Title

When Do-Gooders are Cast as Rabble-Rousers: The Politicization of Black Volunteer Work and its Effects on the Hireability of Black Job Candidates

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When Do-Gooders are Cast as Rabble Rousers: The politicization of Black volunteer work and

its effects of on the hireability of Black job candidates

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of

Philosophy in Management

by

Safiya Castel

2018

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

When Do-Gooders are Cast as Rabble-Rousers: The Politicization of Black Volunteer Work and

its Effects of on the Hireability of Black Job Candidates

by

Safiya Castel

Doctor of Philosophy in Management

University of Los Angeles California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Miguel M. Unzueta, Chair

People are generally rewarded for their generosity both within (Grant & Ashford, 2008) and

outside of organizations (Shore & Tashchian, 2013). However, in the present research I posit that

Black Americans who give back to their communities are vulnerable to biases in hiring because

their volunteer work with Black organizations may be viewed by White gatekeepers as indicative

of a politicized Black identity that then elicits intergroup threat. When I use the term "Black

organizations", I am referring to organizations that serve predominantly Black communities.

When I use the term "White organizations", I am referring to organizations that serve

predominantly White communities. In Study 1, I attempted to show that Black job candidates

who volunteer with Black activist organizations (organizations that have explicit political

agendas) and Black job candidates who volunteer with Black non-activist organizations are both

evaluated less favorably than a Black candidate who volunteers with a White non-activist

organization. The purpose of this study was to begin to provide evidence suggestive of my proposition that when Black individuals give back to Black communities, such behavior may be perceived by Whites as indicative of a politicized Black identity. As I posited that perceptions of politicized Black identity elicits intergroup threat for White Americans, in Studies 2 and 3 I attempted to demonstrate how Whites' evaluations of Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations are influenced by intergroup threat. With Study 2, I examined how the salience of intergroup threat, as it pertains to the prevalence of anti-White regard among Black Americans, affects evaluations of the hireability of a Black job candidate who volunteers with a Black as opposed to a White organization. With Study 3, I examined the role of intergroup threat by examining how the relevance of Black volunteer work to the American racial status hierarchy (whether Black communities being helped are in the United States or abroad) affects Whites' evaluations of Blacks who volunteer with Black communities, particularly when Whites have a strong personal desire to maintain the existing social hierarchy. In Study 4, I attempted to demonstrate the ways in which perceptions of politicized Black identity and intergroup threat explains White Americans' evaluations of a Black job candidate who volunteers with a Black organization as opposed to a White organization. In this study, I also compared evaluations of Black job candidates who volunteered with either Black or White organizations to White job candidates who volunteered with either Black or White organizations. I included the comparison with the White job candidates in order to demonstrate that the aforementioned relationships are specific to Black job candidates, and that White job candidates are not evaluated differently based on the race of the communities they serve through their volunteer work. The fifth and final study tests an alternative explanation for Study 4's findings: perceptions of a politicized Black identity, based on a Black candidate's volunteer work with a Black organization, elicits group

esteem threat as opposed to intergroup threat for White evaluators. This alternative explanation is based on the notion that politicized Black identities bring to mind Black Americans' grievances about the racial transgressions of White Americans. In response to a depiction of their ingroup in a negative light may, White evaluators might then react with low evaluations of Black job candidates who volunteer with Black organizations. The alternative explanation was not supported. Implications and potential future directions are discussed.

This dissertation of Safiya Castel is approved.

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2018

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to all of the generous and loving people in my life who have supported me through this process. To my friends in California and my friends back on the East Coast – thank you for being so encouraging and for checking in on me when I needed checking in on. To my family – thank your for keeping me grounded. This dissertation is especially dedicated to my mom. Ma, thank you for being a friend. You're the Sophia to my Dorothy. Love you.

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Acknowledgements

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When Do-Gooders are Cast as Rabble-Rousers: The Politicization of Black Volunteer Work and

its Effects of on the Hireability of Black Job Candidates

Those who volunteer to help others and are genuine in their commitment to that work are typically commended for their generosity. However, instead of being thought of as do-gooders, Black individuals who give back to Black communities may be characterized by some as rabble-rousers looking to galvanize others in their fight to dismantle the status quo. In this dissertation, I assert that Black Americans may be penalized in the hiring process for volunteering with Black organizations because doing so signals a *politicized* Black identity – one that is associated with collective action for Black rights. I also propose that signaling a politicized Black identity through one's volunteer work can elicit intergroup threat for White Americans, who remain the dominant gatekeepers and decision makers across a variety of professional contexts (Ridgeway, 2014). I explain that signaling a politicized Black identity may be threatening to Whites because politicized identities are inherently tied to collective action. A Black individual's assumed participation in collective action for Black rights is in direct conflict with maintenance of the existing racial hierarchy whereby White Americans have more status and power than Black Americans.

I assess my propositions across five studies. In these studies, I compare how Black job candidates are evaluated when they volunteer with Black as opposed to White organizations – i.e. organizations that serve predominantly Black as opposed to predominantly White communities (Studies 1, 2, 4, and 5). I also assess differences in how Black and White job candidates are evaluated based on the race of the communities they serve through their volunteer work (Study 4). In two of the five studies, I manipulate conditions that would make intergroup threat more or less salient for White Americans in order to assess the role that intergroup threat

plays on White gatekeepers' evaluations of Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations: In Study 2, I manipulate the salience of intergroup threat by attempting to manipulate White participants' perceptions of Black Americans' attitudes toward White Americans. In Study 3, I manipulate the salience of intergroup threat by manipulating whether a Black individual volunteers with Black communities in the United States or outside of the United States, where the latter's volunteer activity has no bearing on the racial status hierarchy in the United States. In this study, I also measure White participants' preference for social hierarchy to show that those who most want to maintain social hierarchy (and not those who are most in favor of social equality) are particularly likely to base their evaluations of Black individuals who volunteer with Black communities on the relevance of their volunteer work to the racial status hierarchy in the United States. Finally, I measure differences in perceptions of Black job candidates' politicized Black identity and Whites' experience of intergroup threat based on whether the job candidates volunteer with a Black or a White organization. I then test whether the interconnected relationship between perceived politicized Black identity and intergroup threat, that I proposed, adequately explains evaluations of Black job candidates that differ solely in terms of the race associated with their volunteer organizations (Study 4). Additionally, in Study 5, I examine an alternative perspective that my operationalization of intergroup threat in Study 4 may instead be reflective of a group esteem threat (also referred to as a "social identity threat" by some social psychologists – see Gunn & Wilson, 2011). One might attempt to argue that because a politicized Black identity is tied to collective action for Black rights, evaluating a Black person who signals a politicized Black identity may increase the salience of Whites' racial transgressions. Furthermore, one might argue that the increased salience of Whites' racial transgressions might threaten White participants' positive view of their ingroup thereby leading

to increased negative evaluations of Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations. Yet, the results of this study offer no support for this alternative perspective. Instead it only offers a replication of the Study 4 finding that a Black person who volunteers with a Black organization is evaluated as less hirable than a Black person who volunteers with a White organization

This work contributes to growing research on the unforeseen pitfalls of giving back (e.g. Bolino & Grant, 2016). It showcases how and why the relationship between the race of an individual engaged in charitable work and the race of the people served by that work play an important role in the way that this person is evaluated in professional contexts. Unfortunately, for Black Americans, helping others from their community may sometimes hurt them.

The Benefits of Giving Back

It feels good to give back (Batson & Shaw, 1991; Harbaug, Mayr, & Burghart, 2007; Sonnentag & Grant, 2012). Offering your time and help to others results in more positive affect and an increase in overall wellbeing (Batson, 1990; Dunn, Atkin, & Norton, 2008; Greenfield & Marks, 2004; Musick & Wison, 2003; Williamson & Clark, 1989). Volunteering with organizations that help one's community may be one of the most rewarding ways of giving back because it likely stems from sincere feelings of connectedness to those being helped and an honest desire to see them thrive. For Black Americans, it is particularly common to partake in charitable work that benefits Black communities (Burlew, Banks, McAdoo, & Azibo, 1992; Hudley, Haight, & Miller, 2003). This is partly attributable to the interdependent self-schema that many Black Americans hold (Brannon, Markus, & Taylor, 2015). With an interdependent self-schema, the self is construed in relation to others, as opposed to separate from others. In other words, Black Americans display a tendency to think of themselves in terms of "us" and

"we", not just "I". This stems from a combination of passed down West African traditions and a shared traumatic history (Brannon et al., 2015). It is difficult to then imagine how seeing oneself as a part of a greater community and wanting to give back to that community could be seen as anything but positive.

Indeed, people form favorable impressions of those who give back. People admire those who are more generous in helping others in need than they themselves would be (Muehleman, Bruker, & Ingram, 1976). Additionally, when information on individuals' charitable behavior (or lack there of) is known to others, those who do not give back are looked down upon compared to those who do (Barclay 2004; Bateson, Nettle, & Roberts, 2006; Bereczkei, Birkas, & Kerekes, 2007; Hoffman, McCabe, & Smith, 1996; Long 1976; Satow 1975; Soetevent 2005). Research on competitive altruism also suggests that when a group of people's contributions are publicized, those in the group who give the most are given the highest status, especially when their generosity is seen as coming at a high personal cost (Hardy & Van Vught, 2006).

When people voluntarily offer their time and help to others, their generosity is often seen as an expression of a dispositional trait (Bolino, 1999; Eastman, 1994; Grant & Ashford, 2008). When acts of generosity are seen as genuine reflections of a person's character, these acts tend to be rewarded (Grant & Ashford, 2008). This is particularly true within the workplace (Bolino & Grant, 2016; Grant & Ashford, 2008; Podsakoff, Whiting, Podsakoff, & Blume, 2009). For example, data from MBA students (Flynn, Reagans, Amanatullah, & Ames, 2006) and employees at a large telecommunications firm (Flynn, 2003) indicate that high status is conferred to those employees who appear to others to offer more help than they receive. Such employees are highly respected and viewed as contributing unique value to organizations.

Being seen in such a light has positive effects on how employees are evaluated. Managers who voluntarily offer help to colleagues are rewarded with higher supervisor ratings than their less generous peers, especially when their generosity is seen as authentic and uncalculated (Grant, Parker, & Collins, 2009). Air Force mechanics who give back by voluntarily offering their assistance to others in the workplace are rewarded with higher employer evaluations and more promotions than those who don't display such unsolicited generosity (Van Scotter, Motowildo, & Cross, 2000). Even if there is no formal accounting system for unsolicited acts of generosity, employers take note of these behaviors and will reward generous employees over time (Van Scotter, Motowildo, & Cross, 2000).

Given that acts of generosity are rewarded within the workplace, signaling generosity through one's volunteer work should positively impact evaluations of a job candidate. Generosity outside of the organization may be viewed as a sign of potential generosity within the organization. Thus, job candidates may expect to be rewarded for their volunteer work in the hiring process. Bourgeoning research on volunteerism and hiring support this notion. Potential employers have a favorable view of applicants who volunteer (Konstam, Tomek, Celen-Demirtas, & Sweeney, 2015; Shore & Tashchian, 2013). Among unemployed adults aged 21-29, those who participate in volunteer work are more likely to be reemployed within six months than those who do not. Moreover, job applicants engaged in volunteer work are assumed to be more altruistic than applicants who do not volunteer, and as a result are evaluated more positively for jobs (Shore & Tashchian, 2013).

It seems that for the most part, people reward people who volunteer their time and energy to serve others. Moreover, the results of previous research suggest that people who participate in charitable work with the intention of reducing inequality are evaluated especially favorably

(Brickman & Bryan 1975). As a result, one might imagine that Black individuals would be professionally rewarded for participating in volunteer work that serves Black people – a historically marginalized racial group. Yet, I will argue that reactions to job candidates' volunteer work may depend on the race of the individuals doing the giving and the race of those on the receiving end of that generosity.

Once again, I propose that Black Americans who give back to their communities may be professionally penalized for their charitable behavior. I argue that when Black individuals volunteer with organizations that serve Black communities, this activates assumptions about their racial identification; not only are they perceived as strongly identified with their race, their racial identity is seen as politicized. As politicized identities are tied to collective action participation (Simon et al., 1998; Sturmer & Simon, 2004; Sturmer, Simon, Loewy, & Jorger, 2003; Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), I argue that if a Black person is perceived as having a *politicized* Black identity, assumptions about this person's participation in collective action for Black rights may activate intergroup threat for White Americans. Due to the activation of a subjective intergroup threat, White Americans may evaluate Black job candidates who volunteer with Black organizations more negatively than they would evaluate Black job candidates who volunteer with White organizations.

Black Volunteer Work as a Signal of Racial Identity

Identification with a social group is accompanied by behaviors associated with that identity. People who are so strongly identified with their ingroup that they feel a sense of oneness with the group, are more likely than less strongly identified ingroup members to perform acts of service such as donate money to ingroup members in need (Swann et al., 2010). With regard to racial identification, the more strongly identified people are, the more likely they are to

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participate in race-related activities (Sellers et al., 1997). Socialization practices, including

frequent interaction with people of the same racial group (Broman, Jackson, & Neighbors, 1989)

indicates strong racial identification, particularly for Black people. Involvement in Black

organizations is another indicator of strong racial identification for Black people (Baldwin,

Brown, & Rackley, 1990).

Thus, when a Black individual volunteers with a Black organization, this is an indicator

of racial identification. Moreover, Whites are attuned to cues of Black identification (Wilkins,

Kaiser, Rieck, 2009). Therefore, when a Black person volunteers with a Black organization,

Whites are likely to interpret this as a signal of racial identification. Later, I argue that Whites

perceive Black identity through a politicized lens, but first I explain below what a politicized

social identity (also referred to in this dissertation as a politicized collective identity) entails.

Politicized Collective Identity

A politicized collective identity is a "form of collective identity that underlies group

members' willingness to engage as representatives of a mindful, and self-conscious collective in

a power struggle, knowing that it is the wider, more inclusive societal context in which this

struggle takes place and needs to be orchestrated accordingly" (Simon & Klandermans, 2001, p.

323). There are three components to this definition that are key to understanding what it means

for a collective or social identity to be politicized. These three components are "collective

identity", "power struggle", and "societal context".

The first component of a politicized collective identity is a collective identity. This refers

to the identity one derives from a social group to which one belongs, and is marked by feelings

of connectedness and solidarity with that group (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Collective

identity is synonymous with social identity, as both terms are used to capture a person's

identification with a social group – e.g. identification with Black people, identification with gay people (e.g. Simon et al., 1998). I use the term collective identity throughout this dissertation, as it is the preferred term of the researchers who established and fleshed out the concept of politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Thus, identification with Black people could be described as a type of social or collective identity.

The second component of a politicized collective identity is a conscious awareness of the power struggle between one's group and another group. This involves attempts to challenge or maintain an existing power structure, or establish a new power structure (Klandermans, 2014). Moreover, the power struggle is often marked by an asymmetry, whereby one group has more power than the other. Lastly, the third component of a politicized collective identity is the fact that the power struggle takes place within the wider societal context. This means that both groups involved in the power struggle are vying for third party support – support from the broader society. Support from the broader society is sought in many forms, including support from the general public and the federal government (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). While the group with less power is fighting to acquire the support of the general public or the federal government through changes in laws or political representation, the group with more power is fighting to maintain their existing power and control within the broader society.

Below I argue that Black Americans perceived as having a strong racial identity may in fact be perceived as having a strong *politicized* racial identity given the history of Black Americans' long standing and highly publicized struggle for equal rights. Additionally, I also discuss the link between politicized identities and collective action participation. I discuss the ways in which assumptions about Black politicized identity, and thus Blacks' assumed participation in collective action, may activate intergroup threat for White Americans. I then

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explain how this may have implications for how favorably White Americans evaluate Black Americans who participate in volunteer work that benefits Black communities.

Why Black Identity is seen as Politicized

A collective identity is likely viewed as politicized when the conditions that lay the foundation for the emergence of a politicized identity are visibly met. Once again, the first condition is an existing power struggle between one group and an opposing group, where one group has more power in society than the other (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). The second condition is that this power struggle takes place within the wider societal context. Black Americans have one of the longest, most fraught histories as a marginalized racial group in the United States, a history that is punctuated by periods of intense protest and other forms of political resistance (Gates et al., 2012). Decades worth of vivid media coverage of Black protest has likely made the American public at least somewhat aware of the power struggle between Black Americans and representatives of White supremacy. Moreover, the visibility of Black protest, and the fact that Black activist leaders often affirm Black identity should contribute to the perception that Black identity is politicized.

Throughout American history, many Black activists have attempted to engage the American public in Black rights causes by strategically using the media to draw attention to the injustices faced by their group (Bodroghkozy, 2012). For example, many argue that a major catalyst of the Civil Rights Movement was the image of a 14-year-old Black boy's mutilated body after being tortured and killed by two White men (Anderson, 2015; Hudson-Weems, 1994; Tyson, 2017). In 1955, 14-year old Emmet Till was kidnapped, beaten and lynched by two White men for allegedly whistling at a White woman. Till's mother decided to have an open casket so that the public could witness the brutal effect of racism on her son's life. Jet Magazine published

a photo of the Emmet Till's mutilated body and this photo was circulated across multiple media outlets. This visual drew anger and empathy from many, galvanizing people in the fight for Black rights. In fact, Emmet Till's murder preceded one of the most notable examples of how Black activists have used the media to draw the public's attention to anti-Black racism: the Voting Rights March in Selma, Alabama on March 7, 1965. Over 48 million Americans were able to watch news footage of peaceful Black protesters being violently attacked by White police officers (Garrow, 1978; Bodroghkozy, 2012). Martin Luther King Jr. even admitted to the intentionality of using the media as a tool for building public awareness, "We are here to say to the White men that we no longer will let them use clubs on us in dark corners. We're going to make them do it in the glaring light of television" (Stephen, 2015).

