likely to increase when a social target possesses phenotypic characteristics considered more typical of a racial category (e.g., high degree of category fit) (Maddox, 2004). The historical linkage between skin color and race/ethnicity have resulted in dark-skinned and light-skinned Hispanics being categorized into collective Black and honorary White categories, respectively (Gans, 2006; Gómez, 2000; Guinier & Torres, 2004; Hochschild et al., 2005; Rothenberg, 2007).

Skin color is believed to have greater saliency among high-prejudice persons (Ferguson, Rhodes, Lee, & Sriram, 2001; Whittler & DiMeo, 1991) because it serves as a measure of racial (dis-)similarity with majority group members (Tatum, 2000). Dark-skinned ethnic minorities, being more typical of Black racial categorization (Colarelli, Poole, Unterborn, & D’Souza, 2010; Watson et al., 2009), generally experience higher levels of stereotyping, discrimination, and social distance from high-prejudice persons (Devine, 1989; Johnson, Rush, & Feagin, 2000; Lee & Bean, 2007; Tatum, 2000; Willadsen-Jensen & Ito, 2006). Light-skinned ethnic minorities, being closer to Eurocentric ideals and appearance, are believed to be superior to dark-skinned ethnic minorities on such attributes as aptitude, competence, intelligence, honesty, and attractiveness (Bristor, Lee, & Hunt, 1995; Hall, 1994; Harrison et al., 2008; Russell et al., 1992). Stereotypes portray dark-skinned ethnic minorities as being deficient in some way, which may lead to biased personnel decisions (Graves & Powell, 2008).

Based on racial typicality theory and the literature on skin color bias and racial prejudice, the following hypotheses are proposed:

**Hypothesis 1.** Among high-prejudice sales professionals, pre-interview impressions will be less favorable for dark-skinned versus light-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants.

**Hypothesis 2.** High-prejudice sales professionals will have significantly lower pre-interview impressions of dark-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants than will low-prejudice sales professionals.

### ***Flexible Correction Theory***

Given the historical relevance between racial prejudice and skin color (Jones, 2000; Livingston & Brewer, 2002; Longshore & Beilin, 1980), high-prejudice sales professionals are expected to assess light-skinned (dark-skinned) ethnic job applicants more (less) favorably. More surprising is that low-prejudice persons may also exhibit skin color preferences for ethnic job applicants, but in an opposite manner (Bodenhausen, Macrae, & Garst, 1998; Devine & Monteith, 1999; Wegener, Dunn, & Tokusato, 2001). Flexible correction theory suggests that low-prejudice persons may adjust their assessments and impressions to correct for presumed biases against social targets (Bodenhausen et al., 1998; Devine & Monteith, 1999; Wegener et al., 2001).

Since dark skin color is more likely to activate racial categorization, stereotypes, and biased evaluations than is light skin color (Stepanova & Strube, 2009), low-prejudice persons are likely to adjust their assessments of dark-skinned (light-skinned) ethnic applicants to be higher (lower) than their initial reactions (Wegener et al., 2001). Specifically, low-prejudice persons are likely to correct for presumed biases against stereotyped targets in situations such as evaluating job applicants and forming impressions of others (Devine & Monteith, 1999).

Applying flexible correction theory, the following hypotheses are tested:

**Hypothesis 3.** Among low-prejudice sales professionals, pre-interview impressions will be more favorable for dark-skinned versus light-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants.

**Hypothesis 4.** Low-prejudice sales professionals will have significantly lower pre-interview impressions of light-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants than will high-prejudice sales professionals.

## **Methodology**

### ***Sample and Research Design***

Participants were recruited from Zoomerang.com, an online survey company that recruits potential participants via Internet advertising, referral programs, e-mail, and direct mail services.

Interested persons sign up to be added to the firm’s panel database (2 million+ members) and receive periodic invitations to participate in survey research conducted through Zoomerang. For each completed survey, participants received compensatory points that they could redeem for merchandise Zoomerang. For this study, Zoomerang contacted participants via e-mail who were then directed to the survey’s Web link.

A random sample of 225 Zoomerang panel members were selected for the study based on their age (18 years+), race (Caucasian), and occupation (sales and marketing). Thirty-two respondents were removed because

they were employed in non-sales jobs. A final sample of one hundred ninety-three Caucasian sales professionals provided their pre-interview impressions of a Hispanic male applicant for an entry-level sales position. One hundred-seven males (55.4%) and eighty-six females (44.6%) participated in the study. The participants averaged 41.2 years of age and 12.1 years of sales experience. A 2 (applicant skin color: light and dark) x 2 (racial prejudice: high and low) between-subjects ANOVA was employed to test the hypotheses.

### **Procedure**

Participants were classified into either a high-prejudice group or a low-prejudice group and received information for either a light-skinned or a dark-skinned Hispanic sales job applicant at random. Each participant read a scenario online in which three senior personnel from his or her respective company recently screened job applicants for an entry-level sales position. The scenario stated that the senior personnel evaluated job applicants on ten factors (e.g., personal motivation, communication skills, etc.) deemed relevant for entry-level sales positions and, based on this information, asked participants to provide their pre-interview impressions for one of the finalists.

