AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Journal of Experimental Psychology: General

© 2026 American Psychological Association
ISSN: 0096-3445

https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0001902

Applicants of Color Encounter Discrimination Based on Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes in the Labor Market

Terrènce Pope[1], Linda Zou[2], Fasika Hailu[1], Laura Banham[1], Mona El-Hout[1], and Sapna Cheryan[1]
[1] Department of Psychology, University of Washington
[2] Department of Psychology, University of Maryland

The stereotype that people of color are less American than White Americans may lead to hiring and employment discrimination. We test this prediction in four experiments that simulate hiring decisions with White adults, White students, and racially diverse students (total $N = 2{,}146$) and one archival analysis (330 discrimination cases). We further identify job contexts where this form of discrimination is likely to occur and which groups may be most vulnerable. In Studies 1 and 2, Asian and Latino Americans were less likely to be selected than Black Americans for a job that emphasized stereotypically American characteristics (e.g., English skills, familiarity with American culture), even when their first names were Anglicized. Stereotypes about Asian and Latino Americans' cultural foreignness mediated their lower perceived hireability. Extending to a broader range of racial identities, gender identities, and job contexts revealed that for a stereotypically American job, Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American men and women were perceived as less hireable than Black Americans, who were perceived as less hireable than White Americans. However, when a job favored stereotypically high-status characteristics (e.g., technical skills, advanced education), Black, Latino/a, and Arab American men and women were perceived as less hireable than Asian and White Americans (Studies 3 and 4). An analysis of U.S. employment discrimination court cases revealed that Asian, Arab, and Latino American plaintiffs were more likely than Black American plaintiffs to report experiencing discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes (Study 5). Findings illuminate when, why, and for whom stereotypes about cultural foreignness shape experiences with racial discrimination in the U.S. labor market.

Public Significance Statement
Across controlled randomized experiments and employment discrimination court cases, we document discrimination in the U.S. labor market against people of color based on the stereotype that they are culturally foreign. This form of discrimination is likely to target Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American men and women in occupational contexts that emphasize stereotypically American characteristics. In contrast, contexts that emphasize stereotypically high-status characteristics cause different racial and ethnic groups to come into focus as likely targets of discrimination. This work paves the way for tailored interventions to reduce discrimination and improve racial equity in the labor market.

Keywords: labor market, hiring, discrimination, cultural foreignness, stereotypes

Supplemental materials: https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0001902.supp

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Musawenkosi Donia Saurombe served as action editor.
Terrènce Pope https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7851-1412
Fasika Hailu https://orcid.org/0009-0000-5215-1706
This research was funded by the National Science Foundation (Grants 1844358 and 2314179 awarded to Sapna Cheryan; Grant 2140987 awarded to Linda Zou). The authors thank Cynthia Levine, Nilanjana Dasgupta, Hilary Bergsieker, and members of the Identity and Academic Motivation Lab at the University of Houston and the Stereotypes, Identity, and Belonging Lab at the University of Washington for helpful comments and Christina Fong, Michael Johnson, Chris Barnes, Cynthia Wang, Nidhi Aggrawal, Yu Tse Heng, Sophie Leroy, Akhtar Badshah, Tony Greenwald, Linh Pham, Katherine Weltzein, Srikari Tadikonda, Austin Kim, Abigail Beasley, and research assistants at the Stereotypes, Identity, and Belonging Lab for assistance with data collection.

Terrènce Pope played a lead role in conceptualization, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, project administration, validation, visualization, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing. Linda Zou played a lead role in conceptualization, formal analysis, funding acquisition, investigation, methodology, project administration, supervision, validation, visualization, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing. Fasika Hailu played a lead role in conceptualization, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, project administration, validation, visualization, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing. Laura Banham played a lead role in formal analysis, project administration, validation, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing and a supporting role in conceptualization, investigation, and methodology. Mona El-Hout played a lead role in formal analysis, project administration, validation, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing and a supporting role in conceptualization, investigation, and methodology.

continued

Racial discrimination in the labor market contributes to persistent disparities in employment and earnings (Pager, 2007). It also incurs financial costs, as employers engaging in discrimination are more likely to face employee turnover and even business closure (Level Playing Field Institute, 2007; Pager, 2016). Nevertheless, a significant body of work across social science fields has documented the existence and prevalence of racial discrimination in hiring against multiple racial and ethnic groups (Quillian et al., 2017).

The current work examines *when* and *why* such racial discrimination in the labor market occurs. We identify a novel and important mechanism underlying labor market discrimination: stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups' cultural foreignness. We investigate whether cultural foreignness stereotypes are a source of discrimination for jobs where stereotypically American traits are valued and whether certain racial and ethnic groups are more likely to be affected than others. We further compare stereotypically American jobs to jobs that value stereotypically high-status traits. Taken together, this work demonstrates how distinct occupational contexts cause different racial and ethnic groups to come into focus as likely targets of labor market discrimination.

Discrimination in the Labor Market

Investigations of racial discrimination in the U.S. labor market and beyond reveal that Black American applicants fare worse during the hiring process compared to equally qualified White American applicants (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Pager et al., 2009; Quillian et al., 2017). Extensions to other racial and ethnic groups similarly find that Asian (Kang et al., 2016), Arab (Widner & Chicoine, 2011), and Latino Americans (Bendick et al., 1991; Pager et al., 2009; Quillian et al., 2017) encounter hiring discrimination relative to White Americans.

Less research has compared labor market outcomes *among* people of color. Some work shows that Black Americans face labor market discrimination at higher rates than Latino Americans (Decker et al., 2015; Pager et al., 2009), while other work finds no difference in employer preferences for Latino, Black, and White American applicants (Darolia et al., 2016). Outside of the labor market, some studies show more discrimination against Black Americans than Asian and Latino Americans (Gaddis, 2017; Gaddis & Ghoshal, 2020), some show more discrimination against both Latino and Black Americans than Asian Americans (Eaton et al., 2020), some show more discrimination against Asian Americans than Latino and Black Americans (Milkman et al., 2012), and still others find more discrimination against Asian and Latino Americans than Black Americans (Gell-Redman et al., 2018).

Racial stereotypes are theorized to play an important role in driving racial discrimination in the labor market (Quillian & Midtbøen, 2021). For instance, qualitative research reveals that employers' decisions not to hire Black Americans are often based on their beliefs about the "low intelligence," "unreliability," and "laziness" of Black American employees (Holzer, 1996; Moss & Tilly, 2001; Neckerman & Kirschenman, 1991; Shih, 2002). Examining the reasons that employers discriminate may allow us to better predict which racial and ethnic groups are likely to face discrimination and in what contexts discrimination is likely to occur.

Stereotypes About Cultural Foreignness

A group's inclusion in a valued superordinate identity—such as the national American identity—affords group members greater status and privileged access to resources (Wenzel et al., 2008). American identity is often defined by a civic component that emphasizes patriotism, civic participation, and endorsement of American ideological values, and an ethno-cultural component that emphasizes being born in the United States, speaking English, practicing Christianity, and participating in other American cultural traditions (Citrin et al., 1990; Schildkraut, 2014). White Americans, as the dominant racial and ethnic group in the United States, are considered the most prototypically "American" (Devos & Banaji, 2005). People of color, including Black Americans and Native Americans, are perceived as less American by comparison (Devos & Mohamed, 2014).

Some racial and ethnic groups, particularly Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans, are perceived as not only less American than White Americans but also culturally foreign (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). These groups are often stereotyped as noncitizens, speaking foreign languages, practicing religions other than Christianity, participating in foreign cultural traditions, and being loyal to foreign countries and governments (L. R. Chavez, 2013; Jamal & Naber, 2008; Tuan, 1998). Cultural foreignness stereotypes impact racial and ethnic groups' experiences with discrimination. For instance, Asian and Latino Americans frequently encounter the denial of their American identity, manifested through routine questions about where they are "really from" (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

Cultural foreignness stereotypes may also shape patterns of discrimination in the labor market. Employers tend to hold particularly negative evaluations of Asian and Latino American applicants who speak foreign-accented English (Hosoda et al., 2012; Timming, 2017) and applicants in Muslim religious attire (e.g., wearing a hijab; Ghumman & Jackson, 2010; Ghumman & Ryan, 2013). In qualitative responses, employers in past research voiced concerns over the English-speaking abilities and cultural differences of Asian Canadian applicants (Oreopoulos, 2011). The perception that Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans are culturally foreign may underlie employers' decisions to pass over applicants from these groups. However, the perceived cultural foreignness of racial and ethnic groups may be considered more relevant to certain jobs than others.

The Role of Job Context

Hiring discrimination against people of color has been primarily documented within a subset of jobs, such as low-wage jobs (Pager et al., 2009), retail jobs (King & Ahmad, 2010), or science, technology, engineering, and mathematics jobs (Eaton et al., 2020).

Sapna Cheryan played a lead role in conceptualization, formal analysis, funding acquisition, investigation, methodology, project administration, supervision, validation, visualization, writing–original draft, and writing–review and editing.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Terrènce Pope, Department of Psychology, University of Washington, Guthrie Hall Box 351525, Seattle, WA 98195, United States. Email: pope.terrence@outlook.com

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

The smaller body of work comparing outcomes across jobs finds that people of color are more likely to experience discrimination for jobs involving higher occupational status (Gaddis, 2015) or customer contact (Gorzig & Rho, 2022; Timming, 2017). People of color may also be likely to face labor market discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes for certain jobs more than others.

Hiring discrimination often results from a perceived incongruence between occupational requirements and applicant characteristics (King et al., 2006). Applicants may be passed over for jobs perceived to require characteristics that are inconsistent with how their specific racial and ethnic group is stereotyped. Discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes may be stronger in occupational contexts seen as favoring stereotypically American characteristics (i.e., stereotypically American jobs). For example, national security jobs that emphasize loyalty to the United States (Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010), the role of president and other political leaders (Devos & Ma, 2013), or jobs that require English language fluency (Timming, 2017) or displays of enthusiasm (Bencharit et al., 2019) may value stereotypically American characteristics and thus be viewed as less suitable for members of groups stereotyped as culturally foreign. We examine whether Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans, who are consistently perceived as culturally foreign, may be systematically precluded from stereotypically American jobs to a greater extent than Black Americans, who themselves may experience discrimination in these job contexts relative to White Americans.

We compare discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes to discrimination based on the second prominent dimension of racial and ethnic stereotyping in the United States: perceived social status (i.e., perceived socioeconomic, educational, and occupational prestige; Fiske et al., 2002; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). Just as some jobs are perceived to favor stereotypically American characteristics, others may be perceived to favor stereotypically high-status characteristics (e.g., high educational attainment, technical skills). For instance, managerial positions and jobs in medical or science, technology, engineering, and mathematics domains may be seen as valuing high-status characteristics more than stereotypically American characteristics. Employers may pass over applicants based on their perceived lack of fit with the job, such that members of groups that are stereotyped as low status are precluded from such stereotypically high-status jobs. Indeed, Black and Latino Americans are stereotyped as low status and considered more suitable for jobs that are also perceived as low status (e.g., janitor, cashier; Dupree et al., 2021; King et al., 2006). In comparison, Asian and White Americans are stereotyped as relatively high status and considered more suitable for stereotypically high-status jobs (e.g., doctor, scientist; Dupree et al., 2021; King et al., 2006). We posit that different patterns of discrimination across racial and ethnic groups may occur for stereotypically American compared to stereotypically high-status jobs.

Overview of Current Work

The current work investigates discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes in the labor market. We predict that, for stereotypically American jobs, Asian, Arab, and Latino American job applicants will be seen as less hireable than Black American applicants, who themselves will be seen as less hireable than White American applicants.[1] Lower perceived hireability for these jobs will be explained by racial stereotypes about applicants' cultural foreignness and fit with the American identity. We examine individuals' own stereotypes and likelihood of discriminating (Studies 1 and 2), as well as their beliefs about others' stereotypes and likelihood of discriminating (Studies 3 and 4). Individuals' expressions of personally held stereotypes are regulated by their expectations about which behaviors are considered acceptable by others (Álvarez-Benjumea, 2025; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003); thus, assessing both allows us to better understand the extent to which discrimination may occur.

Furthermore, we predict that discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes is more likely to occur in certain job contexts than others. We compare stereotypically American jobs to jobs that emphasize stereotypically high-status characteristics and test whether discrimination for stereotypically high-status jobs is driven by stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups' low status. In the current work, low-status stereotypes are operationalized using competence-related characteristics. Although perceived status and perceived competence are distinct constructs, they are strongly positively correlated (Fiske et al., 2002). Status is used to infer competence, such that groups that are described as high status are subsequently stereotyped as competent, intelligent, and skilled, while low-status groups are stereotyped as lacking those qualities (Caprariello et al., 2009). Moreover, competence-related information may be especially relevant to hiring situations, as presumptions about job applicants' incompetence can lead to negative hiring evaluations (Haefner, 1977; Krings et al., 2011).

We begin with preliminary real-world evidence using data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics to compare the proportion of Asian American and Black American employees in stereotypically American jobs to stereotypically high-status jobs. Next, we experimentally test whether White Americans are less likely to select Asian American applicants (Studies 1 and 2) and Latino American applicants (Study 1) to be hired for a stereotypically American job compared to Black American applicants. We then investigate the perceived hireability of applicants with stereotypical Asian, Arab, Latino/a, Black, and White American male names (Study 3) and female names (Study 4) for a stereotypically American job compared to a stereotypically high-status job. Across Studies 1–4, we test stereotypes about applicants' cultural foreignness as a mechanism that predicts differences in perceived hireability. In Study 5, we analyze Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) court cases to test whether employment discrimination charges brought by Asian, Arab, and Latino American plaintiffs are more likely than those brought by Black American plaintiffs to mention cultural foreignness stereotypes.

This work makes five key contributions to the psychology literature. First, we empirically establish perceived cultural foreignness and low status as distinct mechanisms underlying labor market discrimination. Second, we disaggregate racial and ethnic groups to identify which are particularly likely to face these forms of

[1] Our prediction that Black American applicants would be perceived as more culturally foreign and less hireable for a stereotypically American job compared to White American applicants was not included in preregistration materials but is consistent with past research demonstrating that, although Black Americans are considered more American than culturally foreign, they are perceived to be less American than White Americans (Zou & Cheryan, 2017).

discrimination. Third, we identify specific occupational contexts (e.g., stereotypically American jobs) that increase the likelihood of discrimination based on perceived cultural foreignness. Fourth, we test our effects across intersections of applicant race and gender. Fifth, we demonstrate evidence for our hypotheses with four controlled experiments and real-world archival data (i.e., U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, EEOC court cases).