In recent more years, Black Lives Matter (BLM), a movement centered on bringing awareness to anti-Black racism and state-sanctioned violence against Black people ("Herstory", n.d.), have staged numerous protests calling for White officers and civilians who have killed innocent Black men, women, and children to be held accountable for their actions. In fighting for the protection of Black lives, BLM has succeeded in getting the attention of the broader public since its inception in 2013. Through sharing information and protest footage on easily accessible social media platforms, such as Twitter, BLM has been able to grow its social and political influence (Freelon, Mcilwain, & Clark, 2018; Kang, 2015). Additionally, BLM has a created a program called Channel Black that offers media training for Black people interested in becoming reporters, analysts, and pundits. BLM created the program with the belief that with greater representation of Black people in these media roles, news that directly affects Black communities would be delivered with empathy, thus eliciting more empathy from broader audiences (Matthews, 2017).

As Black activists draw the public's attention to the injustices faced by their group, they often do so alongside affirming their Black identity. For instance, in addition to their fight against state sanctioned anti-Black racism, BLM leaders are also explicit in expressing a connection to their Black identity. The movement itself was spearheaded by a highly circulated Facebook post from founding member, Alicia Garza, who emphasized her feelings of solidarity with fellow Black people – "Black people. I love you. I love us. Our lives matter." (Wortham, 2016). This mirrors the interconnection of Black identity and Black activism in the Black Power Movement of the 1960s and 1970s in which highly visible members of organizations like the Black Panther Party, promoted notions of Black solidarity and reverence for Black culture, alongside their militant political agendas (Cross, 1991; Ogbar, 2004; Ture & Hamilton, 1992). As a result of the media's amplification of racially identified Black Americans' opposition to White supremacy, White people likely see Black identity as politicized by default, unless their actions or beliefs indicate otherwise.

The Connection between Politicized Collective Identities and Collective Action

Two key consequences of a politicized collective identity are an increased awareness of shared grievances (including an awareness of who is responsible for those grievances), and increased feelings of agency – willingness to take actions to address those grievances (Simon & Klandermans, 2001). Thus, politicized identity is inherently tied to collective action. Collective action refers to actions taken in an effort to increase the power and standing of a social group; it is action performed for the greater good of the group, as opposed to for the benefit of one or a handful of select individuals (Van Zomeren & Iyer, 2009). It often takes the form of participation in protests and related behaviors, such as signing petitions and actively engaging others in conversations about the issues facing the group (Alberici & Milesi, 2016; Van Zomeren,

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Postmes, & Spears, 2008). It is through collective action that the power struggle between the dominant and the marginalized group is played out in the wider societal context. The objective of collective action is to change the power structure and the power structure can seldom be changed without action.

The link between collective action and politicized collective identities is further supported by the literature on collective action and social movements. Politicized collective identity is one of the strongest predictors of collective action and collective action intentions (Van Zomeren, Postemes, & Spears, 2008). It has greater predictive power over and above broad, non-politicized measures of collective identity (Simon et al., 1998; Stumer & Simon, 2001; Stumer, Simon, Loewy, Duhme, & Jorger, 2001; Van Zomeren, Postemes, & Spears, 2008). This is true across a myriad of contexts.

In an examination of participation in collective action for gay rights in the United States and elderly people's rights in Germany, Simon et al. (1998) find that politicized collective identities (operationalized by the authors as identification with identity based social movements) are stronger predictors of collective action than broad, non-politicized measures of collective identification (e.g. identification with gay people; identification with elderly people). In their study on gay men's willingness to participate in collective action for gay rights, Simon and colleagues (1998) manipulated perceptions of a common fate as a threatened minority. A heightened perception of sharing a common fate with other gay men as a threatened minority is synonymous with increasing an awareness of gay people's struggle for power in a society where heterosexual people have greater power. As awareness of a power struggle between one's social group and another (usually dominant) social group is a key ingredient in the formation of a politicized collective identity (Simon & Klandermans, 2001), one would expect to find that

participants in the high common fate conditions would express a stronger politicized identity than participants in the low common fate condition. That is precisely what the authors found. Politicized gay identity and willingness to participate in collective action were both significantly higher in the high common fate condition than in the low common fate condition. Moreover, the politicized identification measure mediated the relationship between perceptions of a common fate as a threatened minority group and willingness to participate in collective action for gay rights (Simon et al., 1998).

There are numerous other examples that highlight the critical link between politicized collective identities and collective action participation. In a study of women's participation in the women's movement, Kelly & Breinlinger (1995) found that the stronger women's identification with women as a group, the more likely they are to participate in collective action. Yet, more importantly, the more politicized collective identity of "feminist activist" was an even stronger predictor of collective action than the broader, non-politicized collective identification measure – identification with women. In another example, a politicized collective identity, and not identification with the broader category of fat people also predicted willingness to participate in collective action with the U.S. Fat Acceptance Movement (Stumer, Simon, Loewy, & Jorger, 2003). Additional examples of the role of politicized collective identification on collective action participation are summarized across meta-analytic data used to establish an integrative model of collective action. In the meta-analytic examination of their integrative social identity model of collective action (SIMCA), Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears (2008) found that politicized collective identity produced stronger effects than non-politicized forms of collective identity. In other words, the results of their meta-analysis confirmed that politicized collective identities, in particular, are tightly linked to collective action.

Collective Action for Black Rights as a Source of Intergroup Threat for Whites

Because collective action participation is a byproduct of a politicized collective identity, the belief that a Black individual is high in a politicized Black identity is likely accompanied by the belief that this person participates in collective action for Black rights. I argue that Black individuals believed to be involved in collective action for Black rights may be a source of intergroup threat for White Americans, due to concerns about how the outcomes of collective action could negatively affect them.

Intergroup threat "occurs when one group's actions, beliefs, or characteristics challenge the goal attainment or well being of another group" (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006, p. 336). There are different types of intergroup threat. In their integrated threat framework, Stephan & Stephan (2000) lay out four different types – realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety, and negative stereotypes. Intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes are important with regard to understanding threat in the context of intergroup relations and social interactions. However, with regard to the effects of collective action on perceptions of threat, I would argue that symbolic threat and realistic threat are most relevant because they focus more directly on perceived threats to a group's relative power and status (Riek et al., 2006; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). As collective action on the part of low status group members is intended to disrupt the existing social hierarchy, members of the low status group who are believed to be involved in collective action for their group's rights may pose a realistic or symbolic threat to members of the high status group who have an opposing goal to maintain their group's elite social position. Below, I explain what these threats entail.

Realistic threat is born out of the Realistic Group Conflict Theory literature, (Sharif & Sharif, 1969). This type of threat emerges when there is perceived competition between groups

over valued resources. Moreover, a gain for one group is often associated with a loss for the opposing group (Riek et al, 2006). Valued resources can be tangible and objective, such as money, food, and jobs. However, valued resources can also be intangible and subjective such as power and the sense of relative group position (Bobo, 1988). Bobo (1983) argues that realistic threat is not just about how competition over resources affects one's self interests; perceived competition over resources can also affect a person indirectly by affecting the interests of one's group. For example, a White man might not be personally affected by affirmative action policies, but if he views it as a set of policies that negatively impacts his group's interests, this should elicit intergroup threat (Bobo, 1983; Riek et al., 2006).

Symbolic threat occurs when one group is seen to threaten another group's values and goals. This type of threat emerges from the literature on symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay, 1982). There are two tenets of symbolic racism. The first is that Whites' negative attitudes toward Blacks are the result of socialization (i.e. Whites are born into a society plagued by anti-Black sentiment and Black Americans are characterized as going against traditional moral values, thus further reinforcing anti-Black sentiment.) The second tenet is that Whites are resistant to racial progress because Blacks are seen as pushing for too much, too soon in their attempts to improve the standing of Black people within the broader American society (Kinder & Sears, 1981).

However, the second tenet of symbolic racism is not altogether distinct from realistic threat in terms of subjective assessments of competition over intangible resources like power. Bobo (1983) conducted a reanalysis of the data used by symbolic racism theorists (Sears, Hensler, & Speer, 1979; Sears, Lau, Tyler, and Allen, 1980) examining the effects of symbolic racism on Whites' attitudes toward busing (i.e. Black people busing to predominantly White

neighborhoods for work and school). The results of the analysis reveal that it is only those items in the symbolic racism scale that specifically assess subjective assessments of Black people's threats to Whites position within society that predict interracial bias.

Due to the overlap in what is actually being measured in different assessments of symbolic and realistic threat, I do not distinguish between these two threats when discussing the threat elicited when Whites perceive a Black person to be high in a politicized Black identity and thus engaged in collective action for Black rights. When I discuss intergroup threat in this context, I broadly define it as subjective assessments of threat to a group's relative power and status.

The potential of collective action to result in social, political, and economic gains for Black Americans may elicit intergroup threat for Whites. Such gains are often seen by Whites as coming at a cost to their control of valued resources and their elite standing within the broader society (Bobo, 1983). Social psychologists have shown that White Americans see racial progress as zero-sum (Eibach & Keegan, 2006; Norton & Sommers, 2011). This means that they associate gains in status and power for racial minorities with losses for Whites. For example, White Americans tend to believe that as Black people experience less racial bias over the years (a social gain), White people experience more racial bias as the years go on (a social loss) (Norton & Sommers, 2011). Research on multiculturalism and White prototypicality also suggests that Whites perceive increases in the social value of Black culture with potential decreases in the social value of White American culture. For instance, Plaut and colleagues (2011) found that when organizations promote multiculturalism, or the valuing of diverse cultures, Whites often feel left out and socially rejected. In other words, they view increases in the positive valuation of non-White cultures as indicative of a rejection of White culture. Additionally, it seems the more

that people from other races come to represent what it means to be American, the less that Whites feel that they will be representative of what it means to be American (Danbold & Huo, 2015). In sum, because Whites associate the intended outcomes of collective action for Black rights with losses for Whites, Blacks who are perceived to have a politicized Black identity because of their volunteer experience (and are thus perceived to be involved in collective action) may be a source of intergroup threat.

Responses to Intergroup Threat

Increased intergroup threat is associated with increased negative attitudes toward the group identified as the source of threat. Riek and colleagues (2006) conducted a meta-analysis on the effects of intergroup threat on outgroup attitudes. They assessed multiple types of outgroup attitudes including evaluations of outgroup members, prejudice measures, and intergroup bias (measured as the difference between attitudes toward the ingroup and attitudes toward the outgroup). A clear pattern emerged across the many samples examining the relationships between various measures of intergroup threat and various measures of outgoup attitudes: The more intergroup threat people experience, the more negatively they evaluate the threatening outgroup and its members. Kinder and Sears' (1981) examination of the effects of Whites' endorsement of a Black mayoral candidate is a great example of this. Kinder & Sears found that the higher Whites' symbolic intergroup threat (or subjective realistic threat if one considers Bobo's 1983 reanalysis of their data), the less likely they were to vote for a Black mayoral candidate.

Moreover, the relationship between intergroup threat and negative outgroup attitudes is especially strong when intergroup threat is experienced by a high status group and the group eliciting the threat is of a lower status (Riek et al., 2006). This is evidenced by Europeans' overt

derogation of immigrants during economic downturns when competition for scarce resources is assumed to be high (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1993). This is also evidenced by the increased lynching of Black Americans by White Americans during periods of economic scarcity in the 1970's (Green, Glaser, & Rich, 1998).

Such violent responses are also in line with Cottrell & Neuberg's (2005) Sociofunctional Model of Threat, which focuses primarily on how different types of threat predict different types of behavioral outcomes. According to this model, intergroup threat stemming from perceived competition over resources or perceived threats to group freedoms elicits feelings of anger. An example of perceived competition over resources includes White Americans' opposition to affirmative action. Many White Americans hold the belief that affirmative action unfairly advantages Black Americans while coming at the expense of White Americans' professional opportunities (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1996; Federico & Sidanius, 2002; Sidanius, Pratto, & Bobo, 1996). An example of perceived threats to group freedoms includes the belief shared by some White Americans' that their right to free speech is unfairly compromised due to a social pressure to avoid any speech that could be construed as racist (White & Crandall, 2017).

Anger towards a group then facilitates aggression towards the group. Moreover, Cottrell & Neuberg (2005) have found that Black Americans elicit more anger for White Americans than other races, such as Asian and Native Americans. These results might appear surprising given that Asians are perceived as highly competent and a source of economic threat for Whites (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Yet, part of the reason why Asians do not elicit as much anger for Whites as Black Americans may lie in the fact that they do not have a history of resistance to the economic and political power of Whites in the United States that is as extensive and highly publicized as Black Americans.

In sum, Black people believed to be involved in collective action because they are believed to have a politicized Black identity may elicit intergroup threat for White Americans. As a result, they may be vulnerable to negative attitudes from Whites. As a Black individual's involvement with a Black organization is an indicator of Black identification (Baldwin et al., 1990), and White Americans are attuned to indicators of Black identification (Wilkins et al., 2010), when a Black individual volunteers with a Black organization, Whites likely view this activity as an expression of Black identity. Moreover, given the visibility of Black collective action as captured by decades of media coverage, in which Black activists often promote and affirm Black identity in their fight against White supremacy, White Americans likely view Black identity as politicized by default. As politicized Black identity is associated with participation in collective action for the increased power of one's group (Klandermans, 2014), and White Americans often equate gains in Blacks' social and political power with losses for Whites (Norton & Sommers, 2011), Black individuals viewed as expressing a politicized Black identity through their volunteer work may elicit intergroup threat for White Americans. Intergroup threat in this context refers to perceived threats to Whites' power and status in the United States. Thus, Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations may then be at a disadvantage in professional contexts whereby majority White gatekeepers may respond to intergroup threat with less positive evaluations of their fit for desired professional positions.

Summary of Predictions

I predict that a Black job candidate who volunteers with organizations that serve Black communities will be evaluated less favorably for a job than a Black job candidate who volunteers with organizations that serve White communities. I predict that a Black candidate who volunteers with Black organizations is thought to be higher in a politicized racial identity compared to a

Black candidate who volunteers for White organizations, and as a result elicits higher levels of intergroup threat. I predict that the relationship between the race associated with the organization a Black job candidate serves and the hireability of that candidate is mediated by two interconnected factors: the perceived politicized Black identity of the candidate and the intergroup threat elicited from assumptions about the impact of the Black individual's participation in collective action for Black rights. Finally, I predict that evaluations of White job candidates will differ from evaluations of Black job candidates, such that Whites' evaluations of White candidates' hireability will be unaffected by the race of the people helped through their volunteer work. Participants across each of the studies below are White, as Whites remain the dominant gatekeepers across a variety of professional contexts (Ridgeway, 2014).

Overview of Studies

In Study 1, I provide initial evidence suggesting that Black job candidates who volunteer with Black organizations are viewed by Whites as expressing politicized Black identities. Specifically, I attempt to show that Black job candidates who volunteer with either an activist or non-activist Black organizations are evaluated as equally less hirable than a Black job candidate who volunteers with a White non-activist organization.

With Study 2, I manipulate intergroup threat in an attempt to demonstrate the role that intergroup threat plays in Whites' evaluations of Black job candidates who volunteer with Black organizations. I manipulate intergroup threat by attempting to vary perceptions of how positively or negatively Black Americans view White Americans. However, this may not have been the best approach to capturing intergroup threat given the sociopolitical climate in the United States at the time that the data were collected for this study. The low threat condition in particular, in which participants were made to believe that Black Americans' views of White Americans' have

improved considerably in the past decade, may have been met with skepticism.

Thus, in Study 3, I attempt to capture intergroup threat a different way. In this study I manipulate whether a Black American is engaged in volunteer work with Black communities in the United States or abroad. A Black person perceived as expressing a politicized Black identity, but whose participation in collective action for Black rights is relegated to helping Black communities outside of the U.S. should pose less threat for White Americans than a Black person who is believed to be involved in collective action for Black rights here in the United States. That is because their actions abroad have little to no bearing on the relative power and social standing of racial groups within the U.S.

In this study, I also measure participants' preference for social hierarchy and ingroup dominance using the Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO). Whites with a strong preference for social hierarchy, and thus a strong preference to maintain the United States racial hierarchy that benefits them, should experience perceived attempts to weaken the racial hierarchy (e.g. participation in collective action for Black rights) as a source of intergroup threat. Additionally, Black individuals' involvement in volunteer work with Black communities outside of the United States should pose less of an intergroup threat among Whites high in preference for social hierarchy, and thus most vigilant for intergroup threat, than Black individuals involved in volunteer work helping Black communities in the United States. That is because perceived attempts to improve the social and political standing of Black people abroad is not relevant to the relative status and power of racial groups in the United States. On the other hand, Whites with a weak preference for social hierarchy should not experience perceived attempts to weaken the United States racial hierarchy as a source of intergroup threat. Consistent with expectations, the results confirm that high SDO Whites (and not low SDO Whites) evaluate a Black person who

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volunteers with Black communities outside of the U.S as a more desirable coworker than a Black person who volunteers with Black communities in the U.S. The results of this study suggest that Whites' evaluations of Blacks who volunteer with Black organizations are complicated by perceptions of intergroup threat.

In Study 4, I provide direct evidence that the relationship between the race of an organization (e.g. whether it is associated with predominantly Black or White communities) that a Black person volunteers with and evaluations of that person's hireability is mediated by the following interconnected variables: perceptions of a politicized Black identity (operationalized as collective action for Black rights) and perceptions of intergroup threat (operationalized as the degree to which the job candidate is labeled as a complainer). Furthermore, for White job candidates, the race associated with their volunteer organization appears to have no effect on evaluations of their hireability.