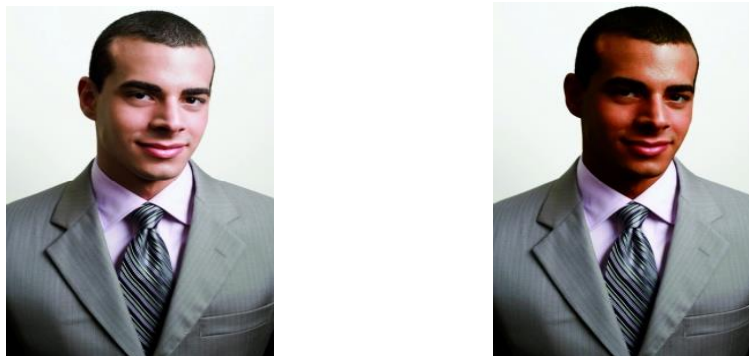
A stock photograph (2.75 in. [7.0 cm] x 3.75 in. [9.5 cm]) and job applicant description were included as reminders of the applicant's identity. This was done to eliminate the potential confound of research participants misidentifying the race/ethnicity of the Hispanic applicant. The job applicant's description contained the following information:

Alejandro Martinez recently received his Bachelor's Degree in Marketing from a four- year public university. He graduated with a 3.0 GPA and was a student chapter member of the marketing club. Before graduation, Alejandro worked one semester as a sales intern. He is a U.S. born citizen.

After reading a description of the job applicant, the study participants reviewed the job applicant's ratings assigned by the senior personnel, provided their pre-interview impressions, and answered questions on racial attitudes and demographics. Senior personnel ratings were positive and consistent for both skin color conditions of the job applicant.

### **Independent Variables**

A professional graphic artist digitally manipulated a stock photograph of a Hispanic male model into light-skinned and dark-skinned conditions (see Figure 1).



**FIGURE 1: Photographs of Light-Skinned & Dark-Skinned Hispanic Sales Job Applicant**

Participants were grouped into high-prejudice and low-prejudice categories using a median split of the Modern Racism scale (McConahay, 1986; Purkiss et al., 2006). The Modern Racism scale ( $\alpha = .87$ ) is a twelve-item, five-point Likert scale (e.g., strongly disagree to strongly agree) that tests for subtle prejudice, which is more prevalent in America today (see Table 1). Total scale scores range from twelve to sixty, with higher scores representing higher levels of prejudice toward Hispanics. To further disguise the research, Modern Racism scale items were embedded among several filler questions on social issues. Based on the median split, participants were divided into high prejudice ( $> 38$ ) and low prejudice ( $\leq 38$ ) categories.

1. Global warming is a serious concern. (Filler)
2. It is easy to understand the anger of Hispanics in America. (MRS)\*
3. Wealthy people do not pay their fair share of taxes. (Filler)
4. There is no way to end world poverty. (Filler)
5. Hispanics have more influence upon school language issues than they ought to have. (MRS)
6. The cost of a college education will become unaffordable for the next generation of students. (Filler)
7. It is too easy to get a divorce in the United States. (Filler)
8. Hispanics are getting too demanding in their push for usage of the Spanish language. (MRS)

9. With the exception of law enforcement officers, firearms should be banned to the general public. (Filler)
10. Scientists will find a cure for AIDS within the next fifty years. (Filler)
11. Mexicans crossing the U.S. border are often dealt with too harshly. (MRS)\*
12. Too many American jobs are being lost overseas. (Filler)
13. Over the past few years Hispanics have gotten more economically than they deserve. (MRS)
14. In comparison to the average American worker, corporate executives make too much money. (Filler)
15. Hispanics often intentionally exclude non-Spanish speakers in their conversations. (MRS)
16. Same-sex marriages should be legalized. (Filler)
17. I believe the war on terrorism is the most important issue facing our country. (Filler)
18. Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to Hispanics than they deserve. (MRS)
19. Welfare recipients can do better for themselves if they just find a job. (Filler)
20. Television programming has become too violent for the average viewer. (Filler)
21. Hispanics should not push themselves where they're not wanted. (MRS)
22. More alternative energy sources are needed to reduce our dependency on foreign oil. (Filler)
23. Migrant farm-workers have been treated poorly in many instances. (MRS)\*
24. Discrimination against Hispanics is no longer a problem in the U.S. (MRS)
25. America should pass tougher trade restrictions on foreign products. (Filler)
26. Hispanics are taking away too many jobs from non-minorities. (MRS)
27. The federal government should bail out the subprime lenders. (Filler)
28. Drinking and driving laws are too strict. (Filler)
29. Hispanics are taking advantage of their minority status. (MRS)
30. I am concerned about the housing market. (Filler)

Scale item ratings: Strongly Disagree (1); Disagree (2); Neutral (3); Agree (4); Strongly Agree (5); \* Indicate reverse-coded items

**TABLE 1: Modern Racism Scale (MRS)**

**Dependent Measures**

Three items derived from an existing scale were used to assess pre-interview impressions of the applicant (Marshall et al., 1998): (1) All in all, how qualified do you think this finalist is for the position? (QUALIFIED); (2) If hired, how successful do you believe this finalist would likely be on the job? (SUCCESSFUL); and (3) I would recommend the job applicant for the open sales position. (RECOMMEND). Participants responded to each question using a 9-point scale, with higher scores indicating more positive evaluations. An aggregate pre-interview impression score was formed by averaging responses to the three items ( $\alpha = .85$ ). Cronbach alpha values were nearly identical for the high-prejudiced (0.830) and low-prejudiced (0.863) groups. Correlations between racial prejudice and the dependent variable across the three items were not significant (see Table 2).

