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Prime and Prejudice

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Drawing upon theoretical perspectives from applied and social psychology, sociology, and management literatures, we develop a conceptual model in which conscious and subconscious prejudice interact to cause work discrimination. We posit that consciously non-prejudiced employees can face cognitive trade-offs outside of awareness that stem from a contradictory pull of primed subconscious prejudice. This cognitive paradox can lead to unintended, automatic discriminatory behaviour. Understanding the interplay between conscious lack of prejudice and primed subconscious prejudice, ostensibly, has greater organisational implications than studying either one alone. This is because employees cannot effectively grapple with unintended work discrimination without a more complete understanding of mechanisms that trigger these behaviours without awareness. In this article, we fuse new and prior points to offer novel theory insights.

Discrimination is defined as unequal treatment of individuals or groups because of their demographic characteristics (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1979). Work discrimination, the outcome focus of this work, occurs when demographic attributes irrelevant to the job are used in lieu of qualifications as the criteria upon which to treat applicants, employees, and each other (Dipboye & Colella, 2005; Lindsey, King, McCausland, Jones, & Dunleavy, 2013). Extant management research has focused predominantly on conscious causes of work discrimination, leaving much unsaid theoretically about why organisational members still discriminate when they know they should not. Consider the following example, reported by Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, and Esquilin (2007).

Working on a small aircraft, a White flight attendant welcomes two passengers of Asian and African American descent on board and instructs them to choose their seats. They sit near the front. Three White men then board the plane and also sit near the front. Because weight accumulated at the front of a small plane impacts take-off, the flight attendant asks the two minority passengers to move to the back. Upset at being approached, the Asian individual asks the flight attendant if she realises that she just asked two people of colour to step to the “rear of the bus.” Surprised, the flight attendant refuses

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the accusation of discrimination by exclaiming, "I have never been accused of that! How dare you? I don't see colour!" (p. 275).

Reskin (2000) argued convincingly that psychology, sociology, and management literatures have focused disproportionately on demonstrating instances of work discrimination, as illustrated in the opening example, compared with examining its causes. The hope was this approach would lead to a critical mass of evidence that policymakers could use to eradicate work discrimination. Indeed, many policy solutions to tackle work discrimination have been enacted, such as fostering trends toward broader demographic representation, supporting organisations in developing procedures for reporting discrimination, and enabling greater access to work opportunities (Triana, 2017). The effectiveness of these remedies, however, has been equivocal.

Whether one confers with official government reports (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2011a, 2011b), court cases (e.g., *Barrett vs. Whirlpool*, 2009, *Jaffe vs. Morgan Stanley*, 2008), litigation statistics (FY 1997–2015, www.EEOC.gov), or research (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Goldman, Gutek, Stein, & Lewis, 2006; Lindsey et al., 2013), reports of work discrimination appear to be rising. Upward trends have likewise been reported for work aggression (Wood, Braeken, & Niven, 2013), deviance (Robinson, Wang, & Kiewitz, 2014), incivility (Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013), disloyalty (Chung, Liao, Jackson, Subramony, Colakoglu, & Jiang, 2015), and micro-aggressions (Sue et al., 2007). Discrimination at work has been documented in many countries (Abelson, Dasgupta, Park, & Banaji, 1998; Allport, 1954; Barak, 2005; Chao & Willaby, 2007; Jones, 1997; Kahneman & Tversky, 2000), with ubiquitous evidence in the United States (US) (Bertrand, Chugh, & Mullainathan, 2005), Canada (Oreopoulos, 2011), Europe (deBeijl, 2000), and Australia (Riach & Rich, 1991).

Based on these data, a sceptic may surmise that extant conceptualisations of work discrimination do not address all underlying issues, are not being used, or do not offer effective solutions. Building on foundational prejudice research (Allport, 1954; Devine, 1989; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fiske, 1998; Jones, 1997), in this paper we develop a conceptual model that postulates how conscious and subconscious prejudice interact to affect work discrimination. Understanding how non-prejudiced beliefs can be indiscernibly undermined by subconscious prejudice offers new insights into potential costly detours at work. Despite a large body of work on prejudice, research has yet to define how it forms subconsciously, explain how it can be primed to cause work discrimination, and conceptualise its interaction with conscious prejudice. The interaction of conscious and subconscious prejudice, ostensibly, has greater organisational implications than either prejudice alone. This is because employees cannot effectively grapple with automatic causes of discrimination without a more complete understanding of mechanisms that trigger these behaviours without their awareness.