Given that Study 4 measures White evaluators' experience of intergroup threat in a somewhat unconventional way, one might attempt the argument that I did not necessarily capture intergroup threat with the complainer measure, but another construct instead. An alternative construct that one might argue explains my Study 4 findings is a group esteem threat (also referred to by some social psychologists as a social identity threat – see Gunn & Wilson, 2011). In other words, when White evaluators view a Black job candidate who volunteers with a Black organization and therefore is seen as expressing a politicized Black identity, Whites may experience a group esteem threat as opposed to an intergroup threat as I have previously defined it. In the case of group esteem threat as an alternative explanation of the previous study's findings, the notion of a Black person involved in collective action for Black rights might bring to mind the ways in which White Americans have actively marginalized Black Americans. Thus,

in response to potentially viewing their ingroup in a negative light, White evaluators may react defensively (Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010) and this might explain their less favorable evaluations of a Black person who volunteers with Black organizations as compared with White organizations.

As a group affirmation, in which one's ingroup is affirmed by focusing on values important to the ingroup, has proven effective in mitigating group esteem threats (Gunn & Wilson, 2011), in Study 5, I manipulate whether or not White participants receive a group affirmation before evaluating a Black job candidate who volunteered with either a Black or a White organization. The results indicate no effect of the group affirmation. White participants once again evaluate the Black job candidate who volunteered with a White organization more favorably than the Black job candidate who volunteered with a Black organization, regardless of whether they were affirmed or not. Thus, these results offer no support for the alternative hypothesis regarding the role of group esteem threat.

Study 1

The purpose of this first study is to provide initial evidence that when a Black person participates in volunteer work on behalf of Black communities, Whites view this act as an expression of a politicized racial identity. A politicized collective identity is marked by a group's struggle for power within the broader society and is associated with collective action as a way to improve the group's social standing and political power (Simon & Klandermans, 2001).

Black Lives Matter started as a movement and is now an organization with the goal of increasing Black people's political power within the United States and seeing that Black lives are protected from anti-Black racism induced violence. It is known for its organization of several nationwide protests following the deaths of unarmed Black people at the hands of police officers.

Given its strong association with collective action for Black rights, a Black person who volunteers with Black Lives Matter should be viewed by others as having a highly politicized racial identity. I have argued that even when a Black person volunteers for a Black organization that does not have an explicit activist agenda, this person is still seen as expressing a politicized Black identity. That is because a Black person giving back to a Black organization is seen through the socio-historical lens of centuries of marginalization and repeated collective attempts by Black Americans to increase their group's standing within society. Thus, I predict that Whites will be equally less willing to hire either a Black job candidate who volunteers for a Black activist organization, like Black Lives Matter, or a Black job candidate who volunteers with a Black non-activist organization than they are to hire a Black job candidate who volunteers with a White non-activist organization.

Method

      Participants. One hundred and eighty-four White participants were recruited from an online crowdsourcing platform, Amazon Mechanical Turk. This platform has been shown to produce psychometrically reliable samples that are more representative of the U.S. than other samples drawn from the internet (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Participants had an average age of 37.44 years ($SD = 12.28$). Ninety-two of those participants self-identified as male, 91 participants self-identified as female, and 1 participant self-identified as neither male nor female. To ensure that participants noted the race of the volunteer organization, I included a manipulation check. I selected organization names validated by pretest data as designating the politicization of the organization and the race of the people associated with the organization. Among a list of filler items assessing participants' attentiveness to the information in the resumes, participants were asked for the name of the volunteer organization. (Organization name

was used to manipulate the race associated with the volunteer organization.) Participants were given four multiple-choice items representing 4 possible organizations. Of the original 258 White participants, 74 participants failed the manipulation check and were excluded from the dataset, leaving a final sample of 184 participants. With a smaller sample size, this made for a more conservative test of the hypotheses. However, I felt it was important to include this manipulation check, as the manipulation itself was fairly subtle.[1]

Procedure. At the start of the study, all participants were told that they would review a randomly selected resume and then provide feedback on ways to improve the application materials. They read a job description (see Appendix A) followed by the corresponding resume. A few lines were redacted from the resume under the guise of concealing identifying information about the candidate and his former employers (see Appendices B, C, D, and E). This was done in order to minimize the amount of text shown and draw attention to key pieces of information – the name of the job candidate and the organization that the candidate volunteered with, both of which were used to communicate race. After reading the job description and the job candidate's resume, participants answered a series of questions about how hirable they perceived the job candidate to be. Then, in line with the cover story, participants provided open-ended responses about their feedback for the job candidate. Finally, participants answered some demographic questions and were debriefed.

Measures and Manipulations

Candidate Race. I signaled candidate race by using a name pilot-tested in previous research, Lamar Washington, that people overwhelmingly believe to be representative of a Black person. In that research, 100 percent of respondents believed the name, Lamar Washington, to be

that of a Black person (Milkman, Akinola, & Chugh, 2012). In this study, I did not vary the race of the job candidate. The job candidate was Black in all conditions.

Race, Political Agenda, and the Volunteer Organization. In order to ensure that I effectively manipulated the race of the organization that the job candidate volunteered with, as well as the politicization of the organization, I pilot tested perceptions of twelve organizations on 77 White participants recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk. The twelve organizations included the Detroit Community Arts Center, the Compton Community Arts Center, the Portland Community Arts Center, the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, the Smithsonian's National Museum of African-American History, the National Museum of Hip-Hop, the National Museum of Country Music, Black Lives Matter, White Lives Matter, All Lives Matter, Blue Lives Matter, and Breitbart News. I selected these organizations with the expectation that there would be variance in terms of the race of people predominantly associated with these organizations (i.e. Black or White Americans), and whether or not the organizations were thought of as politicized. For instance, I imagined that Black Lives Matter would be perceived as serving Black communities because the name of the organization included a mention of race. Moreover, I assumed that it would be evaluated as having a political agenda because it has branded itself as a political group. To provide an additional example, I imagined that an organization such as the Portland Community Arts Center might appear to others to serve predominantly White communities because Portland is known to be a predominantly White city. Also, because a community arts center does not have political overtones, I expected that the Portland Community Arts Center would not be associated with a political agenda. I also attempted to group together organizations that seem to parallel one another but that differ based

on their associations with race (e.g. the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, and the Smithsonian's National Museum of African-American History).

Participants were asked about the extent to which most people would likely consider each organization to be a Black organization, and the extent to most people would likely consider each organization to be a White organization. With these items I attempted to capture participants' perceptions of the extent to which each organization gives off the impression that it predominantly caters to Black people or White people respectively. Participants were also asked to indicate the extent to which people are likely under the assumption that each organization has a political agenda. With this item, I attempted to capture participants' perceptions of the extent to which each organization is thought to be associated with political activism. Participants provided answers to each of these questions on a scale of 1(not at all) to 7(very much so).

Ultimately, I selected the following four organizations for this study: the Compton Community Arts Center, the Portland Community Arts Center, Black Lives Matter, and (as an exploratory examination of a White and activist organization) All Lives Matter. I first describe how these organizations each meet one of the specific Black/non-activist, White/non-activist, Black/activist, and White/activist specifications. Afterwards, I describe why I selected those organizations over the other organizations that I piloted.

I examined each of the organizations by using one sample t-tests for two items assessing participants' perceptions of the degree to which each organization is generally thought of as a Black organization or a White organization, as well as an item assessing perceptions of the degree to which each organization is generally thought of as having a political agenda. Each item was on a scale of 1(not at all) to 7(very much so). Using one sample t-tests, I tested for whether the means for each of those items were significantly different from the midpoint, 4. The

Compton Community Arts Center was significantly above the midpoint for the item, "do you think people consider the Compton Community Arts Center to be a Black organization", ($M =$ 5.23, $SD = 1.83$), $t(76) = 5.92$, $p < .001$. Yet, it was significantly below the midpoint for the item, "do you think people consider the Compton Community Arts Center to be White organization" ($M = 2.14$, $SD = 1.31$, $t(76) = -12.49$, $p < .001$. Importantly, it was also below the midpoint for the item, "to what extent are people probably under the assumption that the Compton Community Arts Center has a political agenda", ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.79$), $t(76) = -4.08$, $p < .001$. Based on these results, I selected the Compton Community Arts Center for the Black non-activist organization. The Portland Community Arts Center was significantly below the midpoint for the item, "do you think people consider the Portland Community Arts Center to be a Black organization", ($M = 2.45$, $SD = 1.32$), $t(76) = -10.25$, $p <. 001$. Yet, it was significantly above the midpoint for the item, "do you think people consider the Portland Community Arts Center to be a White organization", ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.66$), $t(76) = 4.27$, $p <. 001$. It was also significantly below the midpoint for the item, "to what extent are people probably under the assumption that the Portland Community Arts Center has a political agenda", ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.45$), $t(76) = -7.22$, $p <. 001$. Thus, I selected the Portland Community Arts Center for the White non-activist organization. As for the Black activist organization, I selected Black Lives Matter. It was significantly above the midpoint for the item, "do you think people consider Black Lives Matter to be a Black organization", ($M = 6.38$, $SD = 1.203$), $t(76) = 17.33$, $p < .001$. It was significantly below the midpoint for the item "do you think people consider Black Lives Matter to be a White organization", ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 1.40$), $t(76) = -17.41$, $p <. 001$. It was also significantly above the midpoint for the item, "to what extent are people probably under the assumption that Black Lives Matter has a political agenda", ($M = 6.38$, $SD = 1.10$), $t(76) = 18.95$ $p < .001$. As for the White

activist organization, I selected All Lives Matter. It was significantly below the midpoint for the item, "do you think people consider All Lives Matter to be a Black organization", ($M = 2.47$, $SD = 1.59$), $t(76) = -8.48$, $p < .001$. It was significantly above the midpoint for the item "do you think people consider All Lives Matter to be a White organization" ($M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.69$), $t(76) = 6.34$, $p < .001$. It was also significantly above the midpoint for the item, "to what extent are people probably under the assumption that All Lives Matter has a political agenda", ($M = 5.90$, $SD = 1.97$), $t(76) = 10.60$, $p < .001$.

The other organizations were not selected largely because they did not meet the required criteria of being significantly above or below the midpoint (i.e. "4" on a 1-7 scale) for the aforementioned items: "Do you think people consider X organization to be a Black organization"; "Do you think people consider X organization to be a White organization"; To what extent are people probably under the assumption that X organization has a political agenda". However, four organizations did meet the required criteria, but after careful consideration, I made the decision to not use them for other reasons. These four organizations included the Smithsonian's National Museum of African-American History, the National Museum of Hip-Hop, the National Museum of Country Music, and Breitbart News. While the Smithsonian's National Museum of African-American history was rated as being a distinctly Black organization and was not thought of as promoting a political agenda, I chose not to select it for the non-activist Black organization because the intended matched non-activist White organization – the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History – was not rated as a distinctly White organization. I ultimately chose not to use the National Museum of Hip-Hop or the National Museum of Country Music for the respective non-activist Black organization and non-activist White organization because I was concerned that evaluations of a Black job

candidate who volunteers with the National Museum of Country music might be confounded by the mere fact that Black people who express an interest in country music are viewed as counter-stereotypical (Gutierrez & Unzueta, 2010). Finally, I decided against using Breitbart News for the activist White organization because I grew concerned that volunteering with that organization might be viewed as a more strategic political and professional choice than one informed by a desire to support a specific community of people. It seemed to evoke a qualitatively different intent than the other piloted organizations.

Hireability. Participants were asked 9 questions that assessed how hirable they believed the job candidate to be. I averaged these items into a composite ($\alpha = .97$). Sample items include: "to what extent is this applicant a good fit with this organization", "how likely would you be to give this applicant an interview", and "to what extent would you recommend hiring this applicant". (See Appendix J for a full list of items).

Results

My hypothesis involved comparisons of the Black job candidates who volunteered with the Black activist and Black non-activist organizations to the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization. Although, not directly relevant to my specific hypothesis, it felt incomplete to not also allow for an examination of a Black job candidate who volunteered with White activist organization, so I included it as an exploratory condition.

I first ran planned contrasts assessing my specific hypothesis (i.e. a Black job candidate who volunteered with a Black activist organization or a Black non-activist organization would be evaluated as similarly less hirable than a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White non-activist organization.

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Afterwards, I conducted two post-hoc exploratory analyses. First I compared evaluations of the job candidate who volunteered with the White activist organization to the job candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organizations. Second, I compared evaluations of the job candidate who volunteered with the White activist organization to the job candidate who volunteered with the Black activist and Black non-activist organizations. I believed that it was possible for a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White activist organization to be evaluated just as favorably as a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White non-activist organization, and more favorably than either of the Black organizations simply because that individual would not be viewed as having a politicized Black identity and therefore would not be thought of as involved in collective action for Black rights that could contribute to the destabilization of Whites' social position as the racial group in the United States with the most status and power. On the other hand, I also believed it possible that a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White activist organization would be evaluated less favorably than a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White non-activist organization because that person could be viewed as promoting racism given that White activist groups, like All Lives Matter, are often thought of as condoning racist messages.

Before assessing any of the contrast analyses, I first conducted a one-way ANOVA to get a sense of if there were broad differences in the perceived hireability of the Black job candidate across conditions. The one-way ANOVA did not reach significance, $F(1, 180) = 1.73$, $p = .16$. However, if only one condition was significantly different from the other three, the omnibus effect would have been insensitive to such a difference. Therefore, I pressed forward with my planned contrast analyses. Once again, I was primarily concerned with differences in the evaluations of a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White non-activist organization,

and a Black job candidate who volunteered with either the Black activist organization or the Black non-activist organization. In the first contrast, I compared hireability ratings of the candidate in the White non-activist organization condition ($M = 5.23$, $SD = 1.24$) to the average of the hireability ratings for the two Black organization conditions (activist and non-activist) ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.50$). As predicted, the difference in the hireability of the candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization and the hireability of the candidate who volunteered with either of the Black organizations was significant, $t(183) = -2.04$, $p = .04$; the candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization was evaluated as more hirable than the candidates who volunteered with the Black organizations. With the second contrast, I compared hireability ratings of the candidate in the Black activist organization ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 1.66$) to hireability ratings of the candidate in the Black non-activist organization ($M = 4.74$, $SD = 1.33$). There was no difference in perceptions of the hireability of the job candidates who volunteered with either of the Black organizations, $t(183) = .66$, $p = .51$. Please see Figure 1.

Moving on to the post-hoc analyses concerning the White activist organization, the job candidate who volunteered with this organization ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.47$) was evaluated as marginally less hirable than the job candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization ($M = 5.23$, $SD = 1.24$), $t(180) = 1.647$, $p = .10$. Although the difference was marginal, it may reflect societal perceptions of All Lives Matter as having racist overtones and participants' desire to not appear aligned with people and organizations associated with a racist message. However, there was no difference in the evaluations of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White activist organization ($M = 4.70$, $SD = 1.47$) and the job candidates

who volunteered with the Black organizations (average of the two Black organizations: $M =$ 4.63, $SD = 1.50$), $t(180) = 0.27$, $p = .79$.)

Discussion

My specific predictions in this study were solely in reference to three of the four conditions: the Black activist organization, the Black non-activist organization, and the White non-activist organization. While I felt that it was important to include the White activist organization for the sake of competition, I recognize that including the White activist organization condition for the purposes of exploration may have been a decision that unnecessarily complicated the interpretation of the results. It may have been more prudent to examine evaluations of a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White activist organization within a separate study with specific predictions that seek to more intentionally examine evaluations of Black job candidates who volunteer with such organizations.

Still, using the contrast analyses, I found some evidence for my specific predictions. The Black job candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization was rated as more hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteered with either the Black activist or non-activist organizations. Moreover, there was no significant difference in White participants' evaluations of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black activist organization and their evaluations of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black non-activist organization.

Interview data from research on resume whitening (i.e. attempts at removing racial cues from resumes) suggest that some Black people try to downplay their involvement in racial causes, but not Black activities altogether when applying for jobs, because they want to show that they can add diversity while not appearing radicalized or politically militant (Kang,

DeCelles, Tilcsik, & Jun, 2016). However, the results of the current study suggest that when Black people participate in non-activist volunteer work that benefits Black communities, their volunteer work is evaluated in roughly the same light as explicit political activism. These findings are a first indication that Black individuals may signal a politicized racial identity simply by volunteering with Black organizations.

Study 2

In the previous study, a Black job candidate who volunteered with a Black non-activist organization (i.e. Compton Community Arts Center) and a Black job candidate who volunteered with a Black activist organization (i.e. Black Lives Matter) were viewed as equally less hirable than a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White non-activist organization (i.e. Portland Community Arts Center). The results of this study provided some initial evidence for my argument that when Black people engage in volunteer work that serves Black communities, such acts of service are viewed as expressions of a politicized identity. Important to this argument is my claim that politicized Black identities are associated with collective action participation, and thus are a source of intergroup threat for White evaluators.

Politicized identities are linked with collective action. I have posited that for White Americans, the notion of a Black person engaged in collective action for Black rights elicits concerns about the security of their group's relative status and power, thus serving as a source of intergroup threat. With Study 2, I attempt to test my claim that politicized Black identities are a source of intergroup threat by manipulating intergroup threat. I do so by varying White participants' perceptions of the extent to which most Black Americans hold White Americans in low as opposed to high regard. This is a manipulation introduced by Chow, Lowery, & Knowles (2013) that has been shown to effectively manipulate Whites' perceptions of intergroup threat. In

manipulating the race of the organization that the job candidate volunteered with, I used the non-activist organizations (i.e. Compton Community Arts Center and Portland Community Arts Center) from Study 1 as a conservative test of the hypotheses.

If I am correct in my assertion that a Black person who volunteers for a Black organization elicits intergroup threat amongst Whites, then I predict that one of two patterns will emerge. The first is that under conditions of *high* intergroup threat, there will be a replication of the Study 1 finding whereby the Black job candidate who volunteers with the Black organizations is evaluated as less hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteers with the (non-activist) White organization. Yet, in the *low* intergroup threat condition, the Black candidate who volunteers with the Black organization receives a hiring boost, while the Black candidate who volunteers with the White organization is evaluated as just as hirable as in the high threat condition. Such results would imply that a Black individual who volunteers with White organizations rarely ever elicits intergroup threat and when external conditions are such that intergroup threat is unlikely to be felt, even a Black individual who volunteers with Black organizations is seen as less threatening.