		Racial Prejudice
Qualified	Pearson Correlation	0.097
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.178
	N	193
Successful	Pearson Correlation	0.037
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.611
	N	193
Recommend	Pearson Correlation	0.047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0.514
	N	193

**TABLE 2: Correlations between Racial Prejudice and Dependent Measures**

**Results**

Before testing the hypotheses, the results of a two-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) revealed a significant interaction effect between applicant skin color and racial prejudice on pre-interview impressions,  $F(1, 188) = 15.99$ ,  $p < .01$  (see Table 3). Years of sales experience served as a covariate but was not significant  $F(1, 188) = .09$ ,  $p = .77$  (see Table 3). No significant main effects were reported. A graphical representation of the interaction is provided in Figure 2.

Source	Type III sum of squares	df	M square	F	p
Corrected model	26.950	4	6.737	4.610	0.001
Intercept	4,600.439	1	4,600.439	3,147.828	-
Years of Experience (covariate)	0.128	1	0.128	0.087	0.768
Applicant skin color (AS)	1.481	1	1.481	1.013	0.315
Racial prejudice (RP)	1.568	1	1.568	1.073	0.302
AS × RP	23.368	1	23.368	15.989	-
Error	274.755	188	1.461		
Total	9,148.222	193			
Corrected total	301.705	192			

TABLE 3: Tests of Between-Subject Effects

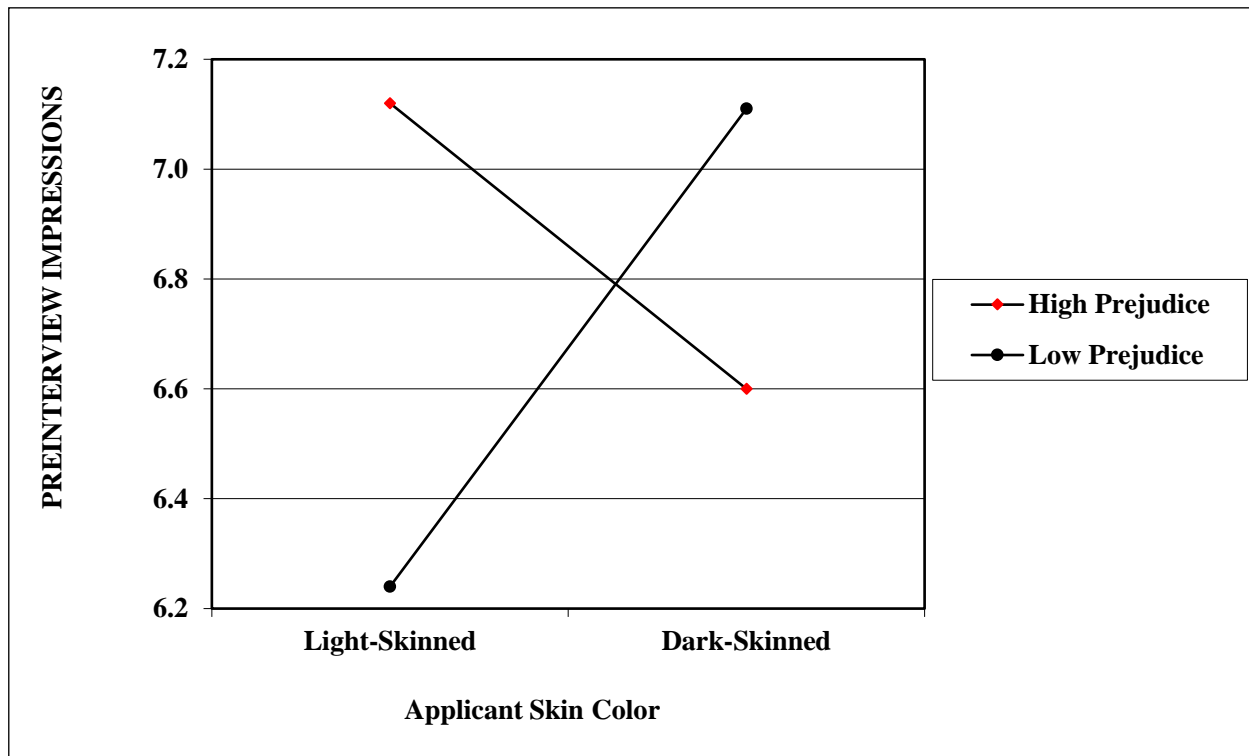


FIGURE 2: Interaction of Applicant Skin Color and Racial Prejudice Pre-interview Impression mean scores

The first hypothesis predicted that the pre-interview impressions of high-prejudice sales professionals would be less favorable for dark-skinned versus light-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants. This hypothesis was supported,  $F(1, 90) = 4.60, p < .05$ . High-prejudice sales professionals' pre-interview impressions were less favorable for the dark-skinned Hispanic job applicant ( $M = 6.60, SD = 1.21; n = 47$ ) compared to the light-skinned Hispanic job applicant ( $M = 7.12, SD = 1.10, n = 46$ ).