Preliminary Evidence

To conduct a preliminary investigation into whether some racial and ethnic groups are more likely than others to face labor market discrimination for stereotypically American jobs, we examined patterns of racial representation within different occupations using federal data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. We focused on comparing the representation of Asian American employees and Black American employees due to these groups' contrasting stereotype content (Asian Americans are stereotyped as more culturally foreign and higher in status, while Black Americans are stereotyped as less culturally foreign and lower in status; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). The nature of the data set also restricted the number of groups we could examine (i.e., there was no Arab American category, and Hispanic/Latino was represented as an ethnicity that overlapped with racial categories).

Method

All occupation titles ($N = 331$) were retrieved from the Current Population Survey (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). Three research assistants were provided a list of stereotypically American qualifications (e.g., verbal English communication, political service) and stereotypically high-status qualifications (e.g., advanced math skills, intellectual abilities) from the literature (e.g., Yogeeswaran & Dasgupta, 2010; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). They rated how much each occupation title indicated that the job requires stereotypically American or high-status "knowledge, experience, or characteristics" on a scale from 1 (*no qualifications listed are required*) to 7 (*most of or all qualifications listed are required*). Raters were instructed that they could look up an occupation title to learn about it if needed. Raters exhibited sufficient reliability, $\alpha_{American} = .78$ and $\alpha_{high\text{-}status} = .83$.

Five occupations were rated above the midpoint of 4 (*half of the qualifications listed are required*) on stereotypically American characteristics (e.g., judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers, media and communication workers). Five other occupations were rated above the midpoint on requiring stereotypically high-status characteristics (e.g., computer network architects, medical scientists).

Results

Of the five occupations coded by research assistants as requiring the most stereotypically American characteristics, four had a lower proportion of Asian American employees than Black American employees. Of the five occupations coded as requiring the most stereotypically high-status characteristics, all five had a lower proportion of Black American employees than Asian American employees (see Table 1).

A 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 2 (employee race: Asian American, Black American) chi-square test of independence revealed that the representation of Asian American employees and Black American employees differed across job contexts, $\chi^2(1, N = 569{,}139) = 23{,}084.35$, $p < .001$, $\varphi = .20$. Within jobs that require stereotypically American characteristics, the proportion of Asian American employees (52%) and Black American employees (48%) was about equal. In contrast, a significantly larger proportion of Asian American employees (73%) than Black American employees (27%) held jobs requiring stereotypically high-status characteristics.

Discrimination is not the only possible explanation for varied patterns of racial representation across job types. For instance, preference-based immigration policies have created a selection bias favoring the admission of highly educated Asian professionals into the United States, which may contribute to their relatively greater representation in stereotypically high-status jobs (Wu, 2013). The subsequent studies therefore use controlled randomized experiments

Table 1
Percent of Asian American and Black American Employees in Stereotypically American and Stereotypically High-Status Occupations

Category	Occupation	Asian American employees		Black American employees		Total employees
		N	Percent of total	*N*	Percent of total	*N*
American	Judges, magistrates, and other judicial workers	4,446	25.6	12,948	74.4	17,394
	Miscellaneous media and communication workers	1,050	36.6	1,815	63.4	2,865
	Lawyers	61,516	43.3	80,444	56.7	141,960
	Postsecondary teachers	129,472	63.3	75,140	36.7	204,612
	Public relations specialists	4,930	23.6	15,950	76.4	20,880
	Total across listed occupations	201,414	51.9	186,297	48.1	387,711
High status	Computer network architects	16,585	51.2	15,836	48.8	32,421
	Medical scientists	41,888	90.8	4,256	9.2	46,144
	Architectural and engineering managers	16,245	73.6	5,814	26.4	22,059
	Statisticians	17,080	78.0	4,819	22.0	21,899
	Mechanical engineers	41,055	69.7	17,850	30.3	58,905
	Total across listed occupations	132,853	73.2	48,575	26.8	181,428
Total employees by racial and ethnic group		334,267		234,872		

Note. Occupations were retrieved from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2017), and data for each occupation were retrieved from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2020), except for "miscellaneous media and communication workers," which was retrieved from the U.S. Census Bureau (2019). Total employees refers to the total number of Asian American and Black American employees (combined).

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

to identify which racial and ethnic groups are most likely to face labor market discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes, in what job contexts this is likely to occur, and why.

Analytic Decisions Across Studies

Each study reports all data exclusions, manipulations, and measures. All target sample sizes, procedures, hypotheses, and analysis plans were preregistered. Pairwise comparisons were conducted with Bonferroni corrections. Welch's t tests and ds are reported for between-subject comparisons, and d_{av}s are reported for within-subject comparisons. In analyses of variance (ANOVAs) with repeated measures, Greenhouse–Geisser estimates are reported when sphericity assumptions are violated. Within-subjects mediation analyses were conducted using the MEMORE SPSS macro with 10,000 bootstrapped samples (Montoya & Hayes, 2017). Multilevel mediation analyses were conducted using the MLmed SPSS macro (Hayes & Rockwood, 2017).

Study 1

Study 1 experimentally tested whether Asian and Latino American applicants are less likely to be selected compared to Black American applicants for stereotypically American jobs. White American adults played the role of a hiring manager and were presented with resumes paired with pretested Asian (e.g., Tony Wang), Latino (e.g., Martin Gonzalez), and Black American male names (e.g., Tyrone Jefferson). Participants chose which of the three applicants they would hire for a stereotypically American job. We predicted that Asian and Latino American applicants would be selected less often and perceived as less hireable than Black American applicants for the job. We further predicted that participants' perceptions that Asian and Latino American applicants are more culturally foreign than Black American applicants would mediate the relationship between applicant race and perceived hireability, even when controlling for other stereotypes.

We used Anglicized (i.e., English language) first names for this study. Many people of color in the United States, particularly those who are immigrants or those with immigrant parents, have foreign language first names consistent with their countries of origin. However, some choose Anglicized names that sound more "American" to signal greater cultural assimilation (Gerhards & Hans, 2009), and people of color may strategically present Anglicized names on their resumes specifically to avoid discrimination (Kang et al., 2016). Because previous work has found that Asian Americans with Anglicized first names tend to face less discrimination in the United States than those with foreign language first names (Zhao & Biernat, 2019), using Anglicized names in this study provided a conservative test of our hypothesis.

Method

Transparency and Openness

Study 1 preregistration, materials, data set, data dictionary, and code are publicly available at https://osf.io/2jwtb/overview?view_only=4d740836bfeb4310993b3050a56b1494. There were no deviations from the preregistration. All preregistered hypotheses were supported. For this and all studies, preregistered simple mediation analyses are presented in the Supplemental Material.

Pretests

We pretested the job ad, first and last applicant names, and resumes used in this study. All pretests are detailed in the Supplemental Material and summarized briefly later.

For the job ad, we used a stereotypically American job ad (see Study 2 pretest for more information) that featured characteristics stereotypically associated with being American (e.g., "familiar with American customs and traditions," "strong English skills"; Zou & Cheryan, 2017). This job ad explicitly included a U.S. citizenship requirement, which is a restriction found for many jobs, such as those that require security clearance. Studies 3 and 4 removed this requirement.

To create applicant names, a pretest ($N = 100$) assessed the degree to which 44 common Asian American and Latino American first names were perceived as Anglicized. The three Asian American male names (i.e., Tony, Jimmy, Henry) and three Latino American male names (i.e., Victor, Edwin, Martin) that were rated as most Anglicized were used in the present study. We also used three Black American male first names (i.e., Tyrone, Terrell, DeShawn) from the Study 2 pretest described below. A separate pretest ($N = 102$) of 51 last names' stereotypic associations with Asian, Arab, Latino, Black, and White Americans identified the three most stereotypical names for each group (e.g., Wong, Mohammed, Lopez, Jackson, Miller). In the present study, first names and last names were randomly paired for Asian, Latino, and Black Americans, removing celebrity or extremely rare name combinations (i.e., those that were not found via a web search). See Table 2 for the names used across studies.

Finally, a pretest ($N = 152$) of three resumes confirmed that they were rated comparably on perceived employability, cultural foreignness, competence, warmth, and political orientation. See the Supplemental Material for all resumes used across studies.

Procedure

White Americans recruited on Prolific ($N = 1{,}039$, 576 women, 438 men, 19 nonbinary, three who preferred a different term, and three who selected multiple options) participated in the study online. Participants reviewed an ad for a stereotypically American job (see Table 3). Next, participants viewed the three pretested resumes presented in randomized order. Each resume was randomly paired with one of three Asian American, one of three Latino American, or one of three Black American male names (see Table 2).

After each resume, participants rated the applicant on their perceived hireability (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire this applicant for this job?" three items, αs $> .88$) and perceived cultural foreignness (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is familiar with American culture?" reverse-scored; three items, αs $> .89$). Also assessed were perceptions of low competence (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is competent?" reverse-scored; three items, αs $> .92$), warmth (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is friendly?" two items, ps $> .90$), and political orientation (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is liberal?" two items, ρs $> .61$; scored such that higher scores indicate a more liberal political orientation).

After rating all three applicants, participants indicated which of the three applicants they would recommend for the position. Finally,

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Table 2
Names Used to Represent Applicants of Different Racial and Ethnic Groups in Studies 1–4

Study	Asian American	Arab American	Latino/a American	Black American	White American
1	Tony Wong		Martin Gonzalez	Tyrone Jefferson	
	Jimmy Chan		Victor Lopez	Terrell Washington	
	Henry Yang		Edwin Sanchez	DeShawn Jackson	
2	Zhang Wei Chan			DeShawn Jefferson	
	Chen Yang			Terell Jackson	
	Dong Huang			Tyrone King	
	Wang Xiu Wong			Lamar Washington	
3	Chen Wong	Mohammed Irshad	Santiago Gonzalez	Tyrone Jefferson	Brett Scott
	Zhang Chan	Mamuod Mohamed	Diego Lopez	Terrell Washington	Michael Allen
	Wang Yang	Ahmed Ahmad	Alejandro Sanchez	DeShawn Jackson	Todd Miller
4	Lei Wong	Fatima Irshad	Juanita Gonzalez	Latonya Jefferson	Emily Scott
	Mei Chan	Imani Mohamed	Maria Lopez	Lakisha Washington	Sarah Allen
	Li-Na Yang	Sharifah Ahmad	Luciana Sanchez	Tanisha Jackson	Carrie Miller

Note. In Study 3, 20 questionnaires misspelled Gonzalez as Gonalez, and five questionnaires used Cheng instead of Chen. In Study 4, 18 questionnaires had an extra space between Imani and Mohamed, 10 questionnaires used Mei Yang, nine questionnaires used Li-Na Chan, nine questionnaires used Sharifa instead of Sharifah, and one questionnaire misspelled Gonzalez as Gonalez.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

participants completed manipulation checks in which they selected what race they believed each applicant to be and filled out demographic information.

Results

Manipulation Check

Most participants accurately identified the intended race of applicants with stereotypically Asian American (98%), Latino American (98%), and Black American (95%) names. Results are similar when applicants who fail the manipulation check are excluded.

Perceived Hireability

A repeated-measures ANOVA revealed significant overall differences in the perceived hireability of Asian, Latino, and Black American applicants, $F(1.84, 1914.61) = 67.35$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. As predicted, White American participants rated Asian ($M = 5.27$,

Table 3
Job Ads Used in Studies 1–4

Study	Stereotypically American job	Stereotypically high-status job	Control job
1 and 2	Job description: If you are a citizen dedicated to **democracy and happiness for all Americans**, Edge Company Inc. can offer a satisfying opportunity. We are looking for an employee who is **familiar with American customs and traditions** Job requirements: • Strong English skills • **American citizenship required** • College education not required	Job description: If you are **skilled, competent, and highly educated**, Edge Company Inc. can offer a prestigious opportunity. We are looking for an employee who can **deliver superior results** Job requirements: • Ability to produce high-quality work • **College degree required** • American citizenship not required	Job description: If you are looking for a new job, Edge Company Inc. can offer a satisfying opportunity. We are looking for an employee to be a Program Response Specialist Job requirements: • American citizenship not required • College education not required
3 and 4	Job description: If you are **engaging and enthusiastic,** Edge Company Inc. can offer a satisfying opportunity. We are looking for an employee who can **communicate effectively** and **has a strong customer service orientation** Job requirements: • Strong **speaking, listening, and presentation** abilities • Familiarity with **U.S. government regulations** (e.g., FCC regulations, Freedom of Information Act) • **College education not required**	Job description: If you have **experience in client side and server-side programming languages** (e.g., Javascript, Python, PHP), Edge Company Inc. can offer a satisfying opportunity. We are looking for an employee who has the **ability to learn new programming languages/frameworks** and is **comfortable working in a command-line-based UNIX/Linux environment** Job requirements: • Strong **programming competencies** and **analytical skills** • Experience with **parallelism using an asynchronous execution model** • **College education required**	

Note. All ads were for a position called a Program Response Specialist (a fictitious job title), to ensure that effects were not due to knowledge about actual racial representation in different jobs. Study 1 only included the stereotypically American job. Bolded text appeared in bold to participants. FCC = Federal Communications Commission.

SD = 1.35) and Latino American applicants (*M* = 5.27, *SD* = 1.28) as significantly less hireable than Black American applicants (*M* = 5.54, *SD* = 1.15) for a stereotypically American job (*p*s < .001, d_{av} = 0.22 and d_{av} = 0.22). There was no significant difference between the perceived hireability of Asian and Latino American applicants (*p* = 1.00, d_{av} = 0.01).

A chi-square goodness of fit test revealed that hiring preference was not equally distributed among applicants, $\chi^2(2, N = 1{,}039) = 259.97$, $p < .001$. As predicted, White American participants selected Asian American applicants (21%) and Latino American applicants (23%) to be hired at lower rates for a stereotypically American job compared to Black American applicants (57%; see Figure 1).

Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes as a Mechanism

A repeated-measures ANOVA revealed overall differences in cultural foreignness stereotypes about Asian, Latino, and Black American applicants, $F(1.61, 1666.83) = 485.16$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .32$. Both Asian (*M* = 2.59, *SD* = 1.29) and Latino American applicants (*M* = 2.51, *SD* = 1.19) were stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than Black American applicants (*M* = 1.72, *SD* = 0.87), *p*s < .001, d_{av} = 0.79 and d_{av} = 0.75. Asian American applicants were also stereotyped as significantly more culturally foreign than Latino American applicants (*p* = .001, d_{av} = 0.06). See Supplemental Material for results for other stereotyping measures and correlations among stereotyping measures in all studies.