We proceed as follows. First, we define prejudice and differentiate it from related constructs. Then, we review and juxtapose prejudice and discrimination research in social psychology and management literatures. On the basis of this theoretical background, we next build a conceptual model to explain the interaction between lack of conscious prejudice and primed subconscious prejudice. We discuss how this interaction pushes theory forward, and we describe new practical solutions it offers.

PREJUDICE

Theoretical Background

Definition. In the literary source of our title, Jane Austen wrote a myriad of cautionary tales about prejudice in her classic novel, *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), over two centuries ago.¹ Yet, prejudice is still considered an impervious cause of discrimination (Allport, 1954; Devine, 1989; Dovidio et al., 1997; Fiske, 1998; Jones, 1997; Pettigrew, 1979). It has even recently been referred to as “. . . the principal motivating force behind discrimination” (Quillian, 2006, p. 301).

The word prejudice is a modification of the Latin phrase *Prae-judicium* (pre-judgment), and it is used to indicate pre-judgement, irrespective of facts, for better or worse. We draw on Allport's (1954) theory on the nature of personal prejudice to inform our conceptual model. Allport (1954) defined prejudice as a “. . . feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience” (p. 6). He contended that prejudice precedes discrimination, defined as “acting out prejudice” (p. 14). Acts resulting from prejudice range from mild antipathies and avoidance of the disliked, exclusion of rights, erosion of benefits, closing the door on opportunities, attacks on the unwanted, to systematic exterminations such as lynching, pogroms, and genocide.

Differentiation. One obstacle to building cumulative knowledge about work discrimination is the blurring of definitional lines among constructs. For instance, terms such as attitudes, stereotypes, bias, and prejudice have been cited in relation to discrimination in 106,147 articles (AB/INFORM, 8 May 2017), yet conceptual differentiations among these constructs are ambiguous. Definitions of attitudes include stereotypes (Rooth, 2010, p. 523), those of stereotypes include prejudiced attitudes (Devine, 1989, p. 5), and definitions of biases include all the above: prejudice (Rudman,

¹We thank our reviewer for pointing out an article with a similar title (Verhaeghen, Aikman, & van Gulick, 1993). That article focused on culture as a predictor of stereotyping.

Ashmore, & Gary, 2001, p. 857), attitude (Dovidio et al., 1997, p. 511), and stereotypes (Chao & Willaby, 2007, p. 682). The incremental theory contribution of each construct to the literature appears equivocal, given the definitional overlaps. They also seem to coalesce around Jung's (1921, p. 414) definition of attitudes as a "readiness of the psyche to act or react in a certain way."

Building cumulative knowledge about causes of work discrimination may writhe if research continues to introduce new variables that could be considered manifestations of a common core. Conceptually, we allude that definitional evidence points to the possibility that attitudes, stereotypes, and biases, in the context of work discrimination, share a common core of prejudice. This is because each of these three constructs depend on pre-judgment, irrespective of the target's conduct. Thus, it is controvertible whether or not these constructs influence discrimination irrespective of, or bypassing, prejudice (see Table 1 for more detail).

Regarding levels of analyses, prejudice can be personal or institutional (Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, & Gaertner, 1996), conscious (Fiske, 1998), hidden (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002), and subconscious (Hassin, Uleman, & Bargh, 2005; Reskin, 2000).² Charles Lamb (1821) described personal prejudice as a bundle of open sympathies and antipathies. Institutional prejudice is illustrated by apartheid, a political system in South Africa that existed from 1948 to 1994. Suppression of personal prejudice is hidden prejudice (Crandall et al., 2002). The distinction between hidden and subconscious prejudice is that the former is conscious prejudice deliberately concealed, but the latter operates independent of conscious prejudice, below awareness.

Crossing level and type of prejudice results in six permutations of prejudice, two (personal, institutional) by three (conscious, hidden, subconscious). Prior research has addressed conscious prejudice, and hidden prejudice is conscious prejudice in an altered form we study the interaction of conscious and subconscious prejudice at the individual level. The cognitive paradox we conceptualise is subconscious prejudice that is inadvertently primed to undermine an individual's conscious intent not to discriminate.