The second hypothesis predicted that high-prejudice sales professionals would have significantly lower pre-interview impressions of dark-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants than would low-prejudice sales professionals. This hypothesis was supported,  $F(1, 96) = 4.90, p < .05$ . High-prejudice sales professionals ( $M = 6.60, SD = 1.21; n = 47$ ) evaluated the dark-skinned Hispanic job applicant lower on pre-interview impressions than did low-prejudice sales professionals ( $M = 7.11, SD = 1.07; n = 52$ ).

The third hypothesis predicted that low-prejudice sales professionals would have more favorable pre-interview impressions of dark-skinned versus light-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants. This hypothesis was supported,  $F(1, 97) = 12.04, p < .01$ . Low-prejudice sales professionals' pre-interview impressions were more favorable for the dark-skinned Hispanic job applicant ( $M = 7.11, SD = 1.07; n = 52$ ) compared to the light-skinned Hispanic job applicant ( $M = 6.24, SD = 1.42, n = 48$ ).

Finally, the fourth hypothesis predicted that low-prejudice sales professionals would have less favorable pre-interview impressions of light-skinned Hispanic sales job applicants than would high-prejudice sales professionals. This hypothesis was supported,  $F(1, 91) = 10.46, p < .01$ . Low-prejudice sales professionals ( $M = 6.24, SD = 1.42; n = 48$ ) evaluated the light-skinned Hispanic job applicant lower on pre-interview impressions than did high-prejudice sales professionals ( $M = 7.12, SD = 1.10; n = 46$ ).

## Discussion and Implications

Previous studies on employment selection decisions have largely focused on racial stratification (Marshall et al., 1998; Ford, Gambino, Lee, Mayo, & Ferguson, 2004; Stewart & Perlow, 2001; Terpstra & Larsen, 1980) without examining the effects of skin color bias and racial prejudice on pre-interview impressions within the context of sales employment. The results of this study revealed a significant interaction between applicant skin color and racial prejudice on sales professionals' pre-interview impressions of Hispanic job applicants.

Dark skin color is a salient phenotypic feature that heightens Black racial categorization (Charles, 2021). Based on racial typicality theory, high-prejudice persons subconsciously stereotype Hispanic sales job applicants with phenotypic characteristics considered more typical of Black racial category representation. Our study provides support for this theory. Specifically, high-prejudice sales professionals evaluated dark-skinned Hispanic sales applicants less favorably on pre-interview impressions than did low-prejudice sales professionals. In addition, high-prejudice sales professionals' pre-interview impressions were less favorable for dark-skinned versus light-skinned Hispanic job applicants, which also confirms racial typicality theory.

High-prejudice Whites tend to prefer light-skinned ethnic minorities more than dark-skinned ethnic minorities. This is likely because light skin color is a closer approximation to Eurocentric ideals (Jones, 2000). Based on flexible correction theory, low-prejudice White sales professionals are expected to adjust their assessments and impressions to correct for presumed biases against social targets (i.e., dark-skinned Hispanic job applicants) at the expense of less stereotyped social targets (i.e., light-skinned Hispanic job applicants). Our study provides support for this theory as well. Low-prejudice sales professionals evaluated light-skinned Hispanic sales applicants less favorably on pre-interview impressions than did high-prejudice sales professionals. In addition, low-prejudice sales professionals' pre-interview impressions were more favorable for dark-skinned versus light-skinned Hispanic job applicants.

Our results suggest that diversity studies in sales employment decisions should extend to skin color bias, an issue that is rarely discussed concerning its possible implications in workplace selection (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). The potential for employment discrimination exists when high-prejudice White sales professionals evaluate dark-skinned Hispanic applicants. Equally important, however, is that low-prejudice White sales professionals may subconsciously discriminate against light-skinned Hispanic sales applicants, which would also violate Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Equal Employment Opportunity Act (EEOA) of 1972.

In summary, this study illustrates that past research on selection discrimination in sales employment is incomplete and should be extended beyond race and ethnicity. The findings of the present study show that racial prejudice level interacts with skin color, a job-irrelevant characteristic, to affect the sales employment prospects of Hispanic job applicants. Managerially speaking, educating managers that subtle, race-relevant cues often result in biased personnel decisions may reduce subconscious stereotyping and discrimination in employment decisions (Gilens, 2004). With an increasing number of companies that employ affirmative action policies, training with an emphasis on skin color bias should be conducted during the diversity recruitment, pre-interview, selection, and career development processes (Harrison & Thomas, 2009). In doing so, sales organizations may reduce potential lawsuits, EEOC complaints, and negative publicity associated with skin color bias allegations while displaying sensitivity towards an emerging diversity issue in employment decisions (Earp, 2007).