As predicted, the lower perceived hireability of Asian American applicants compared to Black American applicants for a stereotypically American job was mediated by perceived cultural foreignness, even after controlling for the perceived competence, warmth, and political orientation of the applicants (indirect effect: *b* = −0.38, 95% CI [−0.46, −0.32]). Perceived cultural foreignness also mediated the lower perceived hireability of Latino American applicants compared to Black American applicants, above and beyond other stereotypes (indirect effect: *b* = −0.28, 95% CI [−0.35, −0.22]). See Figure 2 for the parallel mediation models.

Participant Gender Effects

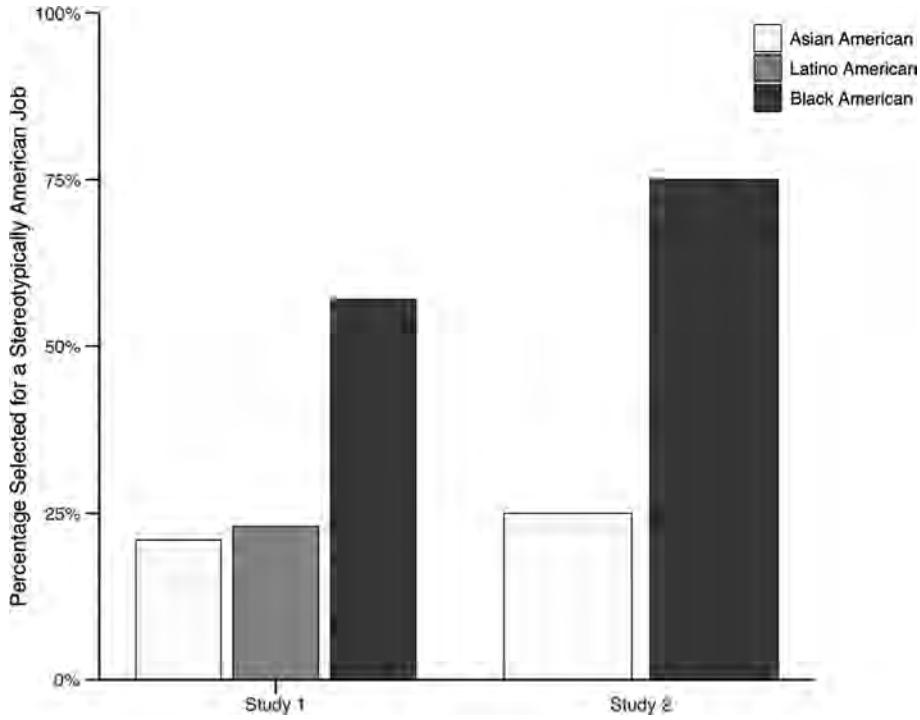
A 3 (applicant race: Asian American, Latino American, Black American) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability found that participant gender did not significantly moderate the effect of applicant race, $F(1.84, 1864.69) = 0.32$, $p = .71$, $\eta_p^2 < .001$.

Discussion

White American participants were less likely to select Asian and Latino American applicants than Black American applicants to be hired for a stereotypically American hypothetical job. They also perceived Asian and Latino American applicants as less hireable than Black American applicants. The lower perceived hireability of Asian and Latino American applicants was mediated by their greater perceived cultural foreignness compared to Black American applicants. Perceived cultural foreignness emerged as a significant mediator after controlling for alternative explanations, including perceived competence, warmth, and political orientation. Asian

Figure 1

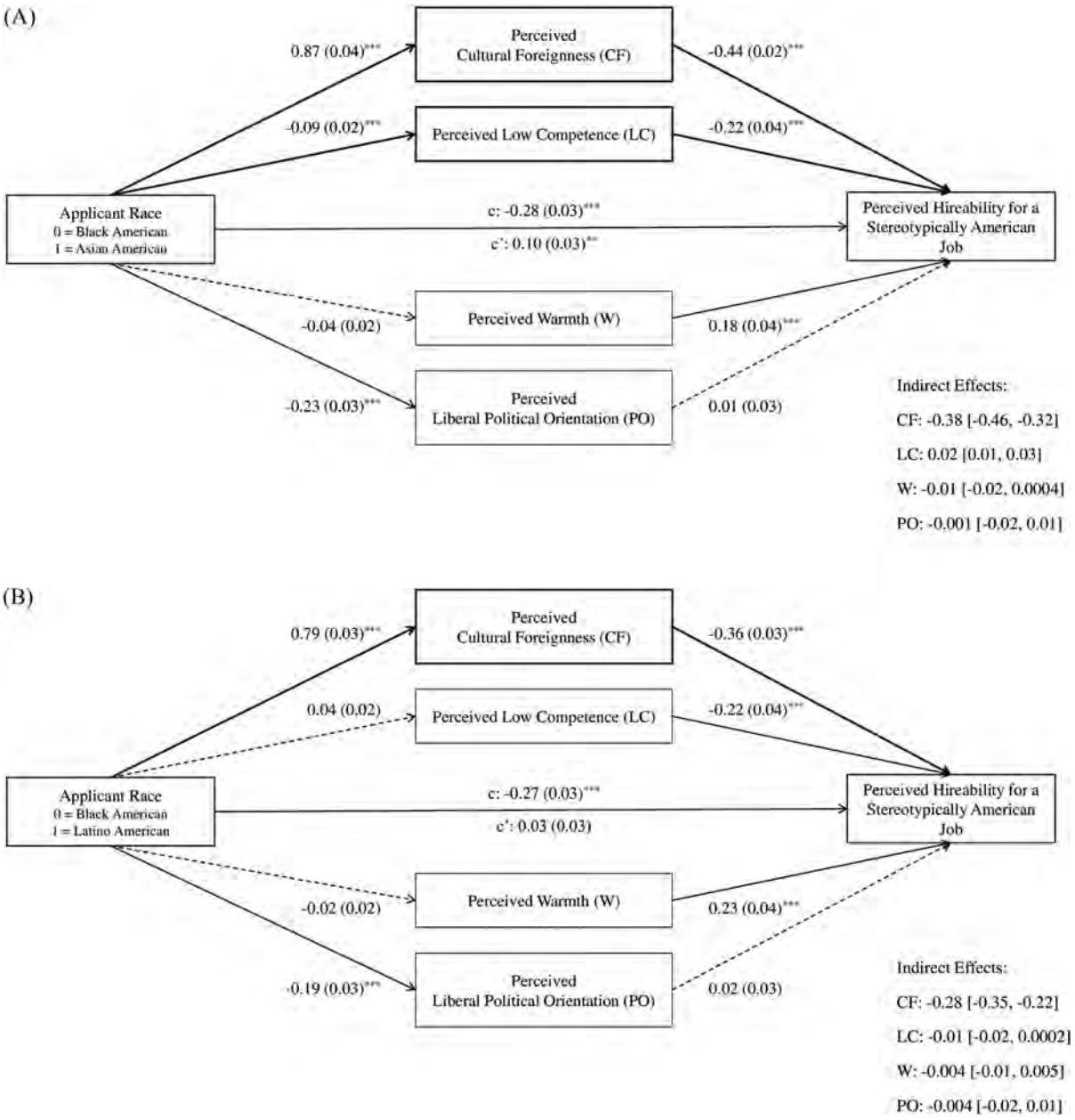
Percentage of Asian, Latino, and Black American Male Applicants Selected for the Stereotypically American Job in Studies 1 and 2



This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Figure 2

Parallel Mediation Models for Applicant Race Effects on Perceived Hireability for a Stereotypically American Job in Study 1



Note. (Panel A) The parallel mediation model comparing Asian American applicants to Black American applicants and (Panel B) the model comparing Latino American applicants to Black American applicants. Solid lines indicate significant paths at $p < .05$, and bold solid paths represent significant indirect effects.
** $p < .005$. *** $p < .001$.

Americans and Latino Americans, even those with Anglicized first names, may face more discrimination than Black Americans for stereotypically American jobs.

Study 2

Study 2 tested whether discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes is more relevant in certain job contexts than others. We compared a job requiring stereotypically American characteristics to two other jobs: one requiring stereotypically high-status characteristics instead of stereotypically American characteristics, and one requiring neither stereotypically American nor stereotypically high-status characteristics. We focused on the comparison between Asian Americans and Black Americans and predicted that Asian American male applicants would be perceived as less hireable than Black American male applicants and selected less often for a

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

stereotypically American job. However, we expected that Asian American male applicants would face less discrimination in job contexts that do not emphasize stereotypically American characteristics. In addition, Study 2 extended Study 1 and used applicant names pretested to be strongly associated with each racial and ethnic group, rather than restricting to Anglicized names.

Method

Transparency and Openness

Study 2 preregistration, materials, data set, data dictionary, and code are publicly available at https://osf.io/qd52z/overview?view_only=579241314c3c41f78237e72aaf55601e. In the Study 2 preregistration, we indicated that items would directly reference applicants' names (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire <applicant name> for this job?"), but names were not included in the items for about 70% of the questionnaires (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire this applicant for this job?"). There were no other deviations from the preregistration. All preregistered hypotheses were supported.

Pretests

We created a stereotypically American job ad (also used in Study 1), a stereotypically high-status job ad, and a control job ad (see Table 3). A pretest ($N = 150$) of the three job ads found that the ideal applicant for the stereotypically American job ad (compared to the other two jobs) was perceived as more American, while the ideal applicant for the stereotypically high-status job ad (compared to the other two jobs) was perceived as higher in competence. The three job ads did not differ on ratings of the ideal applicant's warmth or political orientation, or ratings of the job's appeal.

To develop applicant names, a pretest ($N = 221$) assessed the extent to which 100 first names were stereotypically associated with Asian, Arab, Latino/a, Black, and White Americans. Names were also rated on the degree to which they were stereotypically male or female. We selected the male and female names with the highest association with each racial and ethnic group (skipping over names for which the association with one group was not significantly higher than the others). For the present study, Asian American male first names and Black American male first names were randomly paired with the last names described in the Study 1 pretest (see Table 2).

Finally, we created two resumes with similar skills, work history, and educational backgrounds. A pretest ($N = 101$) found no significant differences between the two resumes on perceived desirability, cultural foreignness, warmth, and political orientation. One resume was rated as slightly lower in competence than the other ($M = 2.31$, $SD = 0.80$ vs. $M = 2.67$, $SD = 0.84$), $t(98.52) = 2.22$, $p = .029$, $d_s = 0.44$. All pretest details are reported in the Supplemental Material.

Procedure

White American undergraduate students (final $N = 500$, 307 women, 189 men, two nonbinary, two who use another term) were recruited from the psychology participant pool and brought into the lab. Consistent with our preregistration, 112 participants were excluded (71 who identified as White Americans on the prescreen but not later on the demographic form, 36 who incorrectly identified the race of at least one applicant, and five who received study materials with errors). The effects described below are similar when including all participants.

Participants played the role of a hiring manager and were given a packet of materials to review. Participants were randomly assigned to receive a job ad (see Table 3) that described the job using either stereotypically American characteristics, stereotypically high-status characteristics, or neither stereotypically American nor high-status characteristics. Participants then reviewed the resumes of two applicants. One resume was paired with an Asian American male name and the other with a Black American male name. Name order, resume order, and their pairings were counterbalanced.

For each resume, participants rated the applicant on three-item measures of perceived hireability (e.g., "How likely would you be to hire this applicant for this job?" $\alpha_{Asian} = .87$, $\alpha_{Black} = .87$), cultural foreignness (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant is familiar with American culture?" reverse-scored; $\alpha_{Asian} = .81$, $\alpha_{Black} = .82$), and low competence (e.g., "How likely is it that this applicant will be competent in this position?" reverse-scored; $\alpha_{Asian} = .79$, $\alpha_{Black} = .80$). After rating both applicants, participants indicated which applicant they would recommend for the position (open-ended). Finally, participants completed manipulation checks in which they selected what race they believed each applicant to be and filled out demographic information. All continuous items were on a scale from 1 (*not at all likely*) to 7 (*extremely likely*).

Results

Perceived Hireability

A 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian American, Black American) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed a main effect of job, $F(2, 497) = 34.23$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .12$, a main effect of applicant race, $F(1, 497) = 6.62$, $p = .01$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, and the predicted interaction, $F(2, 497) = 12.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .05$. For the stereotypically American job, Asian American applicants ($M = 5.17$, $SD = 1.15$) were rated as less hireable than Black American applicants ($M = 5.46$, $SD = 1.07$), $p < .001$. Asian and Black American applicants were not rated differently on perceived hireability for the stereotypically high-status job ($M_{Asian} = 5.98$, $SD_{Asian} = 0.78$; $M_{Black} = 5.94$, $SD_{Black} = 0.89$), $p = .47$, or for the control job ($M_{Asian} = 6.02$, $SD_{Asian} = 0.79$; $M_{Black} = 6.00$, $SD_{Black} = 0.80$), $p = .73$.

A 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian American, Black American) chi-square test of independence revealed that Asian and Black American applicants were selected in different proportions for the different jobs, $\chi^2(2, N = 494) = 19.03$, $p < .001$. As predicted, participants were less likely to select Asian American applicants (25%) than Black American applicants (75%) to be hired for the stereotypically American job (Figure 1). In comparison, Asian and Black American applicants were selected in relatively more even proportions for the stereotypically high-status job (37% and 63%, respectively) and the control job (48% and 52%, respectively).

Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes as a Mechanism

A 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian American, Black

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

American) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived cultural foreignness revealed a main effect of applicant race, $F(1, 497) = 683.81$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .58$, such that Asian American applicants ($M = 3.46$, $SD = 1.14$) were rated as significantly more culturally foreign than Black American applicants ($M = 2.07$, $SD = 0.87$).[2]

Greater cultural foreignness stereotypes significantly mediated the lower perceived hireability of Asian American applicants compared to Black American applicants for the stereotypically American job (indirect effect: $b = -0.33$, 95% CI [−0.49, −0.18]), above and beyond perceived competence, warmth, and political orientation (see Table 4).

We were unable to examine whether low competence stereotypes mediated the relationship between applicant race and perceived hireability for the stereotypically high-status job, as Black American applicants were not rated as significantly lower in perceived competence than Asian American applicants (see Supplemental Material).

Participant Gender Effects

A 3 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status, control) × 2 (applicant race: Asian American, Black American) × 2 (participant gender: women, men) mixed-model ANOVA on perceived hireability revealed that participant gender did not significantly moderate the interaction between job characteristics and applicant race, $F(2, 490) = 1.02$, $p = .36$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$.