However, a second pattern may emerge whereby I replicate the finding that the Black job candidate who volunteers with a Black organization is evaluated as less hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteers with the White organization, even in the low threat condition. Yet, in the *high* threat condition, the Black job candidate who volunteers with the White organization receives a drop in evaluations of hireability, while evaluations of the Black candidate who volunteers with Black organizations remains relatively low. These results would indicate that when a Black individual gives back to Black communities, this individual is typically seen as holding a politicized Black identity and thus almost always poses an intergroup threat, even

when external conditions should diminish the salience of intergroup threat. Moreover, such results would also indicate that under conditions where intergroup threat for White people should be heightened, Black people whose behavior typically would not be evaluated as a source of intergroup threat are now seen as threatening.

This second possible set of outcomes is more disheartening than the first as it would signify the difficulty in getting the Black candidate whose volunteer work serves Black communities to appear less threatening in the eyes of some White Americans. However, either way, if either of these predictions are supported by the data, the implication would be that Black job candidates who volunteer with Black organizations elicit intergroup threat for White Americans.

Methods

Participants. Two hundred and sixty three White participants were recruited from Amazon Mechanical Turk. One hundred and seven of those participants self-identified as male. One hundred and seventy three of those participants self-identified as female, and one participant self-identified as neither male nor female. The average age of participants was 35.84 years old ($SD = 12.22$). Once again I included a manipulation check where I tested for participants' recollection of the volunteer organization. Among a list of filler items assessing participants' attentiveness to the information in the resumes, participants were asked for the name of the volunteer organization. They were given three multiple-choice options including the correct Black organization and the correct White organization, as well as a filler organization (i.e. Toronto Community Arts Center). Of the initial 379 White participants, 84 participants failed one or more manipulation checks and were excluded from the dataset resulting in a final sample of 295 participants.

Procedure. Participants were informed that they would be completing two short surveys. In the ostensible Survey 1, participants were told that they would be completing a survey of social attitudes "as part of an effort to document how Americans' social attitudes have changed over time" (Chow et al., 2013, p. 334). This is when they received the intergroup threat manipulation, described as the "results of contemporary research on Americans' social attitudes" (Chow et al., 2013). They were assigned to either the low threat or the high threat conditions. Participants in the low threat condition read the following statement: "In 2017, researchers conducted a personal phone interview survey of 1,374 U.S. households. Some of the questions included in the survey asked about perceptions of other races. Despite recent political tensions, of the households called that were Black, the majority actually indicated that their attitudes toward Whites are more *positive* than they were 10 years ago." In the high threat statement, participants instead read, "…In light of recent political tensions, of the households called that were Black, the majority actually indicated that attitudes toward Whites are more *negative* than they were 10 years ago".

After receiving the intergroup threat manipulation, participants then proceeded to the ostensible second survey on improving application materials. They read the same job description used in the previous study. They were then randomly assigned to evaluate the resume of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black organization (i.e. Compton Community Arts Center) or they were randomly assigned to evaluate the resume of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization (i.e. Portland Community Arts Center). For both conditions, we again used the name "Lamar Washington" to signal the job applicant's race as Black. The rest of the information in the resume is the same as that used in the previous studies. After evaluating the resume, participants again completed a hireability measure.

Hireability. Participants were asked 12 questions that assessed how hirable they believed the job candidate to be. I averaged these items into a hireability composite ($\alpha = .96$). Sample items include: "to what extent is this applicant a good fit with this organization", "how likely would you be to give this applicant an interview", and "to what extent would you recommend hiring this applicant" (see Appendix K).

Results

To test the competing hypotheses proposed, I first ran a two-way ANOVA to determine if there was a significant interaction between intergroup threat and race of the volunteer organization for the hireability variable. The main effect for race of the volunteer organization (White organizations: $M = 5.17$, $SD = 1.15$; Black organizations: $M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.21$) was not significant, $F(1, 291) = .22$, $p = .72$. The main effect for intergroup threat (Low threat: $M = 5.22$, $SD = 1.12$; High threat: $M = 5.05$, $SD = 1.24$) was not significant, $F(1, 291) = 1.66$, $p = .42$. The interaction was not significant either, $F(1, 291) = .93$, $p = .34$. Although the interaction was not significant as predicted, I proceeded to examine the means for each of the conditions in order to see if the pattern of data was at all suggestive of either of the competing hypotheses. (The mean differences described below are not significant.) In the *low* threat condition, the Black job candidate who volunteers with the Black organization ($M = 5.13$, $SD = 1.18$) was rated as slightly less hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.05$). However, in the *high* threat condition, there was virtually no difference in evaluations of the Black candidate who volunteered with the Black organization ($M = 5.09$, $SD = 1.25$) and the Black candidate who volunteered with the White organization ($M = 5.02$, $SD = 1.24$). Moreover, while mean hireability ratings are nearly identical in both threat conditions for the Black job candidate who volunteers with the Black organization based on the level of threat,

there is a more noticeable difference in hireability of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization. Specifically, hireability of the candidate in who volunteered with the White organization in the low threat condition ($M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.05$) is slightly higher than hireability of the candidate who volunteers with the White organization in the high threat condition ($M = 5.02$, $SD = 1.24$). A post-hoc contrast revealed that this difference did not reach significance, $t(291) = 1.53$, $p = .13$.

Though these findings were not significant, the pattern of data appears to be more in line with the latter of my proposed competing hypotheses, in which hireability of the Black candidate who volunteers with the White organization drops in the high threat condition, while hireability of the Black candidate who volunteers with the Black organization is relatively unaffected by external messages about the pervasiveness of intergroup threat. Still, it is impossible to draw definitive conclusions from the data given the significance of the findings. See Figure 2 for a graphical depiction of the data.

Discussion

With this study, I intended to test my argument that due to perceptions of a politicized Black identity, a Black job candidate who volunteers with Black organizations elicits intergroup threat among Whites. I predicted that one of two outcomes would emerge: 1. The candidate who volunteered with the Black organization would be evaluated as more hirable in the *low* threat condition compared to the *high* threat condition. Furthermore, in the *high* threat condition, this candidate would be evaluated as less hirable than the candidate who volunteered with the White organization. 2. Alternatively, the candidate who volunteered with the White organization would be seen as less hirable in the *high* threat condition compared to the *low* threat condition.

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Furthermore, only in the *low* threat condition would this candidate be viewed as more hirable than the candidate who volunteered with the Black organization.

The results of the study are somewhat suggestive of the latter set of predictions, when solely examining the pattern of the data. Yet, the predicted interaction was not significant. If the interaction *was* significant, the data would have strongly suggested that when a Black individual volunteers for a Black organization and is thus seen as expressing a Black identity, this individual's assumed politicized Black identity is likely to elicit intergroup threat among Whites. Moreover, that would be the case regardless of whether the individual is thought to be representative of other Black people. Additionally, the drop in evaluations of the Black candidate who volunteered with the White organization in the *high* intergroup threat condition would have spoken to a vigilance for intergroup threat among Whites that is not easily mitigated. However, the intergroup threat manipulation used in this study did not produce clear evidence in support of the predicted results, and so I cannot make those claims with confidence.

It is possible that Chow and colleagues' regard manipulation did not work for the purposes of this study because of the current political climate and pivotal events in American race relations that occurred after the original use of the regard manipulation. It was after Chow et al.'s (2013) use of the regard manipulation that Trayvon Martin, a 17 year-old Black boy was shot and killed by White neighborhood watch volunteer, George Zimmerman, sparking the inception of the Black Lives Matter Movement and nation-wide protests (Coates, 2013). Additionally, between the time of that event and the time that data for the current study was collected, numerous unarmed Black people have died at the hands of law enforcement (e.g. Mike Brown, Tamir Rice, Sandra Bland) and their deaths have incited highly publicized protests from Black Americans across the country (Buchanan et al., 2015; Graham, 2015; Ohlheiser, 2014;

Vorhees, 2014). In addition to the many publicized murders of Black people by law enforcement, in 2015, the Charleston Church Massacre occurred. White supremacist, Dylan Roof murdered nine African-Americans in a historically Black church in Charleston South Carolina (Hersher, 2016). The current study was also conducted after the presidential election of Donald Trump, who has made public statements that many have regarded as racist. Included among these comments was Trumps' reaction to the Charlottesville Unite the Right Rally (Shear & Haberman, 2017). In this rally (which also took place before the current study) White supremacists went to the streets of Charlottesville, Virginia with torches and racist signs to protest the removal of a confederate statue. The rally ended with one of the White supremacists killing a counter protester (Katz, 2017). Given the number of high profile racially charged events that have occurred after Chow and colleagues' 2013 use of the regard manipulation and the time that the data was collected for this study, it is highly possible that participants were skeptical of the truthfulness of the low intergroup threat manipulation. Suspicion about the truthfulness of the manipulation may have confounded the results of the study.

Study 3

With Study 3, I attempt to capture intergroup threat a different way. So far I have argued that for Black Americans, the act of giving back to one's community is seen as an expression of a politicized identity associated with collective action for Black rights, and that this is a source of intergroup threat for White Americans. When a Black American gives back to Black communities that are outside of the United States, this should not elicit nearly as much intergroup threat for White Americans. Although probably still perceived as having a politicized racial identity because this individual is serving Black communities, the Black communities being served are outside of the United States. Thus, this individual may be believed to be

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involved in collective action for Black rights abroad as opposed to within the United States. As collective action abroad has no impact on the racial status hierarchy in the United States, a Black person volunteering with Black organizations abroad should elicit less intergroup threat than a Black person volunteering with Black organizations in the U.S.

In this study, I manipulate whether a Black person is involved in volunteer work that benefits Black people in the United States or Black people in Uganda. I also introduce participants' preference for social hierarchy as a moderator. I made the decision to do so as an additional way to showcase the role of intergroup threat in the evaluation of Black individuals who volunteer with Black communities. Whites who are high in preference for social hierarchy should be vigilant for intergroup threats from Blacks because they most want to maintain the racial hierarchy where Whites have more power and status in society than Blacks. Therefore, they should evaluate Black individuals who give back to Black communities that are outside of the United States more favorably than Black individuals who give back to Black communities within the United States, as the former's volunteer work is not relevant to the United States racial hierarchy. Whites who are low in preference for social hierarchy should be far less vigilant for intergroup threats from racial minorities, as they are in favor of increasing the status and power or non-Whites in an effort to create a more egalitarian system (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Compared to Whites high in preference for social hierarchy, they should be less likely to differentially evaluate Black individuals' desirability as potential colleagues based on whether these individuals serve Black communities abroad or within the United States.

In sum, I predict that Whites' preferential evaluation of a Black person who volunteers with Black organizations abroad as opposed to the United States will be moderated by individual differences in preference for social hierarchy. Specifically, I predict that Whites high in

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preference for social hierarchy (and thus most vigilant for intergroup threats) will evaluate a Black person who volunteers with Black organizations outside of the United States more favorably than a Black person who volunteers with Black organizations within the United States. Conversely, White Americans low in preference for social hierarchy should show no such bias.

In this study, I also use a different framework in which to evaluate White Americans' perceptions of Blacks' volunteer work. Instead of having participants evaluate a resume, participants in this study evaluate a profile of a Black person who is a volunteer leader of a charity fundraising project. Embedded within a number of filler questions assessing the good nature of the project leader is a key item relevant to the job candidate's hireability. As the entire profile centers on the project leader's dedication to a charitable cause, there is unlikely to be much variation in participants' ratings of how good of a person the project leader is. However, in ratings of how good of a fit this person would be in the workplace – an evaluation that goes beyond whether or not the project leader is a decent person – is where variation will likely be found.

I decided to use this different study paradigm for Study 3 because I was interested in determining if there were still differences in the evaluations of Black volunteers based on the race of the communities that they serve when participants' are provided with more detailed information on the individuals' involvement and commitment to their volunteer work. The individuals' volunteer work with Black communities was centered in this study (more than in the previous two studies). Thus, this study offered a bold test of my proposition that as prospective candidates for desired professional positions, Black individuals may be vulnerable to bias when open about their involvement in volunteering work that serves Black communities due to White gatekeepers' potential experience of intergroup threat. With this study, I also wanted to test my

propositions beyond the resume paradigm that I use in the previous studies. Information about individuals' extra-professional activities, including volunteer work, has been made more accessible given the proliferation of social media and online professional networking in recent years. Thus, a Black individual's volunteer work, if they are deeply involved in it, such as in the example provided in this study, may be accessible to potential employers or other gatekeepers within an organization who have a great deal of influence on who is considered a good fit for the organization.

While the question of whether one would want someone as a colleague is not identical to the question of whether one would want to hire this individual, it still captures a sense of overall fit with an organization with which influential gatekeepers to desired professional positions may base their decisions. Thus, I felt that the dependent measure used for this study was an appropriate complement to the dependent measures used in the previous two studies. Also, given that the information presented in this study did not revolve around/include a specific job description, asking directly about the target individual's hireability did not make as much sense for the study as it did for the previous studies.

Method

Participants. Three hundred participants were sampled from a university-run community pool. One hundred and two of those participants self-identified as male, 196 of those participants self-identified as female, and five participants self-identified as neither male nor female. The average age of participants was 35.18 years old ($SD = 14.39$). I included a manipulation check in which I tested for participants attentiveness to the population of beneficiaries. The manipulation check consisted of a single multiple-choice question about the location of the volunteer project – Chicago, Illinois or Kampala, Uganda. (Participants saw a photograph of the beneficiaries in

each condition and saw the beneficiaries were Black in both conditions.) Out of the initial 318 participants recruited, 18 participants failed the manipulation check and were excluded from the dataset, leaving a final sample of 300 participants.

Procedure. Participants were told that they would be providing their impressions of a charity fundraising project and/or project leaders as part of a larger stream of research on humanitarianism. They were randomly assigned to read one of two profiles – a fundraising project in Kampala, Uganda or a fundraising project in Chicago, Illinois. The project leader was described as raising money to help financially disadvantaged students with their university fees so that they can complete their degrees and persist with their own community development initiatives. All participants saw a photograph of the project leader, an African-American man (Michael Smith from Chicago). A photograph depicting either the Black American beneficiaries (see Appendix F) or the Black Ugandan beneficiaries (see Appendix G) was also included in the profile. After reading the profile, participants answered questions about the project leader.

All participants in the university-run community pool completed a prescreen survey, which included a measure of preference for group-based hierarchy (i.e. Social Dominance Orientation). I was able to access participants' prescreen responses for this measure upon their completion of the study.

Measures

Preference for Social Hierarchy. Using participants' prescreen data, I captured preference for social hierarchy with an 8-item measure of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO). SDO is a validated measure of preference for social hierarchy (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). It also captures a desire for ingroup dominance (Sidanius, Pratto, Sinclair, & Van Laar, 1996). Sample items include "It's probably good that certain groups are at the top and certain groups are at the

bottom"; "We should not push for group equality"; "We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed" (reverse scored). All items were anchored on a scale from 1(strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree),

   Good Coworker. Among filler items assessing participants' perceptions of the project leader as a good person was an item that parallels the hireability items used in the previous studies. Participants were asked to respond to the following item on a scale from 1(strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly disagree), "To what extent would you say the project leader would be a good coworker?"

Results

   To test my hypothesis, I conducted a multiple regression analysis. I dummy coded the project location as a 0 for Uganda and 1 for the United States. Following the guidelines set forth by Aiken and West (1991) regarding interactions with continuous variables, I mean centered the SDO variable and I multiplied it by the project location variable to create an interaction term. I then regressed the good coworker dependent variable on the project location variable, the mean centered SDO variable, and the interaction term. There was a main effect of SDO, $B = -.73$, $t(296) = -9.08$, $p < .001$; the higher participants were in SDO or preference for group-based hierarchy, the less they felt that the Black project leader would be a good coworker. There was a main effect of the project location variable, $B = .301$, $t(296) = 2.04$, $p = .04$; the project leader whose volunteer work benefited Black Ugandans was rated as a better would-be coworker than the project leader whose volunteer work benefited Black Americans. However, the main effects were qualified by an interaction, $B = .286$, $t(296) = 2.51$, $p = .01$. Decomposing the interaction further, participants high in SDO (+1 SD above the mean) rated the project leader who volunteered with Black beneficiaries in Uganda as significantly more likely to be a better

coworker than the project leader who volunteered with Black beneficiaries in the United States, $B = .672$, $t(296) = 3.21$, $p = .001$. Yet, participants low in SDO (-1 SD below the mean) did not rate the project leader who volunteered with Black beneficiaries in Uganda any differently than the project leader who volunteered with Black beneficiaries in the United States, $B = -0.07$, $t(296) = -.34$, $p = .74$, see Figure 3.

Discussion

I proposed that Black individuals viewed as expressing politicized identities, because of their volunteer work with Black communities, may elicit intergroup threat for White Americans due to assumptions about their participation in (potentially) hierarchy-destabilizing collective action for Black rights.

However, if a Black person is thought to hold a politicized racial identity because of involvement in volunteer work that benefits Black communities outside of the U.S., assumptions of this person's participation in collective action abroad likely poses less of an intergroup threat for White Americans. That is due to the fact that collective action in Uganda has no bearing on the racial status hierarchy in the United Statues. Thus, White Americans strongly invested in preserving the racial status hierarchy (i.e. high SDO Whites) should be less threatened by a Black person who volunteers with Black communities in Uganda than a Black person who volunteers with Black communities in the United States, where only the latter person's actions are directly relevant to the racial status hierarchy in the United States. I predicted that White Americans who most want to maintain racial hierarchy (high SDOs), would rate the Black project leader who volunteered with Black communities in Uganda as a more desirable potential coworker than the Black project leader who volunteered with Black communities in the United States. However, I expected that White Americans who are the least vested in maintaining the

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racial hierarchy (low SDOs) would not show such bias. That was indeed what I found. High SDO Whites, but not low SDO Whites, evaluated the Black project leader who volunteered in Uganda as a more desirable coworker than the Black project leader who volunteered with Black communities in the United States.