## Limitations and Future Research

Several limitations inherent in the design of the present study provide opportunities for future research. First, special care was taken in the stock photo manipulation to ensure that the sales applicant was not misidentified as White (i.e., skin color condition too light) or Black (i.e., skin color condition too dark). In addition, skin color distinctions are more complicated than the simple light-dark dichotomy presented in this research. For example, Latinegras, or Latinas with African and black ancestry, use several skin color distinctions, including dark (*negras*, *moreans*, and *prietas*), brown and golden (*cholas* and *mulatas*), wheat-colored (*trigueñas*), light-skinned with black features (*jabás*), and light-skinned with white features (*grifas*), to reflect their diverse racial and ethnic histories (Cruz-Janzen, 2001). Future studies might find an effective way to investigate evaluators' pre-interview impressions of Hispanic job applicants across multiple skin color variations and other phenotypic characteristics.

Second, skin color bias is a global phenomenon that extends to other racial and ethnic groups. Skin color distinctions are significant in many international communities including Latin America, Central America, Cuba (Cruz-Janzen, 2003; Hall, 1998), Southeast Asia (Washington, 1990), and India (Béteille, 1967; Hall, 1992). Cross-cultural studies could provide further insights into how skin color biases affect global communities' perceptions of ethnic sales job applicants. In addition, future research should examine evaluators' pre-interview impressions of U.S. sales job applicants across various racial categories and skin color distinctions.

Third, the applicant's gender was not included in our research design. Dark-skinned, ethnic female applicants are likely to face a combination of interacting cultural stereotypes on skin color, race, and gender (Kulik



et al., 2007). Therefore, they may need to display stronger qualifications than other applicants to alter employment managers' pre-interview impressions.

Future research should investigate the interacting effects of applicant skin color, race, and gender on pre-interview impressions.

Finally, this study did not include sales job types in the research design. White employers may prefer hiring ethnic applicants who will assimilate into the workplace and will not alienate their customers (Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991). High-prejudice White managers may rationalize that a White customer base would be more responsive to White salespersons (Brief et al., 1997). Since light skin color is associated with Whiteness, perhaps high-prejudice White sales professionals hold preconceived notions that light-skinned ethnic minority applicants would be better suited for higher-status sales jobs that require face-to-face contact with White customers (e.g., outside sales) than would dark-skinned ethnic minority applicants. Conversely, to avoid alienating their White customers, high-prejudice White sales professionals may steer dark-skinned ethnic minority applicants to lower-status sales jobs that do not require face-to-face contact with customers (e.g., inside sales). Future studies should examine the effects of applicant skin color, sales job type, and prejudice on pre-interview impressions.

## References

- Bartholow, B. D., & Dickter, C. L. (2008). A response conflict account of the effects of stereotypes on racial categorization. *Social Cognition*, 26(3), 314-332. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2008.26.3.314>
- Béteille, A. (1967). Race and descent as social categories in India. *Daedalus*, 96(2), 444-463. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20027046.pdf>
- Bodenhausen, G. V., Macrae, C. N., & Garst, J. (1998). Stereotypes in thought and deed: Social-cognitive origins of intergroup discrimination. In C. Sedikides, J. Schopler, & C. A. Insko (Eds.), *Intergroup cognition and intergroup behavior* (pp. 311-336). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2004). From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(6), 931-950. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000268530>
- Brief, A. P., Buttram, R. T., Riezenstien, R. M., Pugh, S. D., Callahan, J. D., McCline, R. L., & Vaslow, J. B. (1997). Beyond good intentions: The next steps toward racial equality in the American workplace. *Academy of Management Executive*, 11(4), 59-72. <https://doi.org/10.5465/ame.1997.9712024839>
- Bristor, J. M., Lee, R. G., & Hunt, M. R. (1995). Race and ideology: African-American images in television advertising. *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 14(1), 48-59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/074391569501400105>
- Charles, J. (2021). Colorism and the Afro-Latinx experience: A review of the literature. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 43(1-2), 8-31. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863211027378>
- Chay, K. Y. (1998). The impact of federal civil rights policy on Black economic progress: Evidence from the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 51(4), 608-632. <https://doi.org/10.1177/001979399805100404>
- Colarelli, S. M., Poole, D. A., Unterborn, K., & D'Souza, G. C. (2010). Racial prototypicality, affirmative action, and hiring decisions in a multiracial world. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 18(2), 166-173. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2389.2010.00498.x>
- Comer, L. B., & Nicholls, J. A. F. (2000). Communication between Hispanic salespeople and their customers: A first look. *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, 20(3), 121-127. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40471793>
- Comer, L. B., Nicholls, J. A. F., & Vermillion, L. J. (1998). Diversity in the sales force: Problems and challenges. *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, 18(4), 1-20. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40471691>
- Cruz-Janzen, M. I. (2001). Latinegras: Desired women—undesirable mothers, daughters, sisters, and wives. *Frontiers*, 22(3), 168-183. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3347247>
- Cruz-Janzen, M. I. (2003). Out of the closet: Racial amnesia, avoidance, and denial—racism among Puerto Ricans. *Race, Gender & Class*, 10(3), 64-81. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41675088>
- D'Andrea, M., & Daniels, J. (2001). Expanding our thinking about White racism: Facing the challenge of multicultural counseling in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. In J. G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural counseling* (pp. 289-310). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Dasgupta, N., Banaji, M. R., & Abelson, R. P. (1999). Group entitativity and group perception: Associations between physical features and psychological judgment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77(5), 991-1003. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-3514.77.5.991>
- Devine, P. G. (1989). Stereotypes and prejudice: Their automatic and controlled components. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 56(1), 5-18. <https://devinelab.psych.wisc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/1383/2020/05/Stereotypes-and-prejudice.pdf>