Discussion

Asian American applicants were selected less often than Black American applicants for a stereotypically American hypothetical job. Cultural foreignness stereotypes predicted Asian Americans' lower perceived hireability for the stereotypically American job, even accounting for potential alternate mechanisms such as perceived competence, warmth, and political orientation. However, this pattern of discrimination differed when the job context changed. Asian and Black American applicants were perceived as equally hireable for a hypothetical job that emphasized stereotypically high-status characteristics, as well as for a hypothetical job that emphasized neither stereotypically American nor high-status characteristics.

Contrary to previous literature, White Americans did not rate Black Americans as lower in competence than Asian Americans or as less hireable for a stereotypically high-status job. This may be due to norms against expressing prejudice against Black Americans (Crandall et al., 2002; McCleary-Gaddy & Miller, 2018). Indeed, the similarity of applicant resumes in their formatting and content may have made the manipulation of applicant race (via names) conspicuous, such that participants may have been aware that the study was assessing racial discrimination, thus heightening social desirability concerns. We address this issue in Studies 3 and 4 by assessing participants' perceptions of norms instead of their personal beliefs, and in Study 5 by investigating real-world cases of employment discrimination.

Studies 3 and 4

Studies 3 and 4 build on the previous studies in three primary ways. First, we tested the perceived hireability of a wider range of racial and ethnic groups and directly compared the perceived hireability of Asian, Arab, Latino/a, Black, and White American applicants. We compared patterns of perceived hireability for a stereotypically American job with perceptions of hireability for a stereotypically high-status job. We predicted that Asian, Arab, and Latino American applicants would be perceived as more culturally foreign and thus less hireable for a stereotypically American job relative to Black American applicants. We also predicted in the Study 3 preregistration that Black American applicants would be perceived as more culturally foreign and less hireable compared to White American applicants. (We left this out of the Study 4 preregistration to focus on comparing applicants of color to one another.) We expected patterns to differ when a job instead emphasized stereotypically high-status characteristics.

Second, we examined the perceived hireability of male applicants (Study 3) *and* female applicants (Study 4). Although past work on labor market discrimination has tended to focus on the outcomes of men of color (for exceptions, see Booth et al., 2012; Milkman et al., 2012), women of color also routinely face discrimination in the labor market (Browne & Misra, 2003; O'Brien et al., 2014). Some research finds that women of color encounter different forms and levels of discrimination in selection and hiring than men of color (K. Chavez et al., 2022). However, both men and women of color are stereotyped as more culturally foreign and less American than their White American counterparts (Zou & Cheryan, 2017). We tested whether patterns of discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes extended to both male and female applicants from each racial and ethnic group.

Third, rather than providing their own evaluations of applicants' hireability, participants rated how applicants would be evaluated by other U.S. hiring managers. Study 3 participants were MBA students, the majority of whom had hiring experience, and almost half of the participants in Study 4 were undergraduate business students. Asking participants to take the perspectives of U.S. hiring managers allowed us to examine intersubjective norms (perceptions of what other people believe and value) around the treatment of different racial and ethnic groups in a hiring setting. Such perceived norms are important drivers of individual behavior, above and beyond personally held beliefs and values (Chiu et al., 2010; Lamer et al., 2022). For instance, individuals are more likely to express stereotypes and endorse discrimination when they perceive that such behavior is normative (Duguid & Thomas-Hunt, 2015; Zitek & Hebl, 2007). In addition, asking participants to report on what *others* would do may mitigate participants' social desirability concerns about appearing personally racist.

Pretests

The present studies used more ecologically valid ads created by using words and phrases pulled from real student job ads that coders rated as relatively high in stereotypically American characteristics or stereotypically high-status characteristics. See Table 3 for final job descriptions and requirements. A pretest ($N = 99$) found that the ideal applicant for the stereotypically American job (compared to the

[2] There was also a main effect of job characteristics, $F(2, 497) = 3.40$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .01$, such that applicants were perceived as more culturally foreign in the stereotypically American job condition compared to the control job condition ($p = .03$). There were no other significant differences between job conditions ($ps > .38$). The interaction between job characteristics and applicant race was not significant, $F(2, 497) = 1.05$, $p = .35$, $\eta_p^2 = .004$.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Table 4
Parallel Mediation Results for the Stereotypically American Job in Study 2

	Total effect	X → M	M → Y	Direct effect	Indirect effect	
M	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B*	95% CI
CF	−0.28*** (0.06)	1.41*** (0.09)	−0.23*** (0.05)	0.03 (0.09)	−0.33	[−0.49, −0.18]
LC		0.003 (0.05)	−0.48*** (0.09)		−0.001	[−0.05, 0.05]
W		−0.03 (0.05)	−0.06 (0.09)		0.002	[−0.01, 0.02]
PO		−0.09 (0.08)	−0.11 (0.06)		0.01	[−0.01, 0.03]

Note. M = mediators; X = applicant race; Y = perceived hireability; *SE* = standard error; CI = confidence interval; CF = perceived cultural foreignness; LC = perceived low competence; W = perceived warmth; PO = perceived liberal political orientation.
*** $p < .001$.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

stereotypically high-status job) was perceived as more American, while the ideal applicant for the stereotypically high-status job (compared to the stereotypically American job) was perceived as more competent.

For applicant names, first names (identified in the Study 2 pretest) and last names (identified in the Study 1 pretest) were randomly paired for Asian, Arab, Latino/a, Black, and White American men and women (see Table 2).

Method

Transparency and Openness

Study 3 (https://osf.io/3tfw9/overview?view_only=daa1df4cf9ed44799e786741abab04e9) and Study 4 (https://osf.io/ahzcq/overview?view_only=aaf01034cb0745e1b31eb296e4566571) preregistrations, materials, data set, data dictionary, and code are publicly available.

The Study 3 preregistration stated that we would recruit from one university's business school and the questionnaire would be administered on paper, but we needed to add a second university and survey some participants online to achieve our preregistered target sample size. The final sample included an extra two participants who were added to account for two earlier participants who did not answer all the questions. All preregistered hypotheses in Study 3 were supported.

For Study 4, we preregistered a target sample size of 302 and that questionnaires would be administered on paper. One extra participant was collected in the subject pool of the business school, and some participants were surveyed via Qualtrics. All preregistered hypotheses in Study 4 were supported except one (which predicted a difference in perceived hireability between Arab and White American women for the stereotypically high-status job).

Participants

For Study 3, MBA students ($N = 304$, 165 men, 129 women, seven unidentified, three nonbinary; 130 White American, 121 Asian American, 12 Latino American, 12 multiracial American, eight unidentified, seven Black American, seven Middle Eastern American, five selecting another group, two Native American) at two universities' business schools were administered paper ($n = 273$) or online ($n = 31$) questionnaires. Nearly 80% of participants ($n = 243$) were currently employed full time, and the majority ($n = 180$) reported having been responsible for hiring employees.

For Study 4, undergraduates ($N = 303$, 172 women, 130 men, one nonbinary; 147 Asian American, 106 White American, 21 Latino American, 20 multiracial American, four Black American, four Arab American, one selecting another group) were recruited from the university undergraduate online psychology subject pool ($n = 165$) and one business school ($n = 138$) and administered questionnaires on paper ($n = 38$) or on Qualtrics ($n = 265$).

Procedure

Other than the use of men's names (Study 3) or women's names (Study 4), procedures were identical across studies. Participants saw job ads for two positions with the same job title as Study 1 (job order counterbalanced; see Supplemental Material for order effects). One job was described using stereotypically American characteristics (e.g., "has a strong customer service orientation") and the other with stereotypically high-status characteristics (e.g., "experience in client side and server-side programming languages"). Participants then saw the names (without resumes) of five applicants representing five different racial and ethnic groups (i.e., Asian, Arab, Latino/a, Black, and White American) for the first job and the same five names for the second job (see Table 2). Name order varied across participants using a balanced Latin square design.

For each of the five applicants, participants completed a two-item measure of perceived hireability for each job (e.g., "Based on his name, how interested do you think U.S. hiring managers would be in hiring this applicant for Job #1?" $ps > .79$).

Next, participants rated each applicant's perceived cultural foreignness ("Based on his name, how American do you think U.S. hiring managers would perceive this applicant to be?" reverse-scored) and perceived low competence ("Based on his name, how competent do you think U.S. hiring managers would perceive this applicant to be?" reverse-scored). Ratings were provided on a scale from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*extremely*).

Participants completed manipulation checks in which they rated the extent to which each job required stereotypically American or high-status characteristics. Additionally, participants were asked about their occupation, including their job title, whether they had a full-time job (and if so, how long), and whether they were responsible for making hiring decisions. Finally, participants filled out demographic information.

Results

Because procedures across Studies 3 and 4 were identical, we employed an integrative data analysis approach (Curran & Hussong, 2009) and pooled Studies 3 and 4 into a single data set to achieve

greater statistical power for the following analyses. Preregistered analyses for each study are presented in the Supplemental Material and are consistent with the findings presented below.

Perceived Hireability

Descriptive statistics for perceived hireability are reported in Table 5. We conducted a linear mixed-effects model with applicant race (four dummy-coded variables with White Americans as a reference group), job characteristics (stereotypically American job coded as −1/2 and stereotypically high-status job coded as 1/2), and the Applicant Race × Job Characteristics interactions (stereotypically American Job × Applicant Race coded as −1/2 and stereotypically High-Status Job × Applicant Race coded as 1/2) entered as fixed effects, and participant included as a random intercept. Additionally, we included study (Study 3 coded as 1/2 and Study 4 coded as −1/2) as a fixed characteristic of each participant (Curran & Hussong, 2009; McNeish & Kelley, 2019). As predicted, the overall interaction between applicant race and job characteristics was significant, which we assessed by calculating a deviance score between the model with and without the interaction terms included, $\chi^2(4) = 1{,}377.16$, $p < .001$. Parameter estimates are reported in Table 6.

To test simple effects of applicant race within job characteristics, we created two contrasts to represent our primary preregistered hypotheses, two contrasts to represent relevant follow-up tests, and four supplementary contrasts to explain the same amount of variance as the main model (see Table 7). Contrast 1 compared Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American applicants to Black and White American applicants in the stereotypically American job. Contrast 2 compared Arab, Latino/a, and Black American applicants to Asian and White American applicants in the stereotypically high-status job. Contrast 3 compared Black American applicants to White American applicants in the stereotypically American job. Contrast 4 compared Asian American applicants to White American applicants in the stereotypically high-status job. Turning to the supplementary contrasts, Contrast 5 compared Arab and Latino/a American applicants to Asian American applicants in the stereotypically American job. Contrast 6 compared Latino/a American applicants to Arab American applicants in the stereotypically American job. Contrast 7 compared to Latino/a and Black American applicants to Arab American applicants in the stereotypically high-status job. Contrast 8 compared Latino/a American applicants to Black American applicants in the stereotypically high-status job.

We conducted a linear mixed-effects model with job characteristics and the eight contrasts as fixed effects and participant as a random intercept. Reported estimates reflect the predicted mean difference in hireability between the contrasted groups. As predicted, Contrasts 1 and 2 were both significant, such that Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American applicants were perceived as less hireable than Black and White American applicants for the stereotypically American job (see Figure 3), while Arab, Latino/a, and Black American applicants were perceived as less hireable than Asian and White American applicants for the stereotypically high-status job (see Figure 4). Contrast 3 was significant, such that Black American applicants were perceived as less hireable than White American applicants for the stereotypically American job. Contrast 4 was significant, such that Asian American applicants were perceived as more hireable than White American

Table 5
Descriptive Statistics and ANOVA Results for Perceived Hireability in Studies 3 and 4

Measure	Study	Asian American	Arab American	Latino/a American	Black American	White American	ANOVA results
		M (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	*M* (*SD*)	
Stereotypically American job	3	3.83_a (1.39)	3.61_b (1.32)	4.19_c (1.26)	4.80_d (1.38)	5.69_e (1.18)	$F(4, 296) = 114.88$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .61$
	4	3.53_a (1.22)	3.50_a (1.16)	4.14_b (1.18)	4.55_c (1.19)	5.70_d (1.05)	$F(4, 299) = 153.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .67$
Stereotypically high-status job	3	5.50_a (1.14)	4.71_b (1.27)	4.21_c (1.22)	4.27_c (1.34)	5.10_d (1.24)	$F(4, 296) = 75.98$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .51$
	4	5.41_a (1.13)	4.47_b (1.24)	3.66_c (1.10)	3.80_c (1.13)	4.61_b (1.12)	$F(4, 299) = 91.85$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .55$

Note. ANOVA results represent the simple effect of applicant race within each job type. Means in the same row that do not share a letter subscript differ at $p < .05$. ANOVA = analysis of variance.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Table 6

Parameter Estimates for Linear Mixed-Effects Models in Studies 3 and 4 Using an Integrative Data Analysis Approach

Parameter	Model 1: Main model *b* (*SE*)	Model 2: AG via study *b* (*SE*)	Model 3: PG *b* (*SE*)	Model 4: PR *b* (*SE*)
Intercept	5.27*** (0.04)	5.27*** (0.04)	5.27*** (0.04)	5.20*** (0.04)
Job characteristics	−0.84*** (0.06)	−0.84*** (0.06)	−0.85*** (0.06)	−0.84*** (0.06)
Applicant race: Asian American	−0.70*** (0.04)	−0.70*** (0.04)	−0.71*** (0.04)	−0.68*** (0.04)
Applicant race: Arab American	−1.19*** (0.04)	−1.19*** (0.04)	−1.20*** (0.04)	−1.12*** (0.04)
Applicant race: Latino/a American	−1.22*** (0.04)	−1.22*** (0.04)	−1.22***(0.04)	−1.13***(0.04)
Applicant race: Black American	−0.92*** (0.04)	−0.92*** (0.04)	−0.92*** (0.04)	−0.83*** (0.04)
Study (AG)	0.26*** (0.06)	0.26*** (0.06)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.07)
PG			−0.14* (0.06)	
PR				−0.01 (0.07)
Job × Asian American	2.61*** (0.08)	2.61*** (0.08)	2.64*** (0.08)	2.68*** (0.09)
Job × Arab American	1.87*** (0.08)	1.87*** (0.08)	1.89*** (0.08)	1.92*** (0.09)
Job × Latino/a American	0.61*** (0.08)	0.61*** (0.08)	0.62*** (0.08)	0.59*** (0.09)
Job × Black American	0.20* (0.08)	0.20* (0.08)	0.21* (0.08)	0.19* (0.09)
Job × Asian American × Study		−0.21 (0.11)		
Job × Arab American × Study		0.12 (0.11)		
Job × Latino/a American × Study		0.50*** (0.11)		
Job × Black American × Study		0.22 (0.11)		
Job × Asian American × PG			−0.02 (0.12)	
Job × Arab American × PG			−0.12 (0.12)	
Job × Latino/a American × PG			0.22 (0.12)	
Job × Black American × PG			0.03 (0.12)	
Job × Asian American × PR				−0.23 (0.12)
Job × Arab American × PR				0.06 (0.12)
Job × Latino/a American × PR				−0.17 (0.12)
Job × Black American × PR				−0.12 (0.12)

Note. AG = applicant gender; PG = participant gender; PR = participant race.
* $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

applicants for the stereotypically high-status job (see Table 7 for Contrasts 5–8).

Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes as a Mechanism

Descriptive statistics for cultural foreignness and low competence stereotypes are reported in Table 8. We conducted multilevel mediation analyses with the MLmed SPSS macro (Hayes & Rockwood, 2017) to account for our data's nested structure, wherein repeated measures at Level 1 were nested within participants at Level 2. Because all variables of interest were measured at Level 1, we estimated 1-1-1 (repeated-measures predictor–repeated-measures mediator–repeated-measures outcome) mediation models. For each model, one of four applicant race contrasts was specified as the independent variable, cultural foreignness stereotypes and low competence stereotypes as parallel mediators, and perceived hireability as the dependent variable, with ratings clustered by participant. Study was also included as a Level 2 covariate. We treated all predictors as fixed effects and included random intercepts. Indirect effects were estimated with Monte Carlo simulations (10,000 resamples), generating 95% CIs. Because each participant rated all applicants, we removed the between-group effect of applicant race from all models. Below, we report the within-group effects, which indicate the extent to which applicant race affected participants' ratings of applicant hireability via participants' ratings of cultural foreignness and low competence stereotypes (see Table 9).

Table 7

Contrasts for Simple-Effects Model Examining Job Type and Applicant Race Effects in Studies 3 and 4 Using an Integrative Data Analysis Approach

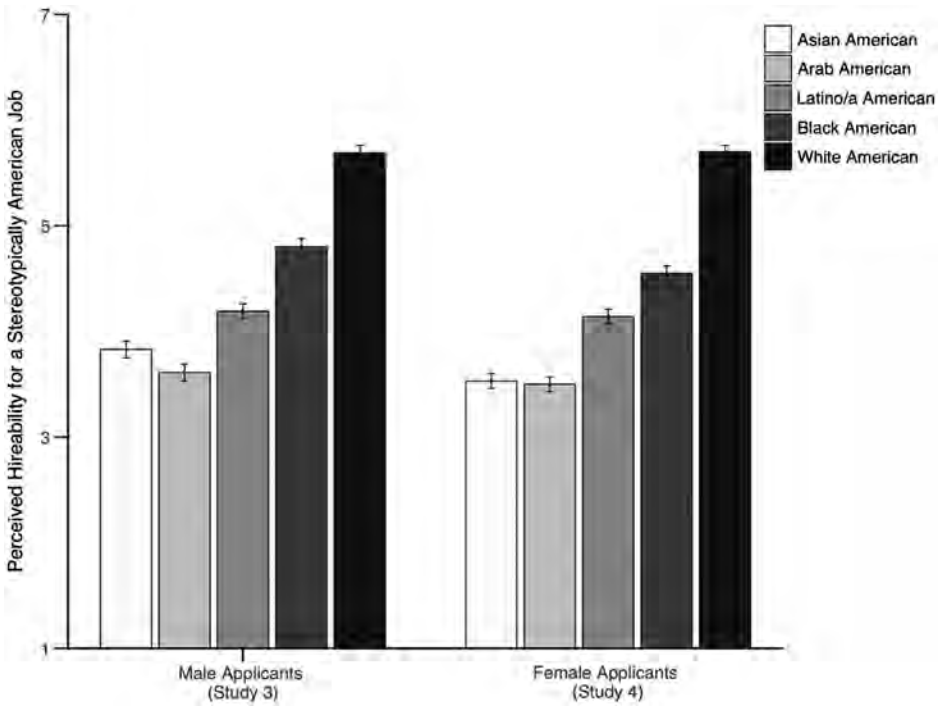
Contrast	Description	Y	Type	*b*	*SE*	*t*	*df*	*p*
1	AS/AR/L (−2/5) vs. B/W (3/5)	AM	Hypothesized	1.38	.04	37.32	5,428.10	<.001
2	AR/L/B (−2/5) vs. AS/W (3/5)	HS	Hypothesized	0.97	.04	26.11	5,427.67	<.001
3	B (−1/2) vs. W (1/2)	AM	Follow-up	1.01	.06	17.71	5,430.35	<.001
4	AS (−1/2) vs. W (1/2)	HS	Follow-up	−0.60	.06	−10.52	5,427.67	<.001
5	AR/L (−1/3) vs. AS (2/3)	AM	Supplementary	−0.18	.05	−3.71	5,430.21	<.001
6	L (−1/2) vs. AR (1/2)	AM	Supplementary	−0.60	.06	−10.56	5,429.92	<.001
7	L/B (−1/3) vs. AR (2/3)	HS	Supplementary	0.61	.05	12.23	5,427.67	<.001
8	L (−1/2) vs. B (1/2)	HS	Supplementary	0.10	.06	1.76	5,427.67	.08

Note. Y = outcome; AS = Asian American; AR = Arab American; L = Latino/a American; B = Black American; W = White American; AM = perceived hireability for a stereotypically American job; HS = perceived hireability for a stereotypically high-status job; SE = standard error.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Figure 3

Perceived Hireability of Male Applicants (Study 3) and Female Applicants (Study 4) for the Stereotypically American Job



Note. Error bars indicate standard error.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

For the stereotypically American job, the lower perceived hireability of Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American applicants compared to Black and White American applicants was significantly mediated by cultural foreignness stereotypes. The MLmed macro also tested pairwise contrasts of specific indirect effects and found that the indirect effect through cultural foreignness stereotypes was larger than the indirect effect through low competence stereotypes (difference = 0.52, 95% CI [0.44, 0.60]). In addition, cultural foreignness stereotypes mediated the lower perceived hireability of Black American applicants relative to White American applicants, and this indirect effect was larger than the indirect effect through low competence stereotypes (difference = 0.20, 95% CI [0.09, 0.30]).

For the stereotypically high-status job, the lower perceived hireability of Arab, Latino/a, and Black American applicants compared to Asian and White American applicants was significantly mediated by low competence stereotypes. The indirect effect through low competence stereotypes was larger than the indirect effect through cultural foreignness stereotypes (difference = 0.62, 95% CI [0.56, 0.68]). Low competence stereotypes also mediated the difference in perceived hireability between Asian American applicants and White American applicants, and this indirect effect was greater than the indirect effect through cultural foreignness stereotypes (difference = 0.31, 95% CI [0.20, 0.42]).

Applicant Gender (Study) Effects

Because Study 3 tested male applicants and Study 4 tested female applicants, we were able to examine applicant gender (via study) as a potential moderator. We added the two-way and three-way interactions with applicant gender (study) to the original model as fixed effects. The deviance score between this model and the original model showed that the three-way interaction with applicant gender (study) was significant, $\chi^2(4) = 27.18$, $p < .001$. Parameter estimates are reported in Table 6.

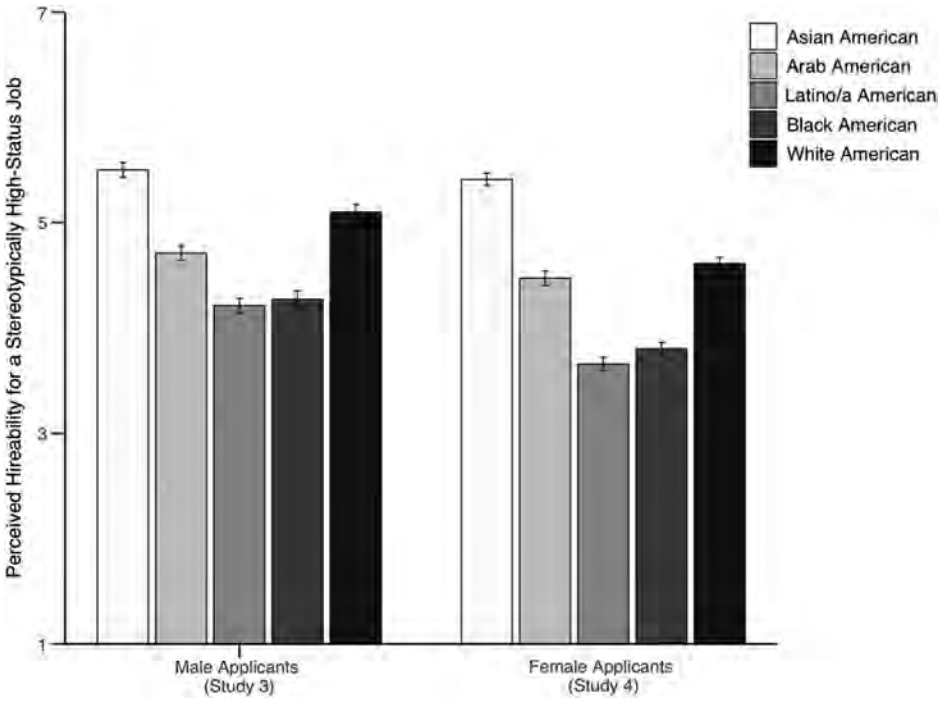
To decompose the three-way interaction, we conducted 2 (job characteristics: stereotypically American, stereotypically high-status) × 5 (applicant race: Asian American, Arab American, Latino/a American, Black American, White American) repeated-measures ANOVAs on perceived hireability for male and female applicant names separately. The expected two-way interaction was significant for male applicants, $F(2.80, 837.32) = 224.83$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .43$, and for female applicants, $F(2.73, 823.48) = 273.45$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .48$. Pairwise comparisons of applicant race within job characteristics showed that patterns were consistent across applicant gender (study), with one exception: While Arab American male applicants were perceived as less hireable than White American male applicants for the stereotypically high-status job, there was no difference in the perceived hireability of Arab American and White American female applicants (Figure 4). White American women are perceived as lower in status than White American men (Ridgeway, 2014) and may also be precluded from job contexts that emphasize stereotypically high-status characteristics.

Participant Gender and Race Effects

We tested participant gender as a potential moderator by adding participant gender (women as −1/2, men as 1/2) and the two-way

Figure 4

Perceived Hireability of Male Applicants (Study 3) and Female Applicants (Study 4) for the Stereotypically High-Status Job



Note. Error bars indicate standard error.

and three-way interactions between applicant race, job characteristics, and participant gender to the original model as fixed effects (see Table 6). The deviance score between this model and the original model showed that the three-way interaction with participant gender was not significant, $\chi^2(4) = 4.68$, $p = .32$.

We also tested participant race as a potential moderator by adding participant race (Asian American participants as −1/2, White American participants as 1/2) and the two-way and three-way interactions between applicant race, job characteristics, and participant race to the original model as fixed effects (see Table 6). The deviance score between this model and the original model showed that the three-way interaction with participant race was not significant, $\chi^2(4) = 6.84$, $p = .14$.

Discussion

Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American male and female applicants were perceived as less hireable for a stereotypically American job relative to Black American applicants. In addition, Black American male and female applicants were perceived as less hireable for a stereotypically American job relative to White American applicants. Furthermore, Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American male and female applicants were stereotyped as more culturally foreign than Black American applicants, who were stereotyped as more culturally foreign than White American applicants. Stereotypes about applicants' greater cultural foreignness mediated the effect of applicant race on perceived hireability for the stereotypically American job, over and above stereotypes about applicants' low competence.

However, consistent with our predictions, a different job context led to a different pattern of perceived hireability. When a job was stereotypically high status, Arab, Latino/a, and Black American male and female applicants were perceived as less hireable than Asian and White American applicants (with the exception that Arab American women were seen as equally hireable as White women). The effects of applicant race on perceived hireability for a stereotypically high-status job were mediated by stereotypes about applicants' low competence. Distinct job contexts cause different racial and ethnic groups to come into focus as the most likely targets of labor market discrimination.

Interestingly, Asian American male and female applicants were perceived as even more hireable than White Americans for the stereotypically high-status job. In the present studies, the stereotypically high-status job was operationalized using competence-related traits (e.g., "programming competencies and analytical skills"). Indeed, Asian Americans are stereotyped as high in technical competence (Sy et al., 2010) and associated with careers in math, engineering, and computer science (Leong & Hayes, 1990; Shen et al., 2014). However, Asian Americans are not perceived as high on other components of status, such as dominance (Bu & Borgida, 2021). As a result, Asian Americans (in particular, East Asian Americans; Lu, Nisbett, & Morris, 2020) may still be considered less suited than White Americans for other forms of stereotypically high-status jobs (e.g., CEOs).

Study 5

In a final study, we broadened our investigation to include discrimination against employees who are already in the workplace.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Table 8
Descriptive Statistics and ANOVA Results for Stereotypes in Studies 3 and 4

Stereotype measure	Study	Asian American *M* (*SD*)	Arab American *M* (*SD*)	Latino/a American *M* (*SD*)	Black American *M* (*SD*)	White American *M* (*SD*)	ANOVA result
Cultural foreignness	3	4.36_b (1.64)	4.69_a (1.50)	4.18_b (1.41)	2.72_c (1.46)	2.00_d (1.19)	$F(2.08, 620.55) = 247.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .45$
	4	4.97_a (1.58)	5.12_a (1.37)	4.58_b (1.33)	3.05_c (1.41)	1.80_d (1.10)	$F(2.48, 749.57) = 370.19$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .55$
Low competence	3	2.89_a (1.22)	3.55_b (1.19)	3.73_c (1.13)	3.56_b (1.25)	2.57_d (1.17)	$F(3.12, 933.07) = 89.43$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .23$
	4	2.99_a (1.29)	3.80_b (1.10)	4.04_c (1.05)	3.85_b (1.15)	2.64_d (1.11)	$F(3.21, 968.38) = 111.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .27$

Note. ANOVA results represent the main effects of applicant race. Means in the same row that do not share a letter subscript differ at $p < .05$. ANOVA = analysis of variance.

Using archival data of real-world employment discrimination, we investigated the extent to which employees of color face discrimination based on stereotypes about their cultural foreignness.

We accessed and coded discrimination cases litigated by the U.S. EEOC. The EEOC is a federal agency that enforces laws prohibiting discrimination against employees and job applicants. Once a complainant files a charge with the EEOC, an investigation may begin to assess the discrimination claims. The EEOC can then decide whether a lawsuit should be filed. The cases in this database were all litigated (i.e., advanced to a lawsuit), at which point they became public record through the EEOC.

We predicted that employment discrimination charges brought by Asian, Arab, and Latino American plaintiffs would be more likely to include cultural foreignness stereotypes compared to Black, Native, and White American plaintiffs.