Study 4

In the previous study, I was able to provide more compelling evidence for my proposition that Black Americans who give back to Black communities may be viewed unfavorably by some Whites because their volunteer work elicits intergroup threat – perceived threat to relative group status and power among racial groups in the United States. However, the results of this study were based on a single item measure. Additionally, I have yet to explicitly test the relationship between race of the volunteer organization, perceptions of the Black person's politicized racial identity and Whites' perceptions of intergroup threat. With Study 4, I attempted to provide direct evidence of this complex relationship.

In this study, I returned to the resume framework from studies 1 and 2. Instead of measuring politicized racial identity with perceptions of the job candidate's identification with a social movement, such as the Black Lives Matter Movement, I chose to capture this construct by measuring perceptions of the job candidate's level of engagement in collective action for Black rights. I saw this as a useful way to capture politicized racial identity as politicized identities are inherently linked with collective action participation (Klandermans, 2014). Moreover, if participants' perceptions of the candidate's identification with the Black Lives Matter Movement were distorted by a personal dislike of the movement, assessing participants' perceptions of the candidate's involvement in collective action for Black rights more broadly would be a useful way to get around that potential conflict.

I also chose to demonstrate intergroup threat another way in this study. To the extent that a Black individual volunteering with a Black organization is viewed as expressing a politicized Black identity, this individual's assumed participation in collective action for Black rights is likely seen as an attack on the status quo whereby Whites have more power in American society relative to racial minorities. Attacks on the status quo, in ways that could potentially contribute to the destabilization of the racial status hierarchy, present an obstacle to the maintenance of Whites' dominant position within society.

In intergroup contexts, perceived obstacles to desired outcomes (such as the maintenance of one group's power) is a stimulus for out-group anger, and Black Americans – more so than other racial minority groups – elicit the most anger for White Americans (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). The adaptive response to anger in intergroup contexts is the attempted removal of the obstacle and reacquisition of the desired outcome (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). In the case of Blacks perceived as contributing to the destabilization of the racial status hierarchy by participating in collective action for Black rights (an obstacle for many Whites), one way to undermine attempts at destabilization of the hierarchy (removal of the obstacle) would be to try and invalidate individuals' claims about the social injustices faced by Black Americans at the hands of White Americans. Labeling someone a complainer, and thus one whose opinions are not to be taken seriously, specifically when this individual is seen as openly challenging Whites' dominant position within society would be a way of undermining claims about the social injustices faced by Blacks at the hands of Whites. Doing so would thus help to protect the status quo (reacquisition of the desired outcome). In accordance with these ideas, previous research on Whites' reactions to being confronted about racial discrimination has shown that when Whites

are confronted by Black people, they tend to negatively dismiss their confronters as overreacting – in essence labeling them as hypersensitive complainers (Czopp & Monteith, 2003).

Lastly, with this study I intended to demonstrate that the effect I have found in the previous studies, in which Black job candidates are potentially penalized for giving back to their ingroup, is not true for all groups. White candidates are not likely to be penalized for helping their ingroup. Whites often overlook white racial identity unless it is accompanied by a message of White supremacy (Frankenberg, 2001; Perry, 2001). Thus, when White job candidates volunteer with non-activist organizations that serve predominantly White communities, their volunteer work is unlikely to be viewed as an expression of a White identity unless their White identity is made explicit.

Thus, I predict that participants will evaluate the Black job candidate as being higher in politicized racial identity – as captured by perceived participation in collective action for Black rights – when the candidate volunteers with the Black organization as opposed to the White organization. I also predict that White participants will be more likely to negatively label the Black job candidate who volunteers with the Black organization as a complainer compared to the Black candidate who volunteers with the White organization. Additionally, I predict that for the Black candidate, expression of a politicized racial identity impacts evaluations of the candidate as a complainer (i.e. indicator of intergroup threat), and that these interconnected variables together mediate the relationship between the race of the volunteer organization and evaluations of the Black candidate's hireability. On the other hand, compared with the Black job candidate, the White job candidate is not likely to be differentially evaluated based on the race of the volunteer organization.

Method

     Participants. Two hundred and four White participants were sampled from Amazon Mechanical Turk. Ninety-three participants self-identified as male and 111 participants self-identified as female. The average age of participants was 36.13 (SD = 10.60). I included the same manipulation check for the volunteer organization that I used in Study 2. Because I also subtly manipulated the race of the job applicant in this study, I also included a manipulation check of the candidate name as well. (I again used names validated by previous research to signal the race of the job candidate – see Milkman, Akinola, & Chugh, 2012.) Of the initial 300 participants, 96 participants failed one or more of the manipulation checks and were excluded from the dataset, resulting in a final sample of 204 participants.

     Procedure. As in the previous studies, participants were informed that they would be evaluating and providing feedback on a job candidate. In this study, I manipulated both the race associated with the organization that the job applicant volunteered with (Black – "Compton Community Arts Center" or White – "Portland Community Arts Center") and the race of the job candidate (Black – "Lamar Washington" or White – "Brad Anderson"). Thus participants were randomly assigned to review one of four resumes: the resume of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black organization (see Appendix B), the resume of the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization (see Appendix C), the resume of the White job candidate who volunteered with the Black organization, (see Appendix H) and the resume of the White job candidate who volunteered with the White organization (see Appendix I). After reviewing the resume, participants provided their perceptions of the candidate's participation in collective action for Black rights, followed by evaluations of the degree to which they view the job candidate as a complainer, and evaluations of the job candidate's hireability. Finally, in

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keeping with the cover story, participants, were then asked to provide written feedback on what changes they would make to the resume (if any) to improve it's quality.

Perceptions of Candidate's Participation in Collective Action for Black Rights (i.e. Indicator of Politicized Black Identity). To capture perceptions of the job candidate's participation in collective action, specifically collective action for the improvement of Black rights, I adapted a scale by Stake and Rose (1994; see also Stake & Hoffman, 2001), originally designed to capture women's activism. I chose to adapt this scale because it directly captures collective action participation with its focus on specific behaviors. Participants were asked to indicate how often the job candidate likely participated in nine collective action behaviors on scale of 1(never) to 5(very often). Behaviors include: circulated a petition about a Black rights cause; talked with others to influence their attitudes about Black rights; attended a march, rally or protest related to Black rights; kept informed on black rights issues; signed a petition related to Black rights; wrote letters to politicians or newspapers about Black rights issues; contributed money to a Black rights cause or to politicians who supported such causes; worked for a phone bank, letter writing campaign, or political campaign in the cause of Black rights; made a social media post about Black rights.

Complainer. I measured perceptions of the job candidate as a complainer using Kaiser & Miller's (2001) scale. It consists of six items on a scale from 1(strongly disagree) to 7(strongly agree). Participants are asked about the extent to which the job candidate gives off the impression of being: a complainer, a troublemaker, hypersensitive, emotional, argumentative, and irritating.

Hireability. Participants completed the same items from Study 2 assessing how likely they would be to hire the candidate. I again created a composite of the items to form a single

measure ($\alpha = .96$). Sample items include: to what extent is this applicant a good fit with this organization; how likely would you be to give this applicant an interview; how likely is it that this applicant will be hired. All items can be found in Appendix J.

Results

I ran a two-way ANOVA on the hireability measure as a first step in testing my prediction that only the Black candidates and not the White candidates would be differentially evaluated based on the race of the candidate's volunteer organization. The main effect for race of the job candidate was not significant, $F(1, 200) = 1.871$, $p = .173$. In other words, the difference in hireability of the Black job candidates ($M = 5.10$, $SD = 1.10$) and the White job candidates ($M = 4.85$, $SD = 1.08$) was not significant. There was a significant main effect for the race of the volunteer organization, such that job candidates who volunteered with the White organization ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 0.98$) were evaluated as more hirable than the job candidates who volunteered with the Black organization ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 1.20$), $F(1, 200) = 4.54$, $p = .034$. However, this main effect was qualified by a significant two-way interaction, $F(1, 200) = 8.19$, p = .005. To further determine if the Black candidates were differentially evaluated as a result of the race associated with the volunteer organization, I conducted two pairwise contrasts. The Black candidate who volunteered with the White organization ($M = 5.43$, $SD = .86$) was evaluated as significantly more hirable than the Black candidate who volunteered with the Black organization ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.23$), $t(203) = 3.12$, $p = .002$. There was no difference in the hireability of the White candidate based on the race of the volunteer organization, $t(203) = .83$, $p = .41$. See Figure 4.

The predicted patterns also emerged for my proposed mediator variables, perceived participation in collective action for Black rights and complainer. For perceived participation in collective action for Black rights, there was a significant main effect for the race of the job

candidate, whereby the Black job candidates (*M* = 2.50, *SD* = 1.09) were evaluated as more involved in collective action for Black rights than White job candidates (*M* = 1.85, *SD* = .85), *F*(1, 200) = 26.84, *p* < .001. There was also a significant main effect of the race of the volunteer organization. The job candidates who volunteered with the Black organization (*M* = 2.40, *SD* = 1.17) were evaluated as more involved in collective action for Black rights than the job candidates who volunteered with the White organization (*M* = 1.96, *SD* = .85), *F*(1, 200) = 12.54, *p* < .001. Additionally, there was a significant two-way interaction, *F*(1, 200) = 4.71, *p* = .03. The results of a pairwise contrast revealed that the Black candidate who volunteered with the Black organization was presumed to be more involved in collective action for Black rights (*M* = 2.92, *SD* = 1.16) – again a proxy for politicized Black identity – than the Black candidate who volunteered with the White organization (*M* = 2.16, *SD* = .91), *t*(200) = -4.36, *p* < .001. Moreover there was no difference in perceptions of the White candidates' involvement in collective action for Black rights based on whether they served Black or White communities with their volunteer work *t*(200) = -.70, *p* = .488. See Figure 5.

With regard to the complainer variable, the main effect for the race of the job candidate was not significant. The Black job candidates (*M* = 1.70, SD = .95) were not considered to be greater complainers than the White job candidates (*M* = 1.84, *SD* = 0.98), *F*(1, 200) = .64, *p* = .43. However, there was a significant main effect for the race of the volunteer organization. The job candidates who volunteered with the Black organization (*M* = 1.62, *SD* = .83) were evaluated as less of complainer than the job candidates who volunteered with the White organization (*M* = 1.94, *SD* = 1.08), *F*(1, 200) = 5.97, *p* = .02. Yet, there was a marginally significant interaction between the two variables, race of the job candidate and race of the volunteer organization, *F*(1, 200) = 3.66, *p* = .06. Again using pairwise contrasts, I found that the Black candidate who

volunteered with the White organization was evaluated as less of a complainer ($M = 1.44$, $SD =$ .66) than the Black candidate who volunteered with the Black organization ($M = 2.02$, $SD =$ 1.14), $t(200) = -2.941$, p = .004. There was no difference in evaluations of the White candidates as complainers based on the race of the community served through their volunteer work, $t(200) =$ -.408, $p = .68$. See Figure 6.

I made the proposition that evaluations of the Black job candidate's hireability would ultimately depend on participants' perceptions of the candidate's politicized Black identity (operationalized in this study as involvement in collective action for Black rights), which would then affect the degree of intergroup threat experienced (expressed as the degree to which the candidate is negatively labeled as a complainer). In order to test this proposition, I tested a serial mediation model (see Figure 7). In this model, the independent variable is the race associated with the volunteer organization, the first mediator variable is perceptions of the job candidate's involvement in collective action for Black rights, the second mediator variable is perceptions of the job candidate as a complainer, and the dependent variable is perceptions of the job candidate's hireability. This serial meditational model was tested within the Black job candidate conditions only because the predictions only pertain to the Black candidate. Furthermore, there were no differences to examine within the White job candidate conditions.

I tested this serial mediation model using the Hayes (2013) Process for SPSS Model 4 macro (see Figure 7). The indirect effect of the proposed serial mediation, -.0751, SE = .0495 was significant; bootstrap confidence intervals did not include zero (-.2224, -.0119). Moreover, after accounting for the mediating variables, the total effect of the race of the volunteer organization on hireability of the job candidate was no longer significant, -.1246 (CI: -.4552, .1550).

Discussion

The results of this study largely support my proposition that Black job candidates, and not White job candidates, are evaluated as less hirable when they have participated in volunteer work that serves their ingroup as opposed to an outgroup. The White job candidates were not evaluated differently based on the race of the people that they served with their volunteer efforts. Moreover, the differences in evaluations of the Black candidate's hireability were explained by two interconnected factors. The first factor was perceptions of the candidate's involvement in collective action for Black rights (a means of capturing politicized Black identity). The second factor, influenced by the first, is the degree to which the candidate is labeled as a complainer (a response indicative of intergroup threat). The results suggest that the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black organization was evaluated as less hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization because the act of volunteering with the Black organization was associated with an expression of a politicized Black identity, which then elicited intergroup threat for White evaluators.

Study 5

In the previous study, the difference in Whites' evaluations of a Black job candidate who volunteered with a Black organization and a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White organization was explained by differences in perceptions of the candidate's politicized Black identity (operationalized as perceived involvement in collective action for Black rights), which then differentially elicited intergroup threat (operationalized as the extent to which the candidate was negatively labeled as a complainer).

One alternative explanation to the results is that participants were not responding to intergroup threat as I have defined it – a perceived attack on Whites' relative status and power

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within society – but that they were instead responding to a group esteem threat (also referred to as social identity threat by some psychologists – see Gunn & Wilson, 2011). A group esteem or social identity threat refers to a threat to the perception of one's social group in a favorable light (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). I have argued, when Blacks are perceived as high in a politicized Black identity, they are perceived to be engaged in collective action that promotes Black rights and challenges White supremacy. When White supremacy is challenged, White Americans may become unwittingly attuned to the ways that their ingroup has oppressed Black people. This in turn may lead them to feel as though their ingroup is being cast in a negative light. In response to threatened group esteem, such as when the misdeeds of one's group are brought to light, Whites may react defensively (Branscombe & Miron, 2004; Peetz, Gunn, & Wilson, 2010).

Group affirmation has been shown to soothe a threatened social identity much in the same way that self-affirmation has been shown to soothe a threatened personal identity (Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2011; Sherman Kinia, Major, Kim, & Prenovost, 2007). For instance, men given a group affirmation were less defensive than men not given a group affirmation in response to reading about the injustices that men have perpetrated against women throughout history (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). In this final study, I use a group affirmation to test the alternative hypothesis that group esteem threat (and not intergroup threat) is at the root of why the Black candidates who volunteered with Black organizations are evaluated as less hirable than the Black candidates who volunteered with the White organizations. Even if many Whites do not experience everyday life with an acute awareness of their race (Perry, 2001), a group affirmation where they are asked to consider the values that are most important to those who share their racial background, should increase for them the salience of their own race. It likely increases their attention to the role that race plays in their lives and how they experience the world.

Evaluating a Black individual who volunteers with Black organizations likely also increases Whites' awareness of their own race because the Black person's racial identity presents a contrast to their own. However, completing a group affirmation prior to evaluating a Black individual who they assume to be involved in collective action for Black rights should serve as an psychological buffer, protecting Whites from negative emotions associated with the notion of their ingroup being cast in a negative light.

I randomly assigned participants to a group affirmation condition or a control condition. Additionally, participants were randomly assigned to evaluate either a Black candidate who volunteered with a Black organization or a Black candidate who volunteered with a White organization. As I have proposed that intergroup threat, and not group esteem threat, best explains differences in evaluations of the Black job candidates, I predicted that there would only be a main effect of the race associated with the volunteer organization. As with the previous study, I predicted that the Black candidate who volunteered with a White organization would be evaluated as more hirable than the Black candidate who volunteered with a Black organization.

If the previous study's findings were indeed driven by group esteem, then following a group affirmation, Whites should be expected to evaluate a Black candidate who volunteered with a Black organization more favorably when affirmed than when not affirmed. However, if the previous study's findings were driven by differences in the perceived politicized racial identity of the Black candidate that then facilitated differences in perceived intergroup threat (threat to relative group status and power), then we would only see an effect of the race of the volunteer organization, not a significant two-way interaction. The presence or absence of a group affirmation would have no effect.

Method

Participants. I sampled 249 White participants from Amazon Mechanical Turk. One hundred and nine of the participants self-identified as male, 139 participants self-identified as female, and 1 participants did not identity with a specific gender. The mean age of participants in this study was 37.19, $SD = 12.64$. I again included a manipulation check for the name of the volunteer organization. This was the same manipulation check used in the previous study. Of the original 296 participants, 47 failed the manipulation checks. Data from those participants were removed from the dataset, resulting in a final sample of 249 participants.

Procedure. Participants were told that they would be completing two ostensibly separate surveys. First, they received the group affirmation manipulation, where they were randomly assigned to the affirmation or control condition. Participants were told that this was part of a graduate student's research on social values. I used a common group affirmation framework utilized in previous research (Gunn & Wilson, 2011). In the group affirmation condition, participants were given a list of eighteen values (e.g. family, loyalty, self-discipline). They were asked to select the value that they believe to be most important for people of their racial backgrounds. Then they were asked to write about why that value tends to be important for people of their racial background. In the control condition, participants were asked to select the value that they believe to be the least important for people of their racial backgrounds. Then they wrote about why that value might be important to people from other racial groups.