- Devine, P. G., & Monteith, M. J. (1999). Automaticity and control in stereotyping. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual-process theories in social psychology* (pp. 339-360). New York: Guilford Press.
- Earp, N. (2007). EEOC wants to e-race discrimination in the workplace. National Public Radio. Retrieved January 11, 2011, from <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=11502446>.
- Edelman, L. B. (1992). Legal ambiguity and symbolic structures: Organizational mediation of civil rights law. *American Journal of Sociology*, 97(6), 1531-1576. <https://doi.org/10.1086/229939>
- EEOC v. Blockbuster, Inc., C.A. No. 1:07-cv-02221 (S.D.N.Y. filed settled Apr. 7, 2008).*
- EEOC v. Koper Furniture, Inc., Case No. 09-1563 (D.P.R. consent decree approved Nov. 7, 2011).*
- EEOC v. Fairfield Toyota, Barber Dodge, No. Civ-S-03-657 (E.D. Cal. Apr. 6, 2004).*
- EEOC v. Family Dollar Stores, Inc., No. 1:07-cv-06996 (N.D. Ill. settled Feb. 17, 2009).*
- EEOC v. Rugo Stone, LLC, Civil Action No. 1:11-cv-915 (E.D. Va. Mar. 7, 2012).*
- Espino, R., & Franz, M. M. (2002). Latino phenotype discrimination revisited: The impact of skin color on occupational status. *Social Science Quarterly*, 83(2), 612-623. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-6237.00104>
- Ferguson, D. P., Rhodes, G., Lee, K., & Sriram, N. (2001). They all look alike to me: Prejudice and cross-race face recognition. *British Journal of Psychology*, 92(4), 567-577. <https://doi.org/10.1348/000712601162347>
- Findley, H., Garrott, S. C., & Wheatley, R. (2003-2004). Color discrimination: Differentiate at your peril. *Journal of Individual Employment Rights*, 11(1), 31-38. <https://doi.org/10.2190/2rfq-v9fe-q7q7-cp2y>
- Fluehr-Lobban, C. (2005). *Race and racism: An introduction*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.
- Ford, T. E., Gambino, F., Lee, H., Mayo, E., & Ferguson, M. A. (2004). The role of accountability in suppressing managers' preinterview bias against African-American sales job applicants. *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, 24(2), 113-124. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/08853134.2004.10749023>
- Fuentes, M. A., Reyes-Portillo, J. A., Tineo, P., Gonzalez, K., & Butt, M. (2021). Skin color matters in the Latinx community: A call for action in research, training, and practice. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 43(1-2), 32-58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986321995910>
- Gans, H. J. (2006). The possibility of a new racial hierarchy in the twenty-first century United States. In D. B. Grusky & S. Szélenyi (Eds.), *The inequality reader: Contemporary and foundational readings in race, class, and gender* (pp. 266-275). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Gilens, M. (2004). Poor people in the news: Images from the journalistic subconscious. In D. Heider (Ed.), *Class and news* (pp. 44-60). Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers.
- Glanton, D. (2010, January 17). Bigotry takes on a different shade: Experts see an increase in skin-tone bias. *Chicago Tribune*, Retrieved from [http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-01-17/news/1001160240\\_1\\_skin-color-bigotry-shade](http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-01-17/news/1001160240_1_skin-color-bigotry-shade).
- Golash-Boza, T. (2006). Dropping the hyphen? Becoming Latino(a)-American through racialized assimilation. *Social Forces*, 85(1), 27-55. <https://doi.org/10.1353/sof.2006.0124>
- Goldsmith, A. H., Hamilton, D., & Darity, W., Jr. (2007). From dark to light: Skin color and wages among African Americans. *Journal of Human Resources*, 42(4), 701-738. <https://doi.org/10.3368/jhr.XLII.4.701>
- Gómez, C. (2000). The continual significance of skin color: An exploratory study of Latinos in the northeast. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 22(1), 94-103. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986300221005>
- Graves, L. M., & Powell, G. N. (2008). Sex and race discrimination in personnel decisions. In S. C. Cartwright & C. L. Cooper (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Personnel Psychology* (pp. 438-463). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Guinier, L., & Torres, G. (2004). Whiteness of a different color. In M. Fine, L. Weis, L. P. Pruitt, & A. Burns (Eds.), *Off white: Readings on power, privilege, and resistance* (pp. 411-430). New York and London: Routledge.
- Hall, R. E. (1992). Bias among African Americans regarding skin color: Implications for social work practice. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 2(4), 479-486. <https://doi.org/10.1177/104973159200200404>
- Hall, R. E. (1994). The bleaching syndrome: Implications of light skin for Hispanic American assimilation. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 16(3), 307-314. <https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863940163008>
- Hall, R. E. (1997). The psychogenesis of color based racism: Implications of projection for dark-skinned Puertoorriqueños. *JSRI Research Report #21*, The Julian Samora Research Institute (pp. 1-7). East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University. <https://jsri.msu.edu/upload/research-reports/rr21.pdf>
- Hall, R. E. (1998). Skin color bias: A new perspective on an old social problem. *Journal of Psychology*, 132(2), 238-240. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223989809599163>
- Hall, R. E. (2002). Racism vis-à-vis biopsychosocial systems. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 6(1), 45-64. [https://doi.org/10.1300/J137v06n01\\_04](https://doi.org/10.1300/J137v06n01_04)
- Hamilton, D. L., & Sherman, J. W. (1994). Stereotypes. In R. S. Wyer, Jr., & T. K. Srull (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Cognition*, Volume 2: Applications (pp. 1-68). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Harrison, M. S., Reynolds-Dobbs, W., & Thomas, K. M. (2008). Skin color bias in the workplace: The media's role and implications toward preference. In R. E. Hall (Ed.), *Racism in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: An empirical analysis*