Method

Transparency and Openness

Study 5 preregistration, coding scheme, data set, data dictionary, and code are publicly available at https://osf.io/5xnw8/overview?view_only=9724990a920e45efbbc037479165fa9b. There were no deviations from the preregistration. The preregistered hypothesis was supported.

Procedure

We retrieved all cases that were litigated by the EEOC and available in the Civil Rights Litigation Clearinghouse database (https://clearinghouse.net; $N = 2{,}477$). The database is a large, comprehensive, publicly accessible online database of U.S. civil rights cases. The database contains large EEOC cases spanning 1997–2006, along with a selection of cases from years outside of that timeframe. Plaintiffs' race was retrieved from court documents. When court documents did not explicitly mention race, race was retrieved from the EEOC Litigation Project website (https://eeoclitigation.wustl.edu). Race, name, and country of birth of plaintiffs were redacted from the documents prior to coding. Information about other plaintiffs after the first one was also redacted prior to coding. After coding was complete, we noticed that racial slurs were sometimes but not always redacted. We removed cases that were not classified by the EEOC as "race discrimination" and/or "national origin discrimination" cases ($n = 1{,}928$), did not refer to race and/or national origin discrimination within the available court documentation ($n = 149$), or were ongoing ($n = 5$). Cases that did not have plaintiff race information available ($n = 46$) or had multiracial plaintiffs or plaintiff groups representing more than one racial and ethnic group ($n = 28$) were also removed from analyses (final $N = 330$). Cases spanned the years 1966–2018.

Two hypothesis-blind research assistants coded the final sample of discrimination cases ($N = 330$) for the presence (1) or absence (0) of references to discrimination based on perceptions of the plaintiff's cultural foreignness. Perceived cultural foreignness was defined to coders as "perceived to be outside of American culture and identity," including mentions of foreign accents, languages, cultures, or non-Christian religions ($K = .73$, percent agree = 93%). Sample quotes from court documents are reported in Table 10. A third coder (who also coded all cases) was used as a tiebreaker to resolve discrepancies.

Table 9
Within-Group Effects From Multilevel Mediation Models for Studies 3 and 4

Comparison	Y	M	X → M	M → Y	Direct effect	Indirect effect	
			B (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B* (*SE*)	*B*	95% CI
AS/AR/L (−2/5) vs. B/W (3/5)	AM	CF	−2.26*** (0.05)	−0.27*** (0.02)	0.68*** (0.05)	0.61	[0.54, 0.68]
		LC	−0.35*** (0.04)	−0.25*** (0.02)		0.09	[0.07, 0.11]
B/L/AR (−2/5) vs. A/W (3/5)	HS	CF	−0.78*** (0.07)	0.12*** (0.01)	0.54*** (0.04)	−0.10	[−0.12, −0.07]
		LC	−0.98*** (0.04)	−0.53*** (0.02)		0.52	[0.47, 0.57]
B (−1/2) vs. W (1/2)	AM	CF	−0.98*** (0.10)	−0.41*** (0.01)	0.41*** (0.06)	0.40	[0.32, 0.49]
		LC	−1.10*** (0.07)	−0.18*** (0.02)		0.20	[0.16, 0.26]
A (−1/2) vs. W (1/2)	HS	CF	−2.77*** (0.90)	0.03** (0.01)	−0.72*** (0.06)	−0.09	[−0.16, −0.02]
		LC	−0.34*** (0.06)	−0.63*** (0.02)		0.21	[0.14, 0.30]

Note. Y = outcome; M = mediator; X = applicant race; AS = Asian American; AR = Arab American; L = Latino/a American; B = Black American; W = White American; AM = perceived hireability for a stereotypically American job; HS = perceived hireability for a stereotypically high-status job; CF = perceived cultural foreignness; LC = perceived low competence; *SE* = standard error; CI = confidence interval.
** $p < .005$. *** $p < .001$.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

In addition, discrimination cases were coded for the presence or absence of references to discrimination based on perceptions of the plaintiff's low status. Perceived low status was defined to coders as "perceived as lacking educational, occupational, and economic prestige," including mentions of being unskilled, uneducated, or unqualified. Due to low interrater reliability between the original two coders for this category ($K = .54$, percent agree = 93%), the tiebreaker replaced one of the original coders ($K = .75$, percent agree = 95%).

Results

A chi-square test of independence revealed that reports of discrimination based on perceived cultural foreignness were not equally distributed across Asian, Arab, Latino, and Black American plaintiffs, $\chi^2(3, N = 330) = 71.35$, $p < .001$, $\varphi = .47$ (Figure 5). As predicted, a significantly higher proportion of cases with Asian American (8/15; 53%), Arab American (5/10; 50%), and Latino American plaintiffs (21/67; 31%) were coded as involving discrimination based on perceived cultural foreignness (total: 34/92; 37%) compared to cases with Black American plaintiffs (9/238; 4%). Following our preregistration, Native American ($n = 4$) and White American plaintiffs ($n = 1$) were unable to be included in analyses due to small (<5) sample sizes.

We also assessed whether plaintiff race was associated with a case's designation by the EEOC as national origin discrimination (a possible indicator that a case involves discrimination based on perceived cultural foreignness). As predicted, cases brought by Asian (15/15; 100%), Arab (10/10; 100%), and Latino American plaintiffs (66/67; 99%) were more often categorized as national origin discrimination compared to cases brought by Black American plaintiffs (22/238; 9%), $\chi^2(3, N = 330) = 236.95$, $p < .001$, $\varphi = .85$.

Only a small proportion of cases overall (30/330; 9%) were coded as discrimination based on perceived low status. This may be because the case documents often described discrimination charges (e.g., "racially offensive graffiti," "racially insensitive and derogatory remarks") without specific details that would allow us to detect this particular form of discrimination. A chi-square test of independence found no difference in the proportion of discrimination based on perceived low status across cases with Asian (2/15; 13%), Arab (1/10; 10%), Latino (6/67; 9%), and Black American plaintiffs (21/238; 9%), $\chi^2(3, N = 330) = 0.36$, $p = .95$.

We also assessed whether plaintiff race was associated with whether a case was designated by the EEOC as racial discrimination (a possible indicator that a case involves discrimination based on perceived low status). A greater proportion of cases with Black American plaintiffs (232/238; 97%) were categorized as racial discrimination compared to cases with Asian (5/15; 33%), Arab (4/10; 40%), and Latino American plaintiffs (8/67; 12%), $\chi^2(3, N = 330) = 229.43$, $p < .001$.

Table 10
Examples of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Discrimination Cases Coded as Involving Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes

Plaintiff(s) race	Example
Asian American	"Defendants' employees routinely verbally harassed [plaintiff], ridiculing his accent"
Arab American	"Management officials referring to charging as '[slur],' 'terrorist,' and '[slur]' and management officials ridiculing Assyrian[a] cultural practices and speech"
Latino American	"The offensive conduct included but was not limited to … (b) being mocked and the subject of offensive jokes about their native accent; and (c) being repeatedly told that they did not belong in the United States and should go back to Mexico or Cuba where they belonged"

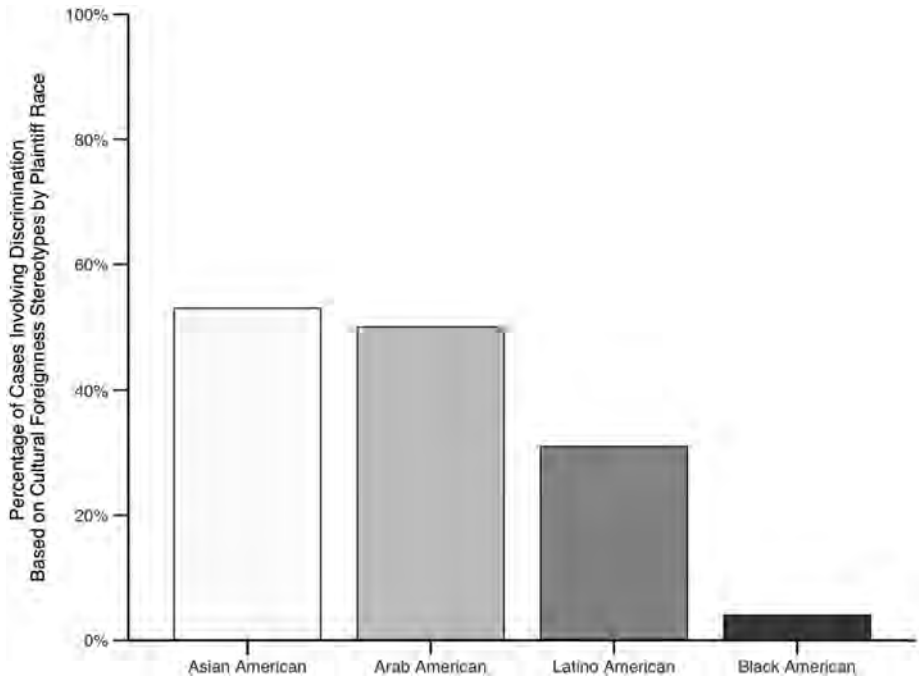
[a] This quote was drawn from a case where the plaintiff(s) were identified by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as Middle Eastern. Assyrians are a distinct ethno-religious group indigenous to the Middle East and not ethnically Arab (Minority Rights Group, 2017). We use the term Arab American to be consistent across studies.

Discussion

U.S. employment discrimination cases litigated by the EEOC revealed that cultural foreignness stereotypes feature prominently in workplace racial discrimination and harassment. Among Asian, Arab, and Latino American plaintiffs, a significant proportion of employment discrimination cases (ranging from 31% to 53%) involved cultural foreignness stereotypes. Moreover, nearly all cases brought by Asian, Arab, and Latino American plaintiffs were

Figure 5

Percentage of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Discrimination Cases Coded as Involving Cultural Foreignness Stereotypes



This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

categorized by the EEOC as national origin discrimination. In contrast, discrimination cases brought by Black American plaintiffs were significantly less likely to involve cultural foreignness stereotypes and less likely to be categorized as national origin discrimination. Cases with Black American plaintiffs were instead overwhelmingly categorized by the EEOC as racial discrimination, which may suggest that anti-Black discrimination is viewed as prototypical of racial discrimination (Inman & Baron, 1996). Taken together, discrimination based on perceived cultural foreignness extends beyond the hiring process to impact employees within their organizations, creating hostile working environments. Asian, Arab, and Latino American employees are particularly vulnerable to this form of discrimination.

General Discussion

Using experimental and real-world archival data, our studies demonstrate the role of perceived cultural foreignness in hiring and employment discrimination in the United States. Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans are particularly likely to face discrimination based on their perceived cultural foreignness relative to Black Americans, who themselves are more likely to face this form of discrimination compared to White Americans. In Studies 1 and 2, Asian and Latino American men were selected less often than Black American men for a hypothetical job that favored stereotypically American characteristics such as English language skills. This pattern emerged even for Asian and Latino American men with Anglicized first names. Studies 3 and 4 examined a greater range of racial and gender identities and found that Asian, Arab, and Latino/a American men and women were perceived as less hireable for a stereotypically American hypothetical job compared to Black American men and women, who were in turn perceived as less hireable compared to White American men and women.

However, different job characteristics caused different patterns of discrimination across racial and ethnic groups. In Study 2, Asian American men did not face discrimination relative to Black American men when the same hypothetical job did not favor stereotypically American characteristics. In Studies 3 and 4, Arab, Latino/a, and Black American men and women were perceived as less hireable compared to Asian American and White American men and women for a job favoring stereotypically high-status characteristics. Indeed, in an analysis of occupational data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, we found a lower proportion of Asian Americans than Black Americans in four out of five stereotypically American jobs (e.g., judges and magistrates, media and communications workers), but this pattern flipped such that all five stereotypically high-status jobs (e.g., computer network architects, medical scientists) had a lower proportion of Black Americans compared to Asian Americans.

Study 5 investigated U.S. employment discrimination court cases litigated by the EEOC, which include discrimination that occurs not only during the hiring process but also in the workplace environment broadly. Asian, Arab, and Latino American plaintiffs were more likely to report employment discrimination involving cultural foreignness stereotypes than Black American plaintiffs.

We also considered other stereotypes that may explain why people of color face hiring discrimination for stereotypically American jobs. Across all experiments, stereotypes about the cultural foreignness of Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans explained their lower perceived hireability for stereotypically American jobs above and beyond alternative mechanisms, including perceived competence, warmth,

and political orientation. On the other hand, the lower perceived competence of Arab, Latino, and Black Americans explained their lower perceived hireability for stereotypically high-status jobs relative to Asian Americans and White Americans.

Finally, discrimination for stereotypically American jobs emerged when examining both individuals' own tendency to discriminate and their intersubjective perceptions about what other U.S. hiring managers would do. However, patterns of discrimination for stereotypically high-status jobs were less consistent: while participants in Studies 3 and 4 perceived that Arab, Latino/a, and Black Americans would face discrimination from other U.S. hiring managers for a stereotypically high-status job, participants in Study 2 did not personally discriminate against Black Americans for a stereotypically high-status job. Social norms against expressing stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups that fit with the American identity may be weaker than social norms against expressing stereotypes about racial and ethnic groups' low status or competence.

Theoretical Contributions

Audit and correspondence studies provide compelling evidence of labor market discrimination but often do not identify specific mechanisms that explain *why* such discrimination occurs (Gaddis, 2019). The current work reveals that cultural foreignness stereotypes underlie discrimination against people of color. The perception that people of color fall outside of American culture and identity predicted negative hiring evaluations of applicants of color, as well as incidents of harassment and discrimination against employees of color in the workplace. Racial and ethnic groups are stereotyped as culturally foreign to varying degrees, such that Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans were particularly likely to face discrimination based on perceptions of their cultural foreignness. We contribute to past research investigating the role of other dimensions of stereotyping (e.g., competence and warmth; Agerstroem & Rooth, 2008; Veit et al., 2022) and show that stereotypes about people of color's cultural foreignness play a unique role in their exclusion in the labor market.

The current work also highlights the importance of job context. By experimentally manipulating job characteristics using carefully controlled and pretested job ads, we demonstrate that different job characteristics cause unique patterns of discrimination. Applicants may be selected for jobs seen as most consistent with how their racial and ethnic group is stereotyped, while facing discrimination for jobs that are seen as incongruent with group stereotypes. More specifically, people of color are particularly likely to encounter discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes in job contexts that highlight stereotypically American characteristics. Indeed, some roles within U.S. society (e.g., president) may place a premium on perceived fit with the American identity. The lack of representation of people of color in certain occupations, in turn, creates and reinforces stereotypes about who is and is not appropriate for different jobs (Koenig & Eagly, 2014). These patterns of discrimination may contribute to a recursive process that progressively deepens occupational segregation.