After completing the affirmation portion of the study, participants then continued to the resume evaluation portion of the study. They were then randomly assigned to evaluate either the Black candidate who volunteered with the Black organization (i.e. Compton Community Arts Center) or the White organization (i.e. Portland Community Arts Center). The job candidate was

Black across all conditions. After reviewing the resume participants then gave their evaluations

of the job candidate's hireability. In line with the cover story, they also provided written

feedback on how they would improve the resume. Participants completed the same hireability

measure that was used in the previous study (See Appendix J). Once again, sample items

include: "How likely would you be to give this applicant an interview" and "To what extent

would you recommend hiring this applicant".

Results

To test the alternative explanation that group esteem threat is a root cause of the

differences in Whites' evaluations of the two Black job candidates, I ran a two-way ANOVA.

With this two-way ANOVA, I tested for the interaction between the affirmation variable and

race of the volunteer organization. The interaction was not significant, $F(1, 245) = .21$, $p = .65$.

There was also no effect of the affirmation variable, $F(1, 245) = .03$, $p = .86$. However, in line

with my prediction, there was a main effect for the race of the volunteer organization, $F(1, 245)$

$= 4.82$, $p = .03$. See Figure 8. In sum, the results of this study offered no support for the

alternative explanation that Black job candidates are subject to hiring biases when they volunteer

with Black organizations because their volunteer work triggers a social identity threat for White

evaluators.

Discussion

In this study, there was only a main effect of the race associated with the job candidate's

volunteer organization. We again saw that the Black job candidate who volunteered with a White

organization was evaluated as more hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteered with a

Black organization. This was a replication of the effect in Study 1 where both of the Black job

candidates who volunteered with Black organizations (Black Lives Matter and Compton

Community Arts Center) were evaluated as less hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization (Portland Community Arts Center). This was also a replication of the effect found in the Study 4, in which the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black organization (Compton Community Arts Center) was evaluated as less hirable than the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization (Portland Community Arts Center). The group-affirmation did not improve evaluations of the latter candidate's hireability. Thus, the results provided no evidence to support the alternative explanation that group esteem threat, and not intergroup threat, was at the root of differences in Whites' evaluations of the two Black candidates in Study 4.

General Discussion

Although people are generally rewarded for giving back (e.g. Flynn et al., 2006; Grant & Ashford, 2008; Grant, Parker, & Collins, 2009; Van Scotter, Motowildo, & Cross, 2000), I have argued that this may not necessarily hold true for Black job candidates who are involved in volunteer work that benefits Black communities. I proposed that when Black job candidates volunteer with Black organizations, their behavior might be viewed as an expression of Black identity. Moreover, due to the vivid history of Black Americans' struggle for power opposite White Americans that continues to play out in the wider societal context (Bodroghkozy, 2012; Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2018), and is often spearheaded by leaders who are proclaim a strong connection to their Black identity (Cross, 1991; Hamilton & Ture, 2011; Ogbar, 2005; Wortham, 2016), White Americans likely view indicators of Black identity – such as volunteering with Black organizations – as indicators of a *politicized* Black identity. Because politicized identities are marked by participation in collective action (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008), and collective action for Black rights threatens the stability of the racial hierarchy

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in the United States, I argue that when Black individuals are viewed as expressing a politicized Black identity through their volunteer work, they may elicit intergroup threat for White Americans. As White Americans remain the predominant gatekeepers for many jobs (Ridgeway, 2014), their responses to intergroup threat within professional contexts is of great consequence.

When considering the studies as a whole, the research that I have presented offers support my proposition that Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations are vulnerable to biases in hiring due to assumptions about the strength of their politicized Black identity, which often elicits intergroup threat for White gatekeepers.

With Study 1, I began to provide evidence indicating that Black people who volunteer with Black organizations are viewed as expressing a politicized Black identity. I did so by showing that a Black individual who volunteered with either a non-political Black organization or a prominent Black activist organization was rated as equally less hirable than a Black individual who volunteered with a non-political White organization.

In studies 2 and 3, I attempted to manipulate Whites' perceptions of intergroup threat in order to show that the threat associated with the expression of a politicized Black identity is what facilitated evaluations of Black people who volunteered with Black organizations. In Study 2, I manipulated intergroup threat by varying Black Americans' supposed opinions of White Americans. The results, though not significant, seemed to hint that Black job candidates who volunteer with White organizations drop in hireability under conditions of heighten threat, while those who volunteer with Black organizations remain less hirable regardless of external conditions. Study 3, examined evaluations of a Black individual who volunteered with a Black organization that was either within or outside of the United States. White participants high in preference for social hierarchy evaluated the Black individual who volunteered with the Black

organization outside of the United States more favorably than they did the Black individual who volunteered with the Black organization within the United States, presumably because volunteer work abroad is not in direct conflict with maintenance of the U.S racial hierarchy.

Finally, Study 4 examined the full complexity of the relationships between job candidate race, race of the volunteer organization, perceptions of a politicized Black identity, and intergroup threat. In this study, where I manipulated both the race of the volunteer organization and the race of the job candidate, I also measured perceptions of the job candidate's participation in collective action for Black rights – a key indicator of a politicized Black identity. Additionally, I introduced a measure assessing perceptions of the job candidate as a complainer – a response that I described as indicative of intergroup threat. The Black candidate who volunteered with the Black organization was evaluated as less hirable than the Black candidate who volunteered with the White organization because this individual was thought to be more involved in collective action for Black rights (representative of a politicized Black identity) and thus was thought to be more of a complainer (representative of intergroup threat). On the other hand, for the White job candidate, the race of the volunteer organization had no impact on ratings of the candidate's hireability, nor did it affect perceptions of the candidate's involvement in collective action for Black rights or the degree to which the candidate was labeled a complainer. Study 4 provided evidence that Black people, specifically, may be subject to a hiring bias when they volunteer with Black organizations, because for them serving Black communities signals a politicized Black identity that elicits intergroup threat for many White Americans. Study 5 tested an alternative explanation to the Study 4 data that ultimately was not supported.

The results of these studies have different implications for both White and Black individuals involved in volunteer work with Black organizations.

The research I have presented suggests that being transparent about one's volunteer work with Black organizations has no real impact on the hireability of White job candidates. For White Americans who have a genuine desire to serve as allies in the struggle for racial equality, being open about their volunteer work with Black organizations can be a useful way to advocate for Black people and Black rights. Transparency in this way may invite important conversations about race with fellow White colleagues who may otherwise be resistant to such conversations if initiated by Black people. This idea is supported by literature on confrontations of racial bias, whereby White confronters of anti-Black prejudice are received more positively than Black confronters. Moreover, their objections are taken more seriously (Czopp & Monteith, 2003).

However, the present research suggests that being transparent about one's volunteer work with Black organizations does significantly impact Black job candidates' hireability. Although, Black individuals who are transparent about their volunteer work with Black organizations may be subject to hiring biases in a general sense, there may be certain lines of work where transparency about volunteer work with Black organizations would be welcomed. Specifically, Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations may be less vulnerable to hiring biases when applying for hierarchy-attenuating roles. These are roles with a focus on increasing social equality, such as civil rights lawyers, social workers, and human rights advocates (Sidanius, Pratto, Martin, & Stallworth, 1991; Sidanius, Pratto Sinclair, and van Laar, 1996). They are typically populated by people who are low in a desire for social hierarchy. As White gatekeepers low in preference for social hierarchy are not threatened by Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations (see Study 3), Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations are not likely to be penalized for their volunteer work when applying for these

roles. Moreover, there may be more racial minority gatekeepers within hierarchy-attenuating professions.

While Black individuals who are committed to practicing authenticity and wish to only be in professional environments where they know that they can be transparent about their volunteer work with Black communities without being devalued may find themselves gravitating towards hierarchy-attenuating professions, they should not be relegated to such professions. They should be free to explore the full spectrum of professional options while feeling that it is safe to be honest about their volunteer work. Moreover, hierarchy-attenuating professions tend to be lower paying on average than hierarchy-enhancing professions. Therefore relegating Black professionals who openly give back to Black communities to hierarchy-attenuating professions only, would be contributing to the racial wage gap between Blacks and Whites in the United States.

In order to avoid relegating certain Black individuals to hierarchy-attenuating professions, it would help to provide employers and other organizational gatekeepers with a framework for understanding Black candidates' volunteer activities in a way that minimizes intergroup threat. It might help to inform White gatekeepers that self-identified Black individuals may be inclined to volunteer with Black organizations due to Black cultural traditions of interdependence that facilitate the social expectation that one should give back to one's community. Making White gatekeepers aware that such activities often stem from cultural traditions (Brannon et al., 2015), and are not necessarily intended with intergroup competition in mind might help to temper Whites' associations of Black volunteer work with assumptions of engagement in zero-sum collective action for Black rights.

Moreover, White gatekeepers could be trained to see Black candidates' volunteer work with Black organizations as an opportunity to uncover the ways in which they might present unique assets to the organization. Specifically, White gatekeepers could be trained to ask Black candidates to explain how their volunteer experience specifically adds to their marketability for the desired position. Having this conversation might reveal unexpected competencies and valued skillsets that would beneficial to the organization.

Study Limitations

The studies that I have presented were not without flaws. In Study 1, I examined differences in the ratings of Black job candidates that differed in terms of the race of the organization that the candidate volunteered with and whether or not the volunteer organization had an explicit activist agenda. Although, my hypothesis for this study was only in reference to the job candidate who volunteered with the Black activist organization, the job candidate who volunteered with the Black non-activist organization, and the job candidate who volunteered with the White non-activist organization, I included an exploratory fourth condition with a White activist organization. However, because I did not have specific predictions about how the Black job candidate would be evaluated in that condition, it may have been more prudent to explore evaluations of a Black job candidate who volunteered with a White activist organization in a separate study.

Moreover, one of the challenges with examining Black individuals who volunteer with White activist organizations is that these organizations are often thought of as racist organizations (e.g. All Lives Matter, White Lives Matter), whereas Black activist organizations are less likely to be thought of in this way. Volunteering with an activist organization advocating for White rights suggests that one is participating in collective action for the maintenance of the

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status quo whereby Whites already have considerably more power and status in society than racial minorities. Participating in collective action for the maintenance of Whites' continued dominance within society ensures the continued oppression of racial minorities. Thus, it is difficult to separate one's involvement in such an organization from the promotion of a racist agenda.

It might be possible to get around this issue by conducting a study that purposely examines the interaction between the race of the community served by a Black individual's volunteer work and the politicization of this individual's volunteer work. Yet, politicization of the volunteer work would be manipulated by varying the Black job candidate's proclaimed intent behind volunteering with a chosen organization as opposed to varying the political agenda of the organization. Instead of providing participants with a resume to evaluate, participants could be provided with a cover letter to evaluate. Within that cover letter, the Black job candidate who volunteers with the Black organization could describe his involvement with the volunteer organization as being either for reasons that challenge White supremacy or for non-politicized reasons. On the other hand, the Black job candidate who volunteers with the White organization could describe his involvement with the volunteer organization as being for reasons that uphold White supremacy or for non-politicized reasons.

A Black job candidate who is intentionally engaged in volunteer work that benefits Whites' social standing, but does not appear to be overtly racist, would likely be rewarded by Whites for this volunteer work, perhaps even more than a Black job candidate who volunteers with a White organization for non-politicized reasons that neither uphold nor challenge Whites' social standing.

With Study 2, I attempted to simulate intergroup threat in a way that may not have been the most ecologically valid given the state of American race relations at the time that the data was collected. The low threat condition in particular, with its assertion that Black Americans hold White Americans in higher regard than they did ten years ago, may not be believable to many today. Increases in the public's attention to violence against Black Americans at the hands of White Americans, and Black people's increased public resistance to anti-Black racism may have compromised the credibility of that statement. Ultimately, the choice of intergroup threat manipulation may be partially to blame for the unclear findings in that study.

I attempted to get around those issues in Study 3. In this study, I instead captured the salience of intergroup threat by measuring participants' preference for social hierarchy and manipulating the relative impact of a Black individual's volunteer work with Black communities on the racial hierarchy in the United States. While the results of this study were informative and provided support for my hypotheses, the results were based on a single item measure. I returned to multiple-item measures in Studies 4 and 5 as a way of addressing that particular limitation.

While the results of Study 4 were in line with my predictions, it is still unclear as to whether Black individuals who volunteered with Black organizations incurred a hiring penalty or if Black individuals who volunteered with White organizations received a hiring boost. When looking at the hireability ratings for both the Black job candidates and the White job candidates, the pattern of the data seems to suggest that the Black candidate, in particular, may have received a hiring boost for volunteering with a White organization. One way to attain greater clarity on whether a Black job candidate is rewarded for volunteering with White organizations as opposed to penalized for volunteering with Black organizations would be to compare evaluations of a Black job candidate who volunteers with a Black organization to a Black job candidate who

volunteers with a White organization, and a Black job candidate with no listed volunteer experience. If the Black job candidate who volunteered with the Black organization is evaluated as less hirable than a Black job candidate with no listed volunteer experienced, then this would provide concrete evidence that Black individuals who volunteer with Black organizations experience a hiring penalty for giving back to their communities. However, if a Black job candidate who volunteers with Black communities is not evaluated differently from a Black job candidate with no volunteer experience, but is evaluated as less hirable than a Black job candidate who volunteers with a White organization, this would suggest that Black job candidates who volunteer with White organizations are given a hiring boost. It is also possible that Black job candidates who volunteer with Black organizations are given a hiring boost over Black job candidates with no volunteer experience but that the boost is significantly smaller than the hiring boost given to Black job candidates who volunteer with White organizations.

Additionally, one cannot effectively determine that Black job candidates receive a boost when volunteering with White organizations as opposed to a penalty for volunteering with Black organizations, without first ruling out the possibility that White participants may be inflating their evaluations of the Black job candidates overall in order to avoid appearing prejudiced. One way to rule out this possibility would be to run a version of Study 4 comparing Black job candidates to Latino job candidates as both racial groups elicit similar threats for Whites (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2015), and thus White participants should be similarly concerned about appearing prejudiced toward a Black job candidate as they would towards a Latino job candidate. If the Black job candidate who volunteered with the White organization was again evaluated more favorably than any of the other conditions, this would suggest that evaluations of the Black job candidate in Study 4 were not inflated due to White participants' concerns about appearing

prejudiced. However, if the both the Black and the Latino job candidates who volunteered with

the Black organization are evaluated as less hirable than the Black or Latino job candidates who

volunteered with White organizations, this would cast doubt upon the argument that Blacks who

volunteer with White organizations are given a hiring boost.

Contributions of the Present Research

Even considering the limitations of some of the studies, the present research still makes a

few key contributions. First, this research contributes to growing literature on the "dark side of

prosocial behavior" (Bolino & Grant, 2016). Prosocial behavior refers to behaviors that promote

the social welfare of others (Brief & Motowildo, 1986). The studies that I have presented

showcase a relatively unexplored example of when an individual's prosocial behavior – in this

case extra-professional volunteer work – may be met with penalty as opposed to praise. My data

show that for Black job candidates engaged in volunteer work, assessments of their hireability

often depend on the race of the communities that they serve. When Black Americans' volunteer

with Black organizations, they are rated by White Americans as a less hirable than if they

volunteer with White organizations.

Moreover, my theoretical explanation for why Black individuals may sometimes be

professionally penalized for giving back to their own communities can potentially be applied to

understanding racial bias in resume audit studies and studies on diversity valuing behaviors.

Resume audit studies are studies in which researchers randomly assign real employers to

evaluate resumes that have been manipulated in some targeted way. The researchers access

employer evaluations by responding to real job postings with their carefully designed and

randomly assigned resumes. They then look at whether the rate of callbacks for the resumes is

driven by the specific features that they manipulated (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Kang et

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al., 2016; Tilcsik, 2011). Audit studies where the researchers have manipulated cues regarding the job candidate's race have shown that resumes with a greater number of Black cues receive fewer callbacks than resumes with equivalent qualifications, but fewer Black cues (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Kang et al., 2016). I would argue that in such cases, a resume with a high number of Black cues may signal a strong Black identity, which is likely viewed by others as synonymous with a strong politicized Black identity. Thus, resumes peppered with Black cues may be evaluated less positively than resumes with fewer Black cues because the former is viewed as expressing a stronger politicized Black identity that then elicits greater intergroup threat for White evaluators.

Diversity valuing behaviors refer to behaviors in the workplace that signal a person's commitment to diversity (Hekman, Johnson, Der Foo, Yang, 2016). Such behaviors include vouching for a job candidate not only because the person is qualified, but because the person would also add diversity to the team or organization. Racial minorities who engage in diversity valuing behaviors are evaluated less favorably than racial minorities who do not engage in diversity valuing behaviors (Hekman et al., 2016). While this difference has been attributed to the degree to which negative racial stereotypes are activated by this behavior, the results could be understood another way. For Black employees who engage in diversity valuing behaviors, they may be penalized because their behaviors are viewed as indicative of politicized Black identity, which may elicit intergroup threat for White evaluators.

Furthermore, when Black individuals engage in diversity valuing behaviors on behalf of other marginalized groups, their behaviors may still elicit intergroup threat from White evaluators. When a Black employee advocates for greater representation of Latinos, for instance, this may be viewed an extension of this person's desire for social equality that was initially born

out of a concern fro Black rights. Thus, White evaluators might assume that the employee would also engage in diversity valuing behaviors that specifically benefit Black people if given the chance. Once again, such behavior would likely signal a politicized identity in the eyes of White evaluators and elicit intergroup threat. However, if it is understood that this particular Black individual explicitly engages in diversity valuing behaviors only in support of other marginalized groups, and *not* their own ingroup, this would not signal a politicized Black identity. As a result, this individual likely would not suffer professional penalties for such behavior.

Unanswered Questions and Future Directions

The present research prompts questions regarding Black volunteer work and gender, as well as the role of White identity in Whites' evaluations of Black volunteer work. Additionally, the present research prompts questions regarding the ways in which signaling warmth versus competence through one's volunteer work affects Whites' evaluations of Blacks who volunteer with Black organizations. The present research also invites questions about application of the current findings to evaluations of other marginalized social groups.