- of skin color (pp. 47-62). New York: Springer.
- Harrison, M. S., & Thomas, K. M. (2009). The hidden prejudice in selection: A research investigation on skin color bias. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 39(1), 134-168. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1111/j.1559-1816.2008.00433.x>
- Hernandez, T. K. (2002). Multiracial matrix: The role of race ideology in the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws, A United States-Latin America comparison. *Cornell Law Review*, 87(5), 1093-1176. [https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/faculty\\_scholarship/15](https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/faculty_scholarship/15)
- Hernandez, T. K. (2006). Latino inter-ethnic discrimination and the diversity defense. Rutgers Law School (Newark) Faculty Paper, No. 36, 1-134. <https://law.bepress.com/rutgersnewarklwps/art36>.
- Herring, C. (2003). Skin deep: Race and complexion in the color-blind era. In C. Herring, V. M. Keith, & H. D. Horton (Eds.), *Skin deep: How race and complexion matter in the color-blind era* (pp. 1-21). Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Hersch, J. (2011). Characteristics of color discrimination charges filed with the EEOC. Vanderbilt University Law School, Law and Economics, Social Science Network Working Paper Number 11-34. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1907757#](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1907757#)
- Hochschild, J. L. (2005). From nominal to ordinal: Reconceiving racial and ethnic hierarchy in the United States. In C. Wolbrecht & R. E. Hero (Eds.), *The politics of democratic inclusion* (pp. 19-44). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Hochschild, J. L., Burch, T., & Weaver, V. (2005). Effects of skin color bias in SES on political activities and attitudes. Wiener Center Inequality and Social Policy Seminar, Harvard University Government Department.
- Hughes, M., & Hertel, B. R. (1990). The significance of color remains: A study of life chances, mate selection, and ethnic consciousness among Black Americans. *Social Forces*, 68(4), 1105-1120. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/68.4.1105>
- Hunter, M. (2004). Light, bright, and almost White: The advantages and disadvantages of light skin. In C. Herring, V. M. Keith, & H. D. Horton (Eds.), *Skin deep: How race and complexion matter in the color-blind era* (pp. 22-44). Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Hunter, M. (2007). The persistent problem of colorism: Skin tone, status, and inequality. *Sociology Compass*, 1(1), 237-254. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2007.00006.x>
- Johnson, J., Rush, S., & Feagin, J. (2000). Doing anti-racism: Toward an egalitarian American society. *Contemporary Sociology*, 29(1), 95-110. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2654935>
- Jones, J. M. (1999). Cultural racism: The intersection of race and culture in intergroup conflict. In D. A. Prentice & D. T. Miller (Eds.), *Cultural Divides: Understanding and Overcoming Group Conflict* (pp. 465-490). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jones, T. (2000). Shades of brown: The law of skin color. *Duke Law Journal*, 49(6), 1487-1557. [https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/faculty\\_scholarship/72/](https://scholarship.law.duke.edu/faculty_scholarship/72/)
- Kirschenman, J., & Neckerman, K. M. (1991). We'd love to hire them, but...The meaning of race for employers. In C. Jencks & P. E. Peterson (Eds.), *The Urban Underclass* (pp. 203-234). Washington, DC: Brookings Institute Press.
- Kulik, C. T., Roberson, L., & Perry, E. L. (2007). The multiple-category problem: Category activation and inhibition in the hiring process. *Academy of Management Review*, 32(2), 529-548. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2007.24351855>
- Lee, J., & Bean, F. D. (2007). Reinventing the color line: Immigration and America's New racial/ethnic divide. *Social Forces*, 86(2), 561-586. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/86.2.561>
- Livingston, R. W., & Brewer, M.B. (2002). What are we really priming? Cue-based versus category-based processing of facial stimuli. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82(1), 5-18. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.1.5>
- Locke, V., Macrae, C. N., & Eaton, J. L. (2005). Is person categorization modulated by exemplar typicality? *Social Cognition*, 23(5), 417-428. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2005.23.5.417>
- Longshore, D., & Beilin, R. (1980). Interracial behavior in the prisoner's dilemma: The effect of color connotations. *Journal of Black Studies*, 11(1), 105-120. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2784270>
- Maddox, K. B. (2004). Perspectives on racial phenotypicity bias. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 8(4), 383-401. [https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0804\\_4](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327957pspr0804_4)
- Maddox, K. B., & Gray, S. A. (2002). Cognitive representations of Black Americans: Reexploring the role of skin tone. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(2), 250-259. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202282010>
- Marshall, G. W., Stamps, M. B., & Moore, J. N. (1998). Preinterview biases: The impact of race, physical attractiveness, and sales job type on preinterview impressions of sales job applicants. *Journal of Personal Selling & Sales Management*, 18(4), 21-38. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40471692>