Finally, effects were tested across a range of racial and ethnic groups. While much of the past research on labor market discrimination has focused on documenting discrimination faced by a single group relative to their White counterparts, we compared perceptions of hireability across Asian, Arab, Latino, Black, and White Americans. Investigating outcomes across multiple racial and ethnic groups allows us to avoid flattening experiences with discrimination and instead better identify when and why specific groups may be more likely than others to face discrimination. We further showed that patterns held for both men and women within each of these racial and ethnic groups, as well as for Asian and Latino American applicants with both foreign language and Anglicized names.

Practical Contributions

This work enables organizations and individuals who are interested in improving racial equity to make more accurate predictions about when they may need to be most vigilant for possible discrimination. In contexts where loyalty to the U.S. or English language abilities may be prioritized (e.g., U.S. government organizations), Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans may be at greater risk for encountering hiring discrimination than Black Americans, who themselves may face hiring discrimination relative to White Americans (Gell-Redman et al., 2018). In contrast, in contexts where advanced education or technical skills are valued (e.g., science, technology, engineering, and mathematics fields), Arab, Latino, and Black Americans may face greater hiring discrimination than Asian and White Americans (Eaton et al., 2020).

These findings further suggest how societies can intervene to reduce labor market discrimination. Changing stereotypes (e.g., using the media or information campaigns) or preventing those stereotypes from being applied in workplaces may be a promising avenue for change. However, organizational efforts to reduce discrimination in the workplace must be mindful of the various ways different racial and ethnic groups are stereotyped. For example, training or policies aimed at reducing the impact of stereotyping in hiring decisions must address both cultural foreignness stereotypes and stereotypes about applicants' status and competence.

Alternative Explanations

We consider two potential alternative explanations for our findings. One is that participants may have made their decisions not due to racial animus ("taste-based discrimination") but because they used accurate base-rate information about racial and ethnic groups (e.g., "statistical discrimination"; Phelps, 1972). While it is true that a greater proportion of Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans are not U.S. citizens compared to Black and White Americans (Brittingham & de la Cruz, 2005; Vespa et al., 2018), the question of whether discrimination is taste-based or statistical (and thereby "rational" and "justified"; Tilcsik, 2021) focuses on the motivation behind an act of discrimination rather than on its impact. Dependence on racial and ethnic group membership by employers to evaluate applicants is both illegal in the United States (e.g., Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972) and unethical, as it relies on racial profiling and determines the deservingness of a single individual based on how their group is stereotyped (Quillian & Midtbøen, 2021). Whether driven by animus or perceived base-rate information (which itself may be false or imagined; Lu, Liu, et al., 2020), labor market discrimination results in not only inequitable short-term outcomes across racial and ethnic groups but can also contribute to long-term racial disparities in the labor market.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

A second possibility is that the names we chose introduced potential confounds. One strength of the work was the extensive pretesting to determine names and the use of multiple names to represent a particular racial and ethnic group. However, names may signal not only racial identity but also other relevant characteristics. For instance, distinctively Black names are associated with lower levels of education and income (Crabtree et al., 2022; Gaddis, 2017) and may also be associated with native-born and multigenerational Black Americans. As another example, individuals with both Asian first and last names are perceived as less likely to be citizens than individuals with Anglicized first names and Asian last names (Crabtree et al., 2023). In the current work, the Asian, Arab, and Latino American names that were pretested as most representative of their respective groups were foreign first names, consistent with how group members are commonly stereotyped. Assumptions about generational status may have contributed to perceptions that Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans were more culturally foreign than Black and White Americans. However, Study 1 found that Asian and Latino Americans with Anglicized names were still stereotyped as more culturally foreign and faced greater discrimination for a stereotypically American job than Black Americans. This is consistent with past work showing that when Asian and Latino Americans are specified as being continuing generation, this additional information does not eliminate perceptions of their cultural foreignness (Cheryan & Monin, 2005).

In addition, the names we used reflect certain ethnic subgroups, rather than all members of that group. For example, the names pretested as the most "Asian American" and used in Studies 2 and 3 were Chinese names (e.g., Wang). These Chinese names may have been selected during pretesting because Chinese Americans are seen as prototypical Asian Americans (Lee & Ramakrishnan, 2020). Applicants with less prototypical names or names associated with other ethnic subgroups (e.g., Vietnamese) may face different outcomes for stereotypically American jobs, to the extent that those ethnic subgroups are stereotyped differently from the broader panethnic group.

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several limitations to the current work. First, our studies assessed hiring for hypothetical jobs rather than real jobs. This experimental paradigm allowed us to carefully control features of the job to identify the specific effect that stereotypically American job characteristics have on hiring decisions and uncover the psychological mechanisms underlying these decisions. Although findings from lab experiments can converge with findings from field settings (Dasgupta & Stout, 2012), the lab also differs systematically from real-world contexts (Levitt & List, 2007). Future research could complement the results of the current work by documenting the extent of hiring discrimination in stereotypically American job contexts in the field.

In addition to controlling features of the job, we tested the effect of applicant race by presenting participants with applicant names and controlled, simplified applicant resumes. However, in real-world settings, employers are provided with more individualized information about applicants. Information about applicants' professional or extracurricular experiences that are perceived to "match" the culture of the organization could decrease the extent of discrimination (Rivera, 2012), while information that discloses applicants' cultural or religious affiliations (e.g., volunteering at a Muslim community center) could increase discrimination (Di Stasio et al., 2021; Kang et al., 2016). Future research could test how the likelihood of discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes is impacted by providing additional information about applicants that may be construed as stereotypical or counter-stereotypical.

We focused specifically on the U.S. labor market to demonstrate that cultural foreignness stereotypes shape discrimination against people of color in job contexts that value stereotypically American characteristics. The perception of people of color as foreign outsiders may play a role in persistent labor market discrimination in other Western national contexts as well (e.g., Quillian & Lee, 2023). For example, field studies have found evidence of discrimination against Arab applicants in the Netherlands (Blommaert et al., 2014; Derous et al., 2012) and Asian and Black applicants in Canada (Oreopoulos, 2011) and Great Britain (Heath & Di Stasio, 2019). Future research could explore the extent to which such discrimination is based on cultural foreignness stereotypes, particularly in job contexts that emphasize characteristics that are stereotypical of those respective national identities.

Future research could also examine how discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes manifests at different stages of the hiring process, including job advertisements or interviews. For example, individuals may be less attracted to jobs advertised as requiring traits on which their racial and ethnic group is negatively stereotyped (Wille & Derous, 2017). Job advertisements that emphasize stereotypically American requirements may thus discourage Asian, Arab, and Latino American applicants from applying.

Finally, some of the current data (i.e., most of Studies 2, 3, and 4) were collected between 2017 and 2020, prior to the COVID-19 global pandemic that heightened perceptions of Asian Americans as foreign outsiders and increased the prevalence of anti-Asian discrimination and violence (Yu et al., 2020). Broader cultural events or trends may intensify the salience of stereotypes about people of color's cultural foreignness, making discrimination based on cultural foreignness stereotypes even more likely.

Constraints on Generality

The current article finds evidence of racial discrimination against people of color based on cultural foreignness stereotypes in samples of predominantly Asian and White American adults. Here, we discuss constraints on the generalizability of our findings (Simons et al., 2017). First, this work focuses on labor market discrimination within a U.S. context. Racial constructs and stereotypes that exist in the United States may not align with those of other national and cultural contexts. Patterns and underlying mechanisms may be influenced by a different set of immigration histories, economic forces, and cultural norms, though note that racial and ethnic groups that are stereotyped as culturally foreign encounter labor market discrimination relative to White applicants in other Western countries as well (Banerjee et al., 2018; Derous et al., 2014; Oreopoulos, 2011). Second, our methodology involved controlled experiments. This may limit the ecological validity of the work, particularly in a labor market where hiring decisions are increasingly mediated by application auditing technology (Wilson & Caliskan, 2024) or take place within the context of practical

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

organizational constraints that include hiring deadlines, a large volume of resumes, and the dynamics of individual work teams.

Conclusion

Five preregistered studies, including four controlled laboratory experiments and one archival analysis of employment discrimination court cases, reveal that stereotypes about people of color's cultural foreignness shape labor market discrimination. Cultural foreignness stereotypes are particularly relevant in job contexts where stereotypically American traits are valued, especially influencing the discrimination experiences of Asian, Arab, and Latino Americans. In contrast, job contexts that value stereotypically high-status traits may lead to more discrimination against Arab, Latino, and Black Americans due to stereotypes about their low competence. These patterns of discrimination may compound over time and develop into larger disparities in labor market composition, wages and wealth, and well-being (Pager, 2007). Addressing the stereotypes that underlie discrimination may help remedy disparities and move the labor market toward one of equal opportunity.

References

Agerstroem, J., & Rooth, D.-O. (2008). *Implicit prejudice and ethnic minorities: Arab-Muslims in Sweden*. SSRN. https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1315892

Álvarez-Benjumea, A. (2025). Social norms and the expression of prejudice: How the norm changes. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *62*, Article 101974. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2024.101974

Banerjee, R., Reitz, J. G., & Oreopoulos, P. (2018). Do large employers treat racial minorities more fairly? A new analysis of Canadian field experiment data. *Canadian Public Policy*, *44*(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.3138/cpp.2017-033

Bencharit, L. Z., Ho, Y. W., Fung, H. H., Yeung, D. Y., Stephens, N. M., Romero-Canyas, R., & Tsai, J. L. (2019). Should job applicants be excited or calm? The role of culture and ideal affect in employment settings. *Emotion*, *19*(3), 377–401. https://doi.org/10.1037/emo0000444

Bendick, M., Jr., Jackson, C. W., Reinoso, V. A., & Hodges, L. E. (1991). Discrimination against Latino job applicants: A controlled experiment. *Human Resource Management*, *30*(4), 469–484. https://doi.org/10.1002/hrm.3930300404

Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *American Economic Review*, *94*(4), 991–1013. https://doi.org/10.1257/0002828042002561

Blommaert, L., Coenders, M., & van Tubergen, F. (2014). Discrimination of Arabic-named applicants in the Netherlands: An internet-based field experiment examining different phases in online recruitment procedures. *Social Forces*, *92*(3), 957–982. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sot124

Booth, A. L., Leigh, A., & Varganova, E. (2012). Does ethnic discrimination vary across minority groups? Evidence from a field experiment. *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, *74*(4), 547–573. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0084.2011.00664.x

Brittingham, A., & de la Cruz, G. P. (2005). *We the people of Arab ancestry in the United States*. U.S. Census Bureau. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2005/dec/censr-21.html

Browne, I., & Misra, J. (2003). The intersection of gender and race in the labor market. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *29*(1), 487–513. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100016

Bu, W., & Borgida, E. (2021). A four-dimensional model of Asian American stereotypes. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *24*(8), 1262–1283. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430220936360

Caprariello, P. A., Cuddy, A. J. C., & Fiske, S. T. (2009). Social structure shapes cultural stereotypes and emotions: A causal test of the stereotype content model. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *12*(2), 147–155. https://doi.org/10.1177/1368430208101053

Chavez, K., Weisshaar, K., & Cabello-Hutt, T. (2022). Gender and racial discrimination in hiring before and during the COVID-19 pandemic: Evidence from a field experiment of accountants, 2018–2020. *Work and Occupations*, *49*(3), 275–315. https://doi.org/10.1177/07308884221094539

Chavez, L. R. (2013). *The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens, and the nation* (2nd ed.). Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780804786188

Cheryan, S., & Monin, B. (2005). "Where are you really from?": Asian Americans and identity denial. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *89*(5), 717–730. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.89.5.717

Chiu, C.-Y., Gelfand, M. J., Yamagishi, T., Shteynberg, G., & Wan, C. (2010). Intersubjective culture: The role of intersubjective perceptions in cross-cultural research. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *5*(4), 482–493. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691610375562

Citrin, J., Reingold, B., & Green, D. P. (1990). American identity and the politics of ethnic change. *The Journal of Politics*, *52*(4), 1124–1154. https://doi.org/10.2307/2131685

Crabtree, C., Gaddis, S. M., Holbein, J. B., & Larsen, E. N. (2022). Racially distinctive names signal both race/ethnicity and social class. *Sociological Science*, *9*, 454–472. https://doi.org/10.15195/v9.a18

Crabtree, C., Kim, J. Y., Gaddis, S. M., Holbein, J. B., Guage, C., & Marx, W. W. (2023). Validated names for experimental studies on race and ethnicity. *Scientific Data*, *10*(1), Article 130. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41597-023-01947-0

Crandall, C. S., & Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, *129*(3), 414–446. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.3.414

Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(3), 359–378. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.3.359

Curran, P. J., & Hussong, A. M. (2009). Integrative data analysis: The simultaneous analysis of multiple data sets. *Psychological Methods*, *14*(2), 81–100. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015914

Darolia, R., Koedel, C., Martorell, P., Wilson, K., & Perez-Arce, F. (2016). Race and gender effects on employer interest in job applicants: New evidence from a resume field experiment. *Applied Economics Letters*, *23*(12), 853–856. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504851.2015.1114571

Dasgupta, N., & Stout, J. G. (2012). Contemporary discrimination in the lab and field: Benefits and obstacles of full-cycle social psychology. *Journal of Social Issues*, *68*(2), 399–412. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2012.01754.x

Decker, S. H., Ortiz, N., Spohn, C., & Hedberg, E. (2015). Criminal stigma, race, and ethnicity: The consequences of imprisonment for employment. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *43*(2), 108–121. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2015.02.002

Derous, E., Ryab, A. M., & Serlie, A. W. (2014). Double jeopardy upon resumé screening: When Achmed is less employable than Aïsha. *Personnel Psychology*, *68*(3), 659–696. https://doi.org/10.1111/peps.12078

Derous, E., Ryan, A., & Nguyen, H. (2012). Multiple categorization in resume screening: Examining effects on hiring discrimination against Arab applicants in field and lab settings. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *33*(4), 544–570. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.769

Devos, T., & Banaji, M. R. (2005). American = White? *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *88*(3), 447–466. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.88.3.447

Devos, T., & Ma, D. S. (2013). How "American" is Barack Obama? The role of national identity in a historic bid for the White House. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *43*(1), 214–226. https://doi.org/10.1111/jasp.12069

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Devos, T., & Mohamed, H. (2014). Shades of American identity: Implicit relations between ethnic and national identities. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *8*(12), 739–754. https://doi.org/10.1111/spc3.12149