Black Volunteer Work and Gender. I kept the gender of the job candidates consistent across each of the studies because I was primarily interested in understanding how the race of an organization that a Black job candidate volunteers with affects perceptions of this person's hireability. Keeping indicators of gender constant allowed me to more easily compare results across studies. I chose to use male as opposed to female candidates in this set of initial studies because Black female candidates have an observable double minority status, whereas Black male candidates have a single observable minority status. Therefore, I used male job candidates for the initial examination of my hypotheses in order to circumvent an additional layer of complexity that may have further complicated interpretation of the data.

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However, in order to make inferences from my data about how giving back to Black communities affects the hireability of Black job candidates irrespective of gender, I would need to eventually to assess whether the results hold when examining the hireability of Black *female* candidates. An examination of this question might involve systematically comparing evaluations of Black male and Black female job candidates who vary based on whether they volunteer with Black organizations or White organizations.

At least two possible outcomes could emerge. One possible outcome is that there would be a main effect for race of the volunteer organization. The United States is a race-based society whereby race is the primary social category that Americans use to categorize people (Smedley, 1998; Smedley & Smedley, 2005). Thus, a Black woman volunteering with a Black organization may be evaluated just as negatively as a Black man volunteering with a Black organization.

Alternatively, people may take a Black female job candidate's race and gender under equal consideration when forming evaluations about her hireability. Consideration of the candidate's gender may actually boost perceptions of her hireability relative to a Black male candidate. Given the stereotype that women are and should be nurturing (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Heilman, 2001), if a Black woman's gender is treated as salient, her volunteer work, while directed at Black communities, would still be viewed as conforming to the stereotype that women are nurturers. As a result of upholding this stereotype, a Black woman who volunteers with Black organizations may be evaluated more favorably than an equivalently qualified Black male job candidate who volunteers with Black organizations. However, both would probably still be evaluated more negatively than if they volunteered with White organizations.

Additionally, Black women who volunteer with Black organizations may be evaluated more favorably than Black men for evolutionary reasons. According to the subordinate male

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target hypothesis that emerged from Social Dominance Theory (Navarrette, McDonald, Molina & Sidanius, 2010; Sidanius & Vineagas, 2000), Black men elicit greater intergroup threat than Black women because men are biologically more incentivized than women to rely on aggressive tactics in response to intergroup competition. According to this hypothesis, Black women who volunteer with Black organizations would elicit less threat than Black men who volunteer with Black organizations. As a result, Black women would be evaluated more favorably than their Black male counterparts.

Role of Evaluator White Identity. The present research may also spark questions about the role of White identity. When considering Whites' reactions to Black individuals who volunteer with Black communities, one may question the role of White racial identity and whether Whites' need to be identified with their White identity in order to respond with bias. I would argue that when forming an assessment of a Black individual who volunteers with a Black organization – attunement to this person's possible politicized Black identity should increase White evaluators' awareness of their own racial identity. Thus, even if White evaluators are not strongly identified with their race, evaluating a Black person involved in volunteer work with Black communities should bring White evaluators' own race and the interest of their ingroup into sharper focus.

However, Whites' responses to Blacks who volunteer with Black organizations may be moderated by differences in White identity. The higher one's White identity, the more negative one's response might be to a prospective Black job candidate or colleague who volunteers with Black organizations. According to Knowles & Peng's (2005) conceptualization of White identity, Whites' high in White identity (i.e. their White identity is a central part of their self-concept) relative to Whites low in White identity are more likely to over-exclude racially

ambiguous people as belonging to the ingroup, which suggests a stronger desire to protect the ingroup from outsiders and potentially a higher sensitivity to intergroup threat than Whites low in White identity.

On the other hand, White identity might not be a significant moderator of Whites' evaluations of potential Black employees or colleagues who volunteer with Black organizations. To the extent that Whites' associate a Black individual who volunteers for a Black organization with a politicized Black identity and engagement in collective action for Black rights – this person's assumed race-related grievances are not necessarily thought of by White evaluators as the result of Whites' misdeeds. Because White identity is particularly self-focused as opposed to other-focused (Iyer, Leach, & Crosby, 2003; Knowles & Peng, 2005), White identity predicts self-evaluative emotions such as guilt, but it does not predict other directed emotions such as anger (Knowles & Peng, 2005), an emotion that accompanies the subjective experience of intergroup threat (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). I have proposed and demonstrated that intergroup threat plays a critical role in Whites responses to Blacks who volunteer with Black organizations. The fact that White identity is a weak predictor of other-directed emotion that facilitates intergroup threat suggests that White identification might also be a weak predictor of evaluations pertaining to prospective Black employees or colleagues who volunteer with Black organizations.

Signaling Competence Versus Warmth. In considering the research presented, one might additionally pose a question about whether a Black individual's involvement in volunteer work signals warmth or competence, and the implications of that for Whites' evaluations of a Black job candidate or potential colleague who volunteers with a Black organization. The volunteer work in the studies that I have presented does not likely signal competence because

participants were not given additional information about how the target's volunteer work provides evidence that he possesses desirable skillsets. Study 3, in which the Black volunteer was also a project leader, is somewhat of an exception as the title of project leader denotes leadership skills, a skillset desired across a wide array of professions. However, there was no information about how successful the project became under this person's leadership or what tasks the project leader was required to perform. Without the addition of information that specifically signals competence, the act of volunteering one's time and energy to help others likely signals warmth by default.

However, if competence was deliberately signaled in the presentation of a Black job candidate or project leader's volunteer work, this may have resulted in a different pattern of findings than the findings that I have presented thus far. There are several ways in which one could deliberately signal competence. One way might be to manipulate the outcomes of the individual's contribution to the volunteer organization. For instance, if in alluding to volunteer work in a cover letter, a Black job candidate provides evidence that his or her skillsets facilitated large-scale as opposed to minimal advances in the volunteer organization's goals, such information would effectively signal competence.

Volunteer work that signals competence would likely have different implications for how a Black individual who volunteers with Black organizations would be evaluated. With regard to hiring, competence is highly valued among job candidates and as Black people are negatively stereotyped as low in competence (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002), demonstrating competence through one's volunteer work as a Black person – even if that volunteer work is with Black communities – may help more than hurt Black candidates in the hiring process. Moreover, if signaling competence through one's volunteer work with Black organizations facilitates the

perception that a Black individual is engaged in this volunteer work for more instrumental reasons, this may temper perceptions that the individual is signaling a politicized Black identity, thereby decreasing intergroup threat among White evaluators.

Evaluations of other Marginalized Social Groups. Finally, the present research also invites questions about how people from a variety of other marginalized groups are evaluated for professional positions based on whether they have engaged in volunteer work that serves their specific marginalized ingroup. Women volunteering with women's organizations may also be viewed as an expressing a politicized identity, similar to the way that Black people are viewed when they volunteer with Black organizations. Throughout American history, women have been engaged in a power struggle with men for increased rights and equal social standing. Moreover, women have consistently attempted to gain the backing of important third parties, including the federal government and the general public, through highly publicized movements such as the Women's Rights Movement of the 1970s as well as the Me Too and Time's Up Movements of today. However, if in fact, the results of my studies are largely influenced by the notion that men elicit higher levels of intergroup threat than women (Sidanius & Vineagas, 2000), then it is also possible that even if women volunteering with women's organizations signal a politicized female identity, they may not elicit a high enough degree of intergroup threat to negatively impact evaluations of their hireability.

However, for some marginalized groups, such as Asian Americans, their history of publically shared grievances and protests for the improvement of group rights are not as salient in the minds of most Americans. Because of this, I would predict that Asian Americans are not likely to be evaluated more negatively for volunteering with Asian organizations (as opposed to say White organizations) due to assumptions about their politicized Asian identity and the

intergroup threat that this elicits. They may still be evaluated as less hirable than if they volunteered with White organizations (Kang et al., 2016). However, that may instead be in response to negative stereotypes about foreignness and willingness to assimilate. Whites view Asian Americans as less American than other racial groups in the United States (Cheryan & Monin, 2005). This perspective of Asian Americans as foreign may amplify the negative stereotype that Asians are not sociable with the dominant group (i.e. White Americans) (Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005). Viewing Asian Americans as foreign and not willing to fit in may decrease their desirability as job candidates in the eyes of White gatekeepers. This is a real concern among many Asian American job seekers (Kang et al., 2016). Thus, Asian Americans who volunteer with Asian organizations are still vulnerable to hiring biases, but probably not for the same reasons as Black Americans who volunteer with Black organizations.

Examining groups that differ in terms of the salience of their group's struggle for power within the American collective consciousness would be a useful way to extend the research presented. Furthermore, it would highlight the importance of considering the socio-historical context when drawing conclusions about how discrimination operates across different marginalized groups.

Closing Remarks

Individuals are usually rewarded for voluntarily offering their time and energy to help others (e.g. Grant & Ashford, 2008). However for Black Americans, the act of helping others may sometimes hurt them. Though just beginning to scratch the surface, the data that I have presented reveals a noteworthy yet disheartening insight: Black individuals may be penalized professionally for giving back to their communities due to assumptions that they are identified with their race in a politicized way, a way that elicits threat for some White Americans. This is

particularly troubling as Black communities continue to be underserved and marginalized. If

Black people become discouraged from voluntarily pouring into their communities, this would

inevitably help to maintain the status quo.

Footnote

[1] Each of the studies presented in this dissertation show the same overall pattern of data when participants who failed the manipulation check(s) are excluded versus kept in the final dataset. However, there is some variation in terms of the strength of the effects across studies, with some effects being stronger when participants who failed the manipulation check(s) are not excluded from the data, and other effects being weaker when participants who failed the manipulation check(s) are not excluded. For the sake of consistency across studies, I chose to use the data from only those participants who passed the manipulation check(s). Moreover, I chose this more selective option over including the data from participants who failed the basic manipulation check(s) as doing so allowed for more stringent tests of my hypotheses and greater confidence in the results.

Figure 1.

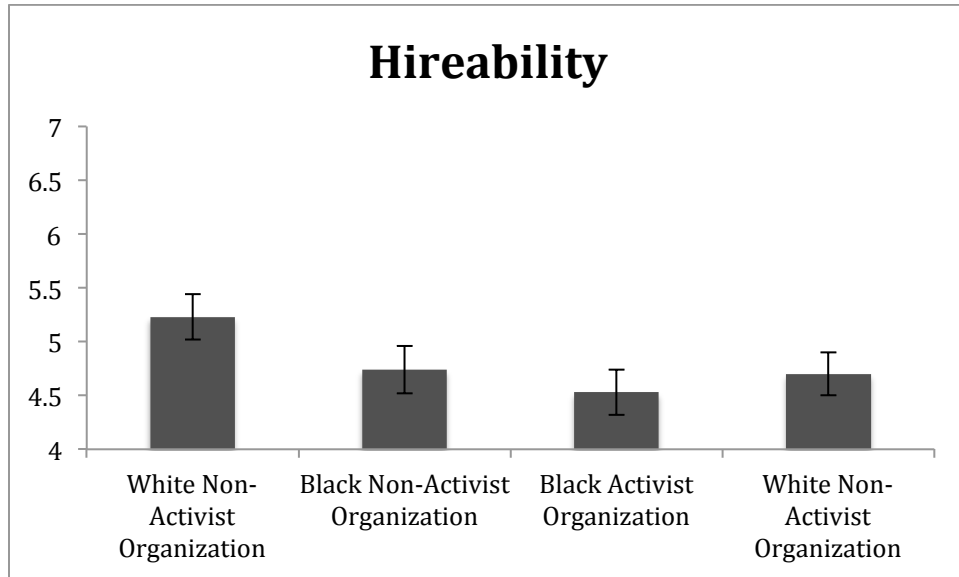Hireability ratings of Black job candidates in Study 1.

Hireability

Figure 2.

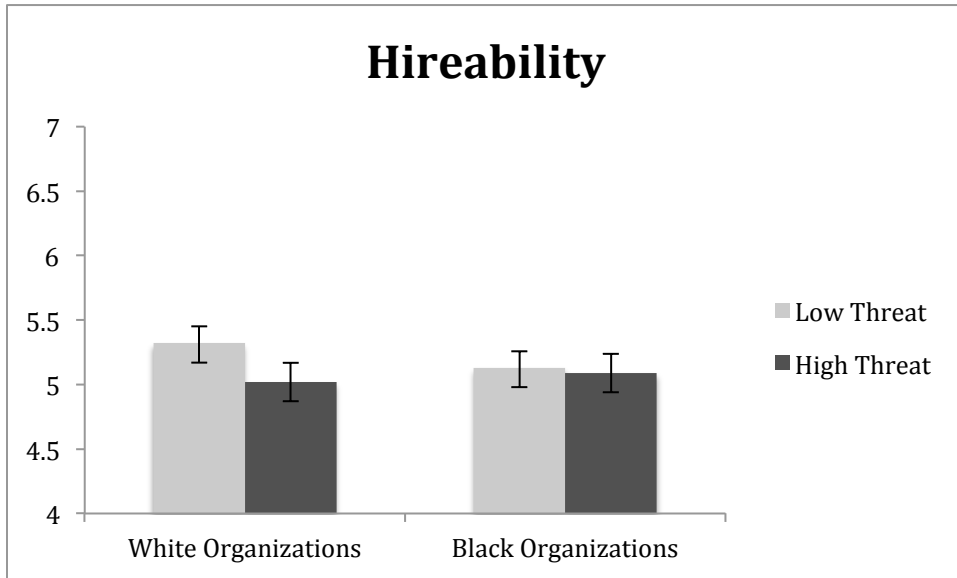Hireability ratings of Black job candidates in Study 2.

Figure 3.

Desirable coworker ratings of Black job candidates in Study 3 (beneficiaries are Black in both conditions). The simple slope for "Low SDO" represents values of the measure "desirable coworker" for participants who are -1 SD below the mean in SDO. The simple slope for "High SDO" represents values of the measure "desirable coworker" for participants who are +1 SD above the mean in SDO.
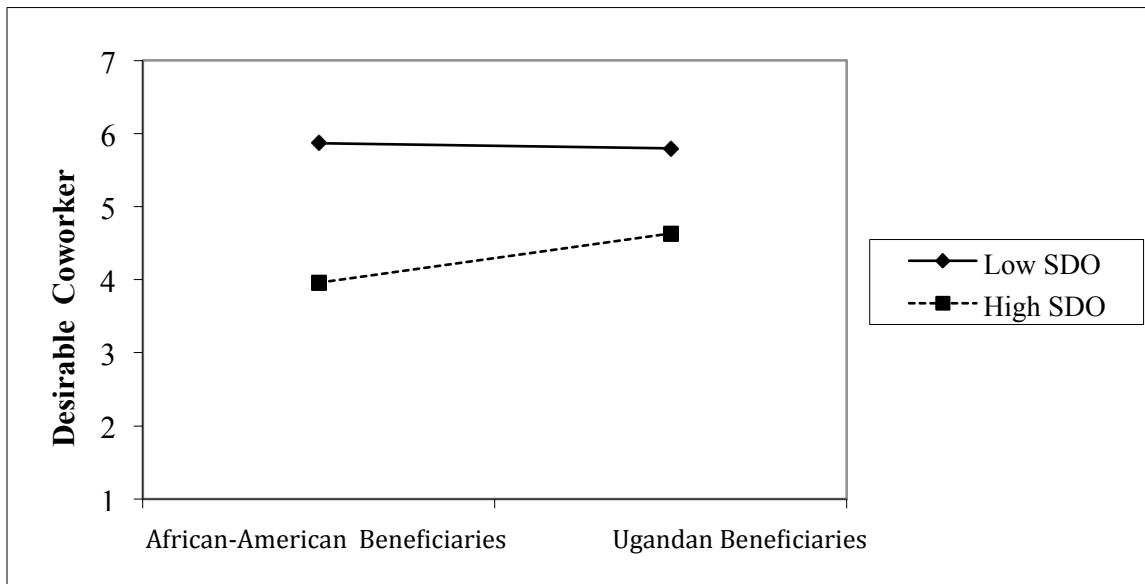
Figure 4.

Hireability ratings of job candidates in Study 4.
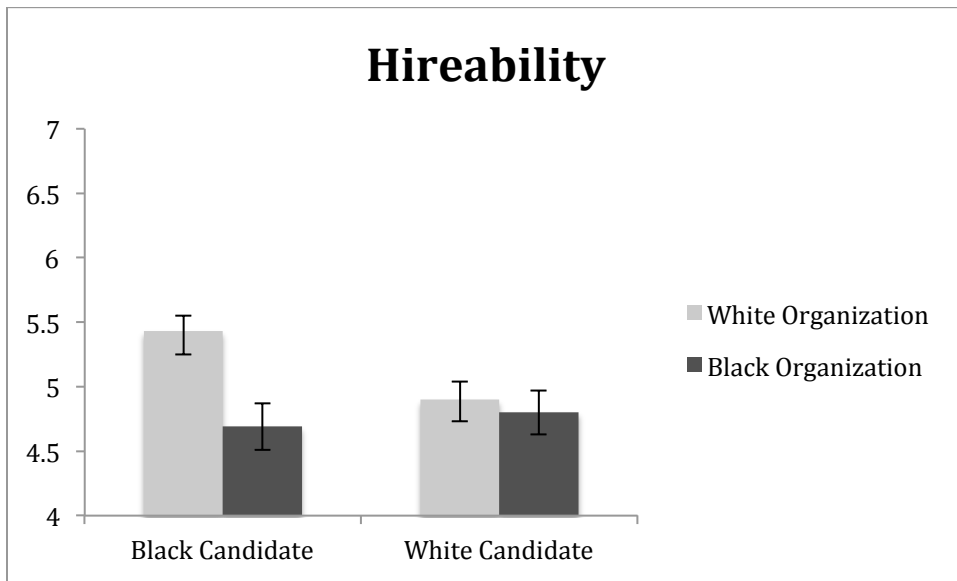
Figure 5.