- Martinez, R., & Iyer, V. (2008). Latin America's racial caste system: Salient marketing implications. *International Business & Economics Research Journal*, 7(11), 55-62. <https://doi.org/10.19030/iber.v7i11.3308>
- Massey, D. S. (2001). Latinos, poverty and the underclass: A new agenda for research. In H. Goulbourne (Ed.), *Race and Ethnicity: Critical Concepts in Sociology* (pp. 352-377). London: Routledge.
- 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). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Mirza, P. (2003). A bias that's skin deep. *HR Magazine*, 48(12), 62-67.
- Otis, G. A. (2013, March 27). 13 Parks Department workers get \$165,000 settlement after claiming race-based transfers in Battery Park city. *New York Daily News*, Retrieved from <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/parks-dept-workers-165k-discrimination-settlement-article-1.1300923>.
- Pascoe, P. (1996). Miscegenation law, court cases, and ideologies of race in twentieth-century America. *Journal of American History*, 83(1), 44-69. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2945474>
- Pew Research Center (2009, December 11). Between the two worlds: How young Latinos come to age in America. Retrieved from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2009/12/11/v-economic-well-being/>.
- Purkiss, S. L. S., Perrewé, P. L., Gillespie, T. L., Mayes, B. T., & Ferris, G. R. (2006). Implicit sources of bias in employment interview judgments and decisions. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 101(2), 152-167. <https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1016/j.obhdp.2006.06.005>
- Rothenberg, P. S. (2007). *Race, class, and gender in the United States*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Russell, K., Wilson, M. L., & Hall, R. E. (1992). *The color complex: The politics of skin color among African-Americans*. New York: Bantam/Doubleday.
- Smith-McLallen, A., Johnson, B. T., Dovidio, J. F., & Pearson, A. R. (2006). Black and White: The role of color bias in implicit race bias. *Social Cognition*, 24(1), 46-73. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2006.24.1.46>
- Stepanova, E. V., & Strube, M. J. (2009). Making of a face: Role of facial physiognomy, skin tone, and color presentation mode in evaluations of racial typicality. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 149(1), 66-81. <https://doi.org/10.3200/SOCP.149.1.66-81>
- Stewart, L. D., & Perlow, R. (2001). Applicant race, job status, and racial attitude as predictors of employment discrimination. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 16(2), 259-275. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1011113301301>
- Tagiuri, Renato (1969). Person perception. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *The handbook of social psychology* (pp. 395-449). Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Tatum, B. L. (2000). Deconstructing the association of race and crime: The salience of skin color. In M. W. Markowitz & D. D. Jones-Brown (Eds.), *The system in Black and White: Exploring the connections between race, crime, and justice* (pp. 31-46). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishing.
- Telles, E. E., & Murguia, E. (1990). Phenotypic discrimination and income differences among Mexican Americans. *Social Science Quarterly*, 71(4), 682-696. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42862790>
- Terkildsen, N. (1993). When White voters evaluate Black candidates: The processing implications of candidate skin color, prejudice, and self-monitoring. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37(4), 1032-1053. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2111542>
- Terpstra, D. E., & Larsen, J. M., Jr. (1980). A note on job type and applicant ethnicity as determinants of hiring decisions. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 53(2), 117-119.
- Thompson, M. S., & Keith, V. M. (2001). The blacker the berry, gender, skin tone, self-esteem, and self-efficacy. *Gender & Society*, 15(3), 336-357. <https://doi.org/10.1177/089124301015003002>
- Washington, R. E. (1990). Brown racism and the formation of a world system of racial stratification. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 4(2), 209-227. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20006991>
- Watson, S., DeJong, P. F., & Slack, J. L. (2009). Impact of racial attitudes on consumers' evaluations of Black character advertisements: Does spokesperson skin color make a difference? *Communication Research Reports*, 26(2), 91-104. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08824090902900479>
- Wegener, D. T., Dunn, M., & Tokusato, D. (2001). The flexible correction model: Phenomenology and the use of naïve theories in avoiding or removing bias. In G. B. Moskowitz (Ed.), *Cognitive social psychology: The Princeton symposium on the legacy and future of social cognition* (Chapter 17; pp. 277-290). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410605887>
- Whittler, T. E., & DiMeo, J. (1991). Viewers' reactions to racial cues in advertising stimuli. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 31(6), 37-46. <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1992-18095-001>
- Willadsen-Jensen, E. C., & Ito, T. A. (2006). Ambiguity and the timecourse of racial perception. *Social Cognition*, 24(5), 580-606. <https://doi.org/10.1521/soco.2006.24.5.580>
- Williams, J. E. (1969). Individual differences in color-name connotations as related to measures of Racial Attitudes. *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, 29(2), 383-386. <https://doi.org/10.2466/pms.1969.29.2.383>
- Wilson, M. G., Gahlout, P., Liu, L., & Mouly, S. (2005). A rose by any other name: The effect of ethnicity and name on access to employment. *University of Auckland Business Review*, 7(2), 65-72