Di Stasio, V., Lancee, B., Veit, S., & Yemane, R. (2021). Muslim by default or religious discrimination? Results from a cross-national field experiment on hiring discrimination. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *47*(6), 1305–1326. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2019.1622826

Duguid, M. M., & Thomas-Hunt, M. C. (2015). Condoning stereotyping? How awareness of stereotyping prevalence impacts expression of stereotypes. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *100*(2), 343–359. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037908

Dupree, C. H., Torrez, B., Obioha, O., & Fiske, S. T. (2021). Race–status associations: Distinct effects of three novel measures among White and Black perceivers. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *120*(3), 601–625. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000257

Eaton, A. A., Saunders, J. F., Jacobson, R. K., & West, K. (2020). How gender and race stereotypes impact the advancement of scholars in STEM: Professors' biased evaluations of physics and biology post-doctoral candidates. *Sex Roles*, *82*(3–4), 127–141. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-019-01052-w

Fiske, S. T., Cuddy, A. J. C., Glick, P., & Xu, J. (2002). A model of (often mixed) stereotype content: Competence and warmth respectively follow from perceived status and competition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *82*(6), 878–902. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.82.6.878

Gaddis, S. M. (2015). Discrimination in the credential society: An audit study of race and college selectivity in the labor market. *Social Forces*, *93*(4), 1451–1479. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sou111

Gaddis, S. M. (2017). How Black are Lakisha and Jamal? Racial perceptions from names used in correspondence audit studies. *Sociological Science*, *4*, 469–489. https://doi.org/10.15195/v4.a19

Gaddis, S. M. (2019). Understanding the "how" and "why" aspects of racial–ethnic discrimination: A multimethod approach to audit studies. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *5*(4), 443–455. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649219870183

Gaddis, S. M., & Ghoshal, R. (2020). Searching for a roommate: A correspondence audit examining racial/ethnic and immigrant discrimination among millennials. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, *6*. https://doi.org/10.1177/2378023120972287

Gell-Redman, M., Visalvanich, N., Crabtree, C., & Fariss, C. J. (2018). It's all about race: How state legislators respond to immigrant constituents. *Political Research Quarterly*, *71*(3), 517–531. https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917749322

Gerhards, J., & Hans, S. (2009). From Hasan to Herbert: Name-giving patterns of immigrant parents between acculturation and ethnic maintenance. *American Journal of Sociology*, *114*(4), 1102–1128. https://doi.org/10.1086/595944

Ghumman, S., & Jackson, L. (2010). The downside of religious attire: The Muslim headscarf and expectations of obtaining employment. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *31*(1), 4–23. https://doi.org/10.1002/job.601

Ghumman, S., & Ryan, A. M. (2013). Not welcome here: Discrimination towards women who wear the Muslim headscarf. *Human Relations*, *66*(5), 671–698. https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726712469540

Gorzig, M. M., & Rho, D. (2022). Race, religion, and immigration: Experimental evidence from the labor market. *Journal of Economics, Race, and Policy*, *5*(2), 75–97. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41996-021-00079-0

Haefner, J. E. (1977). Race, age, sex, and competence as factors in employer selection of the disadvantaged. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *62*(2), 199–202. https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.62.2.199

Hayes, A. F., & Rockwood, N. J. (2017). Regression-based statistical mediation and moderation analysis in clinical research: Observations, recommendations, and implementation. *Behaviour Research and Therapy*, *98*, 39–57. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.brat.2016.11.001

Heath, A. F., & Di Stasio, V. (2019). Racial discrimination in Britain, 1969–2017: A meta-analysis of field experiments on racial discrimination in the British labour market. *The British Journal of Sociology*, *70*(5), 1774–1798. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12676

Holzer, H. J. (1996). *What employers want: Job prospects for less-educated workers*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Hosoda, M., Nguyen, L., & Stone-Romero, E. (2012). The effect of Hispanic accents on employment decisions. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, *27*(4), 347–364. https://doi.org/10.1108/02683941211220162

Inman, M., & Baron, R. S. (1996). Influence of prototypes on perceptions of prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *70*(4), 727–739. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.70.4.727

Jamal, A., & Naber, N. (Eds.). (2008). *Race and Arab Americans before and after 9/11: From invisible citizens to visible subjects*. Syracuse University Press.

Kang, S. A., DeCelles, K. A., Tilcsik, A., & Jun, S. (2016). Whitened résumés: Race and self-presentation in the labor market. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *61*(3), 469–502. https://doi.org/10.1177/0001839216639577

King, E. B., & Ahmad, A. S. (2010). An experimental field study of interpersonal discrimination toward Muslim job applicants. *Personnel Psychology*, *63*(4), 881–906. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1744-6570.2010.01199.x

King, E. B., Madera, J. M., Hebl, M. R., Knight, J. L., & Mendoza, S. A. (2006). What's in a name? A multiracial investigation of the role of occupational stereotypes in selection decisions. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, *36*(5), 1145–1159. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0021-9029.2006.00035.x

Koenig, A. M., & Eagly, A. H. (2014). Evidence for the social role theory of stereotype content: Observations of groups' roles shape stereotypes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *107*(3), 371–392. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0037215

Krings, F., Sczesny, S., & Kluge, A. (2011). Stereotypical inferences as mediators of age discrimination: The role of competence and warmth. *British Journal of Management*, *22*(2), 187–201. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8551.2010.00721.x

Lamer, S. A., Dvorak, P., Biddle, A. M., Pauker, K., & Weisbuch, M. (2022). The transmission of gender stereotypes through televised patterns of nonverbal bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *123*(6), 1315–1335. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000390

Lee, J., & Ramakrishnan, K. (2020). Who counts as Asian. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *43*(10), 1733–1756. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2019.1671600

Leong, F. T. L., & Hayes, T. J. (1990). Occupational stereotyping of Asian Americans. *The Career Development Quarterly*, *39*(2), 143–154. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-0045.1990.tb00835.x

Level Playing Field Institute. (2007). *The corporate leavers survey: The cost of employee turnover due solely to unfairness in the workplace*.

Levitt, S. D., & List, J. A. (2007). What do laboratory experiments measuring social preferences reveal about the real world? *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *21*(2), 153–174. https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.21.2.153

Lu, J. G., Liu, X. L., Liao, H., & Wang, L. (2020). Disentangling stereotypes from social reality: Astrological stereotypes and discrimination in China. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *119*(6), 1359–1379. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspi0000237

Lu, J. G., Nisbett, R. E., & Morris, M. W. (2020). Why East Asians but not South Asians are underrepresented in leadership positions in the United States. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *117*(9), 4590–4600. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1918896117

McCleary-Gaddy, A. T., & Miller, C. T. (2018). Preference for second-generation African immigrants over native-born Black Americans: A college admission simulation. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *40*(1), 6–17. https://doi.org/10.1080/01973533.2017.1390751

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

McNeish, D., & Kelley, K. (2019). Fixed effects models versus mixed effects models for clustered data: Reviewing the approaches, disentangling the differences, and making recommendations. *Psychological Methods*, *24*(1), 20–35. https://doi.org/10.1037/met0000182

Milkman, K. L., Akinola, M., & Chugh, D. (2012). Temporal distance and discrimination. *Psychological Science*, *23*(7), 710–717. https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611434539

Minority Rights Group. (2017). *World directory of minorities and indigenous peoples—Iraq: Assyrians*. Refworld. https://www.refworld.org/reference/countryrep/mrgi/2017/en/64838

Montoya, A. K., & Hayes, A. F. (2017). Two-condition within-participant statistical mediation analysis: A path-analytic framework. *Psychological Methods*, *22*(1), 6–27. https://doi.org/10.1037/met0000086

Moss, P., & Tilly, C. (2001). *Stories employers tell: Race, skill, and hiring in America*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Neckerman, K. M., & Kirschenman, J. (1991). Hiring strategies, racial bias, and inner-city workers. *Social Problems*, *38*(4), 433–447. https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.1991.38.4.03a00020

O'Brien, K. M., Franco, M. G., & Dunn, M. G. (2014). Women of color in the workplace: Supports, barriers, and interventions. In M. L. Miville & A. D. Ferguson (Eds.), *Handbook of race-ethnicity and gender in psychology* (pp. 247–270). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-8860-6_11

Oreopoulos, P. (2011). Why do skilled immigrants struggle in the labor market? A field experiment with thirteen thousand resumes. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, *3*(4), 148–171. https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.3.4.148

Pager, D. (2007). The use of field experiments for studies of employment discrimination: Contributions, critiques, and directions for the future. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *609*(1), 104–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716206294796

Pager, D. (2016). Are firms that discriminate more likely to go out of business? *Sociological Science*, *3*, 849–859. https://doi.org/10.15195/v3.a36

Pager, D., Western, B., & Bonikowski, B. (2009). Discrimination in a low-wage labor market: A field experiment. *American Sociological Review*, *74*(5), 777–799. https://doi.org/10.1177/000312240907400505

Phelps, E. S. (1972). The statistical theory of racism and sexism. *American Economic Review*, *62*(4), 659–661.

Quillian, L., & Lee, J. J. (2023). Trends in racial and ethnic discrimination in hiring in six Western countries. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *120*(6), Article e2212875120. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2212875120

Quillian, L., & Midtbøen, A. H. (2021). Comparative perspectives on racial discrimination in hiring: The rise of field experiments. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *47*(1), 391–415. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-090420-035144

Quillian, L., Pager, D., Hexel, O., & Midtbøen, A. H. (2017). Meta-analysis of field experiments shows no change in racial discrimination in hiring over time. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *114*(41), 10870–10875. https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1706255114

Ridgeway, C. L. (2014). Why status matters for inequality. *American Sociological Review*, *79*(1), 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122413515997

Rivera, L. A. (2012). Hiring as cultural matching. *American Sociological Review*, *77*(6), 999–1022. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122412463213

Schildkraut, D. J. (2014). Boundaries of American identity: Evolving understandings of "us". *Annual Review of Political Science*, *17*(1), 441–460. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-080812-144642

Shen, F. C., Liao, K. Y.-H., Abraham, W. T., & Weng, C.-Y. (2014). Parental pressure and support toward Asian Americans' self-efficacy, outcome expectations, and interests in stereotypical occupations: Living up to parental expectations and internalized stereotyping as mediators. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, *61*(2), 241–252. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0036219

Shih, J. (2002). "… Yeah, I could hire this one, but I know it's gonna be a problem": How race, nativity and gender affect employers' perceptions of the manageability of job seekers. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *25*(1), 99–119. https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870120112076

Simons, D. J., Shoda, Y., & Lindsay, D. S. (2017). Constraints on generality (COG): A proposed addition to all empirical papers. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *12*(6), 1123–1128. https://doi.org/10.1177/1745691617708630

Sy, T., Shore, L. M., Strauss, J., Shore, T. H., Tram, S., Whiteley, P., & Ikeda-Muromachi, K. (2010). Leadership perceptions as a function of race–occupation fit: The case of Asian Americans. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *95*(5), 902–919. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0019501

Tilcsik, A. (2021). Statistical discrimination and the rationalization of stereotypes. *American Sociological Review*, *86*(1), 93–122. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122420969399

Timming, A. R. (2017). The effect of foreign accent on employability: A study of the aural dimensions of aesthetic labour in customer-facing and non-customer-facing jobs. *Work, Employment and Society*, *31*(3), 409–428. https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017016630260

Tuan, M. (1998). *Forever foreigners or honorary Whites? The Asian ethnic experience today*. Rutgers University Press.

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2017). *Current population survey: Household data: Annual averages 2017*. https://www.bls.gov/cps/aa2017/cpsaat10.htm

U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2020). *Current population survey: Household data: Annual averages 2020*. https://www.bls.gov/cps/aa2020/cpsaat11.htm

U.S. Census Bureau. (2019). *ACS 1-year estimates public use microdata sample, 2019*. https://data.census.gov/mdat/#/search?ds=ACSPUMS1Y2019&cv=RAC1P&rv=OCCP&wt=PWGTP

Veit, S., Arnu, H., Di Stasio, V., Yemane, R., & Coenders, M. (2022). The "big two" in hiring discrimination: Evidence from a cross-national field experiment. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *48*(2), 167–182. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167220982900

Vespa, J., Medina, L., & Armstrong, D. M. (2018). *Demographic turning points for the United States: Population projections for 2020 to 2060*. U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau.

Wenzel, M., Okimoto, T. G., Feather, N. T., & Platow, M. J. (2008). Retributive and restorative justice. *Law and Human Behavior*, *32*(5), 375–389. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10979-007-9116-6

Widner, D., & Chicoine, S. (2011). It's all in the name: Employment discrimination against Arab Americans. *Sociological Forum*, *26*(4), 806–823. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2011.01285.x

Wille, L., & Derous, E. (2017). Getting the words right: When wording of job ads affects ethnic minorities' application decisions. *Management Communication Quarterly*, *31*(4), 533–558. https://doi.org/10.1177/0893318917699885

Wilson, K., & Caliskan, A. (2024). Gender, race, and intersectional bias in resume screening via language model retrieval. *Proceedings of the AAAI/ACM Conference on AI, Ethics, and Society*, *7*(1), 1578–1590. https://doi.org/10.1609/aies.v7i1.31748

Wu, E. D. (2013). *The color of success: Asian Americans and the origins of the model minority*. Princeton University Press.

Yogeeswaran, K., & Dasgupta, N. (2010). Will the "real" American please stand up? The effect of implicit national prototypes on discriminatory behavior and judgments. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *36*(10), 1332–1345. https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167210380928

Yu, N., Pan, S., Yang, C., & Tsai, J.-Y. (2020). Exploring the role of media sources on COVID-19–related discrimination experiences and concerns among Asian people in the United States: Cross-sectional survey study.

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.

Journal of Medical Internet Research, *22*(11), Article e21684. https://doi.org/10.2196/21684

Zhao, X., & Biernat, M. (2019). Your name is your lifesaver: Anglicization of names and moral dilemmas in a trilogy of transportation accidents. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *10*(8), 1011–1018. https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550618817341

Zitek, E. M., & Hebl, M. R. (2007). The role of social norm clarity in the influenced expression of prejudice over time. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *43*(6), 867–876. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jesp.2006.10.010

Zou, L. X., & Cheryan, S. (2017). Two axes of subordination: A new model of racial position. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *112*(5), 696–717. https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000080

Received November 17, 2024
Revision received November 6, 2025
Accepted November 20, 2025 ■

This document is copyrighted by the American Psychological Association or one of its allied publishers.
This article is intended solely for the personal use of the individual user and is not to be disseminated broadly.
All rights, including for text and data mining, AI training, and similar technologies, are reserved.