Perceptions of job candidates' participation in collective action for Black rights in Study 4.

Collective Action for Black Rights

Legend:
- White Organization
- Black Organization

X-axis: Black Candidate, White Candidate
Y-axis: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

Figure 6.

Complainer ratings of the job candidate in Study 4.

Figure 7.

Mediational model for the Black job candidate in Study 4.

p < .05. ***p* < .001

Figure 8.

Hireability ratings of Black job candidates in Study 5.

Appendix A.

Job Description (Studies 1, 2, 4, & 5)
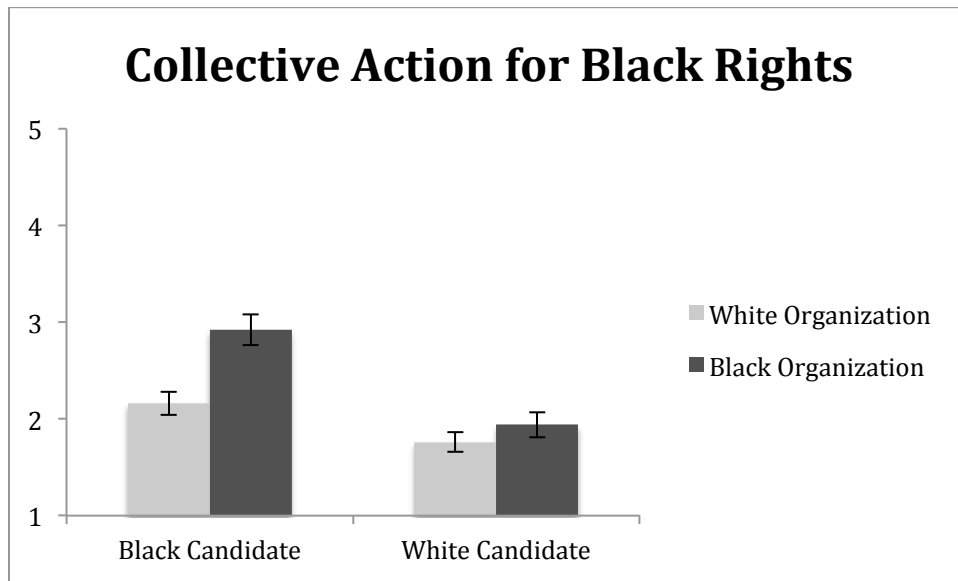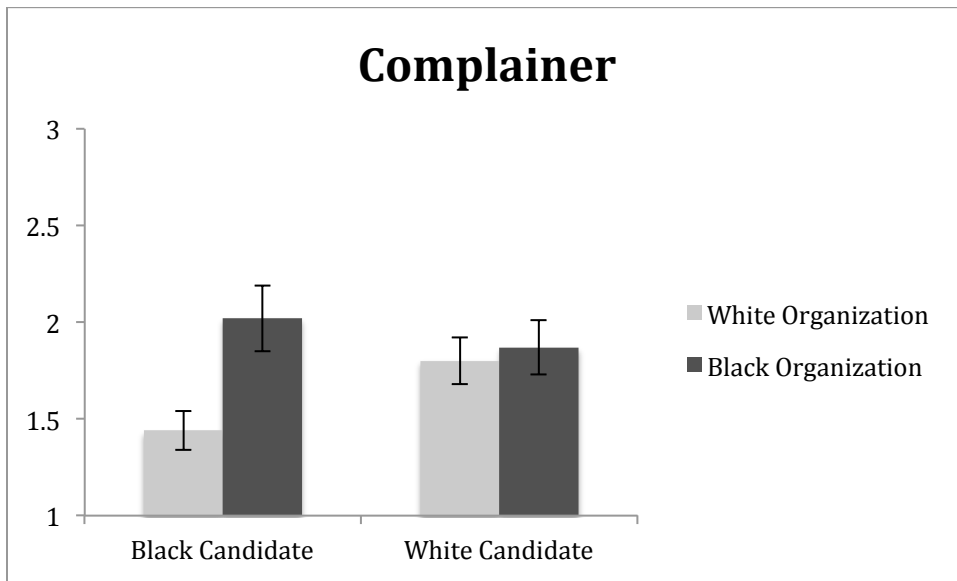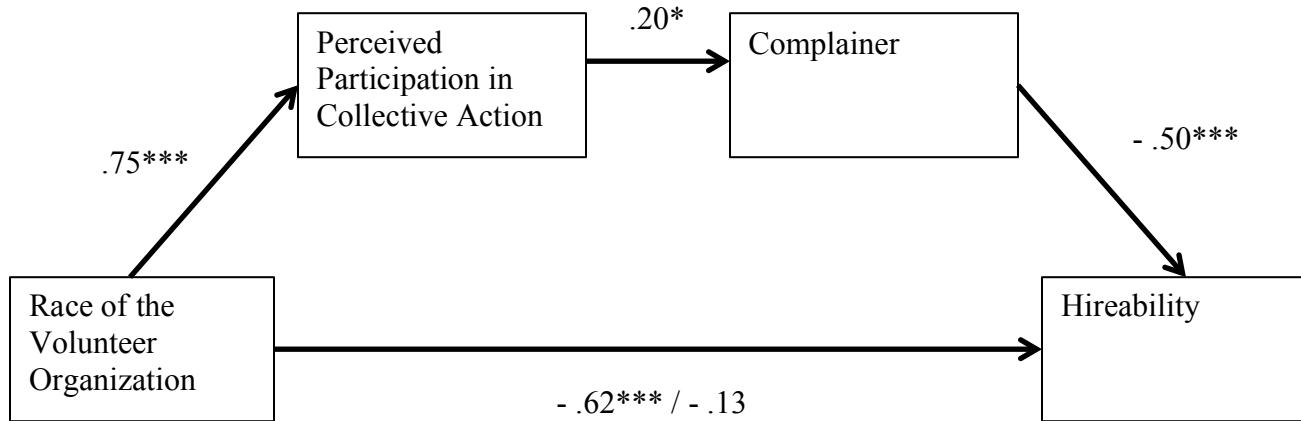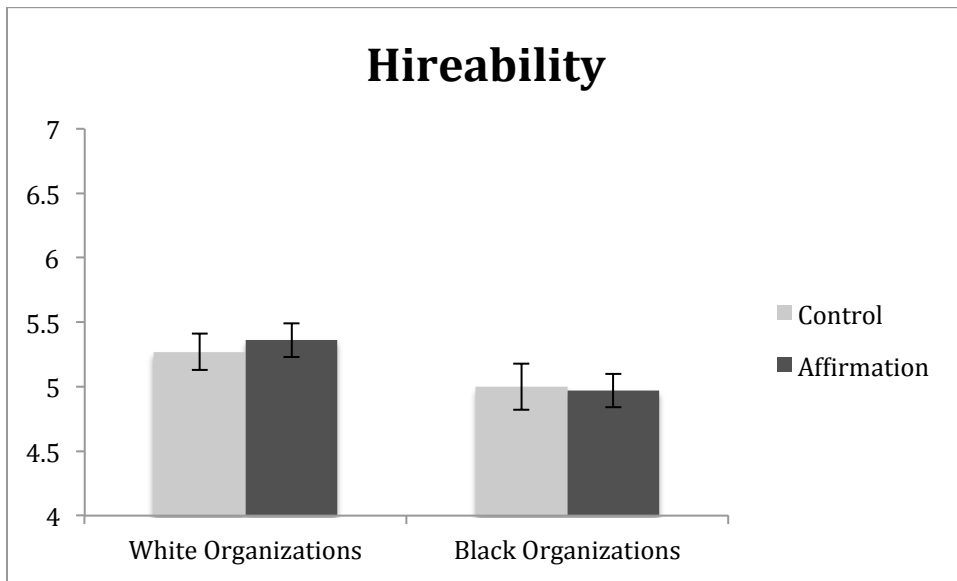
ASSISTANT TO STUDENT LIFE DATA COORDINATOR
WITH OPPORTUNITY TO ADVANCE TO DATA COORDINATOR

SALARY: $32,037–$35,000
WORK HOURS: 8AM – 5PM, M-F
JOB TYPE: Classified Staff

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES: Assists in preparation of proposals for new funding and monitors program expenditures. Assists with the development of (including compiling, writing, and overseeing distribution) communication and promotional literature, such as, newsletters and brochures. Interacts and maintains liaison with students, faculty, staff and community agencies; assists with the support of office spreadsheets and database. Helps prepare information in the form of reports, presentation materials and brochures for distribution; provides support to the Asst. Dean with the facilitation of workshops, meetings, and conferences.

MINIMUM QUALIFICATIONS: Bachelor's degree in field appropriate to area of assignment AND two years administrative/coordinator program experience; OR, Four years of progressively responsible administrative/coordinator program experience; OR, any equivalent combination of experience and/or education from which comparable knowledge, skills and abilities have been achieved.

DESIRED QUALIFICATIONS: Demonstrated knowledge of budgeting and data management principles. Evidence of skill in verbal and written communications. Experience in using common Microsoft software products (e.g., Excel, Word). Experience using Microsoft Office applications; working with spreadsheets and database software. Effective communication skills.

Within a period of 4-6 months the employee will need to have demonstrated sufficient skills to be able to advance into a managerial role. In addition to supervising duties, the employee will also become responsible for the development and preparation of the budget plan and the management of the student life database.

Resume: Black Job Applicant and Black Non-activist Volunteer Organization

LAMAR WASHINGTON

███████████████████████████ ████████████

Education	B.A., Humanities, Smith State University, 2010 Hayward, California

Professional Experience

Assistant to the Contract Coordinator 2013-2016
Riverside LLC, Redding, CA

███████████████████████████████████████

Located and distributed monthly information update

Assistant to the Budget Coordinator 2010-2013
CSC Manufacturing, Hayward, CA

████████████████████████████████

Phone Reception
Responsible for the schedule of the Budget Coordinator

Grocery Clerk 2009-2010
Ron's Grocery, Hayward, CA

Volunteer Work *Compton Community Arts Center* 2013-
    Served as a fundraising volunteer and organizer

Computer Skills Microsoft Office Products such as Excel and Word

Appendix C.

Resume: Black Job Applicant and White Non-activist Volunteer Organization

LAMAR WASHINGTON

███████████████████████   ████████████

Education	B.A., Humanities, Smith State University, 2010 Hayward, California

Professional Experience

Assistant to the Contract Coordinator   *2013-2016*
Riverside LLC, Redding, CA

████████████████████████████████████

Located and distributed monthly information update

Assistant to the Budget Coordinator   *2010-2013*
CSC Manufacturing, Hayward, CA

██████████████████████████

Phone Reception
Responsible for the schedule of the Budget Coordinator

Grocery Clerk   *2009-2010*
Ron's Grocery, Hayward, CA

Volunteer Work   *Portland Community Arts Center*   *2013-*
Served as a fundraising volunteer and organizer

Computer Skills   Microsoft Office Products such as Excel and Word

Resume: Black Job Applicant and Black Activist Volunteer Organization

LAMAR WASHINGTON

████████████████████████████ ████████████████

Education	B.A., Humanities, Smith State University, 2010 Hayward, California

Professional
Experience

Assistant to the Contract Coordinator   *2013-2016*
Riverside LLC, Redding, CA

██

Located and distributed monthly information update

Assistant to the Budget Coordinator   *2010-2013*
CSC Manufacturing, Hayward, CA

████████████████████████████████

Phone Reception
Responsible for the schedule of the Budget Coordinator

Grocery Clerk   *2009-2010*
Ron's Grocery, Hayward, CA

Volunteer Work   *Black Lives Matter*   *2013-*
Served as a fundraising volunteer and organizer

Computer
Skills   Microsoft Office Products such as Excel and Word

Appendix E.

Resume: Black Job Applicant and White Activist Volunteer Organization

LAMAR WASHINGTON

██

Education   B.A., Humanities, Smith State University, 2010
                          Hayward, California

Professional   *Assistant to the Contract Coordinator*   *2013-2016*
Experience   *Riverside LLC, Redding, CA*

                          ████████████████████████████████████

                          Located and distributed monthly information update

                          Assistant to the Budget Coordinator   *2010-2013*
                          CSC Manufacturing, Hayward, CA

                          ████████████████████████████

                          Phone Reception
                          Responsible for the schedule of the Budget Coordinator

                          Grocery Clerk   *2009-2010*
                          Ron's Grocery, Hayward, CA

Volunteer Work   *All Lives Matter*   *2013-*
                       Served as a fundraising volunteer and organizer

Computer   Microsoft Office Products such as Excel and Word
Skills

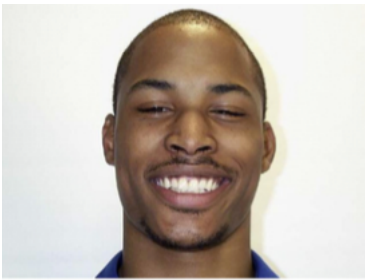Volunteer Project Leader: Black American Beneficiaries

Project Title
Building America's Leaders using Education and Local Projects

Project Leader
Michael Smith (Chicago, IL)

Project Location
Chicago, IL

Summary
Many bright, but disadvantaged youth in Chicago need help with university fees. We assist and also require the development of a community project that the student leads during their university career.

Challenge
Youth who are bright and motivated, though disadvantaged, have the potential to provide leadership to the country, but because of school fees, they often cannot get a university education and thus cannot realize their potential. We offer motivated youth scholarships to the University of Chicago with the provision that they must lead a community development project. We currently have 16 scholars.

Solution
Obtaining a university education will equip the young scholars with the skills they need to obtain a good job and to assess the problems confronting their country. Working on a community project will develop future leaders who will learn to "pay it forward".

Appendix G

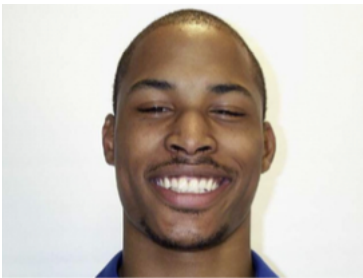Volunteer Project Leader: Black American Beneficiaries

Project Title
Building America's Leaders using Education and Local Projects

Project Leader
Michael Smith (Chicago, IL)

Project Location
Chicago, IL

Summary
Many bright, but disadvantaged youth in Chicago need help with university fees. We assist and also require the development of a community project that the student leads during their university career.

Challenge
Youth who are bright and motivated, though disadvantaged, have the potential to provide leadership to the country, but because of school fees, they often cannot get a university education and thus cannot realize their potential. We offer motivated youth scholarships to the University of Chicago with the provision that they must lead a community development project. We currently have 16 scholars.

Solution
Obtaining a university education will equip the young scholars with the skills they need to obtain a good job and to assess the problems confronting their country. Working on a community project will develop future leaders who will learn to "pay it forward".

Resume: White Job Applicant and Black Non-activist Volunteer Organization

BRAD ANDERSON

███████████████████████   ████████████

Education	B.A., Humanities, Smith State University, 2010 Hayward, California

Professional
Experience

Assistant to the Contract Coordinator   *2013-2016*
Riverside LLC, Redding, CA

████████████████████████████████████

Located and distributed monthly information update

Assistant to the Budget Coordinator   *2010-2013*
CSC Manufacturing, Hayward, CA

███████████████████████████

Phone Reception
Responsible for the schedule of the Budget Coordinator

Grocery Clerk   *2009-2010*
Ron's Grocery, Hayward, CA

Volunteer Work   *Compton Community Arts Center*   *2013-*
Served as a fundraising volunteer and organizer

Computer
Skills   Microsoft Office Products such as Excel and Word

Resume: White Job Applicant and White Non-activist Volunteer Organization

BRAD ANDERSON

████████████████████████ ████████████

Education	B.A., Humanities, Smith State University, 2010 Hayward, California

Professional Experience

Assistant to the Contract Coordinator   *2013-2016*
Riverside LLC, Redding, CA

██

Located and distributed monthly information update

Assistant to the Budget Coordinator   *2010-2013*
CSC Manufacturing, Hayward, CA

██████████████████████████████████

Phone Reception
Responsible for the schedule of the Budget Coordinator

Grocery Clerk   *2009-2010*
Ron's Grocery, Hayward, CA

Volunteer Work   *Portland Community Arts Center*   *2013-*
  Served as a fundraising volunteer and organizer

Computer Skills   Microsoft Office Products such as Excel and Word

Appendix J.

Hireability Items: Study 1 (Adapted from: Rudman & Glick, 1999; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008)

How likely is it that this applicant will contribute his share?

How likely is it that this applicant will be a productive contributor as an employee?

To what extent is this applicant a good fit with this organization?

To what extent do you think this applicant will be a good boss?

How successful will this applicant be at this job?

How qualified is this applicant for this job?

To what extent would you recommend hiring this applicant?

How likely would you be to give this applicant an interview?

How likely is it that this applicant will be hired?

Appendix K.

Hireability Items: Studies 2, 4, & 5 (Adapted from: Rudman & Glick, 1999; Shapiro & Neuberg, 2008)

How likely is it that this applicant will take on a leadership role in this organization?

How likely is it that this applicant will show up to work reliably?

In general how comfortable will this applicant's coworkers feel around him?

How much will this applicant's coworkers like him?

How likely is it that this applicant will contribute his share?

How likely is it that this applicant will be a productive contributor as an employee?

To what extent is this applicant a good fit with this organization?

To what extent do you think this applicant will be a good boss?

How successful will this applicant be at this job?

How qualified is this applicant for this job?

To what extent would you recommend hiring this applicant?

How likely would you be to give this applicant an interview?

How likely is it that this applicant will be hired?

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