To juxtapose these constructs, in our opening example, Sue et al. (2007) described the behaviour of the flight attendant as a subtle insult caused by hidden prejudice. This reasoning, though, does not acknowledge the flight

²Research on constructs that are not conscious have a long tradition in psychology and several labels for the designation of the loci have been used. We provide ten relevant definitions in Appendix A. For clarity of expression, we use the term *subconscious* because it clearly states that the locus is below the conscious level, without suggesting that the construct can never become conscious again. This differs from Freud's term, *unconscious*, which typically referred to a depository of constructs that never reach consciousness.

TABLE 1
Definitions of Constructs Related to Subconscious Prejudice

Term	Source	Definition
Prejudice	Allport (1954, p. 9)	“feeling, favorable or unfavorable, toward a person or thing, prior to, or not based on, actual experience ... Prejudgments become prejudices only if they are not reversible when exposed to new knowledge”
Implicit Prejudice	Quillian (2006, p. 301)	“... prejudice is the principal motivating force behind discrimination”
	Quillian (2008, p. 7)	“For these nearly unconscious negative associations with minority racial groups the psychology literature uses the terms implicit prejudice (and implicit cognition , implicit associations, and implicit stereotypes)”
Hidden Prejudice Stereotype	Stewart, von Hippel, and Radvansky (2009, p. 1)	“Although prejudice is typically conceived as a negative attitude , at this point one can only assess an individual’s relative position on the continuum from positive to negative attitude , as defining a particular individual as implicitly prejudiced is not yet possible”
	Crandall, Eshleman, & O’Brien (2002, p. 368)	“ suppression of prejudice ...”
	Allport (1954, p. 191)	“...an exaggerated belief associated with a category”
	Devine (1989, p. 5)	“...the cognitive component of prejudiced attitudes ”
	Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, and Gaertner (1996, p. 281)	“Despite considerable debate about the specific structure and organization of stereotypic presentations. There is widespread consensus that stereotypes are cognitive schemas ...which may be spontaneously accessible, ignorantly influence how information is encoded , stored, and retrieved”
Implicit Stereotype	Goldman et al. (2006, P. 795)	“... beliefs about particular social groups”
	Greenwald and Banaji (1995, P. 15)	“... introspectively unidentified (or inaccurately identified) traces of past experience that mediate attributions of qualities to members of a social category”
Unconscious Stereotypes	Farley and Thompson (2016, p. 3)	“ Implicit stereotype activation...are often in conflict with one’s conscious explicit attitudes...and counteracting the effects of implicit bias is cognitively taxing...”
	Reskin (2000, p. 322)	“... unconscious habit of thought that link personal attributes to group membership ”

TABLE 1
Continued

Term	Source	Definition
Bias	Reskin (2000, p. 322)	"...act as distorting lens..."
	Keltner and Robinson (1996, p. 101)	"...tendency to exaggerate their opponents' extremism and the magnitude of their conflict"
	Gündemir, Homan, de Dreu, van Vugt (2014, p. 2)	"... cognitive simplifications... "
Automatic Bias	Dovidio et al. (1997, p. 51)	"...an attitude object may automatically activate an associated evaluation from memory which may influence subsequent judgements... [but] it does not mandate such use nor does it determine the precise nature of its use"
	Rudman, Ashmore, & Melvin (2001, pp. 856-857)	"... overlearned associations that reflect implicit prejudice and stereotypes... implicit and explicit are not meant to imply a literal or exhaustive dichotomy. Rather, automatic processes often involve some component of awareness, just as controlled processes may be routine to varying degrees"
	Agerström and Rooth (2011, p. 790)	"...when people are in automatic mode, they process information using simple, low-effort, readily available decision rules... "
Unconscious Bias	Chao and Willaby (2007, p. 680, p. 682)	"... negative beliefs [that] can lead to unintentional discrimination as managers treat one group of people differently from another" ... "Unconscious bias is assumed when a subject takes longer to sort stereotypically inconsistent words together as compared with sorting times for stereotypically consistent words"
Implicit Bias	Tetlock and Mitchell (2009, p. 4)	"... 'unconscious' and 'implicit' are often treated as synonyms, although implicit measures of bias do not always detect thoughts or feelings beyond the awareness of the participant and controlled processes appear to contribute to scores in implicit measures of bias . Accordingly, we will usually refer to implicit , rather than unconscious , bias. We will also interchangeably use the umbrella terms ' implicit prejudice ' and ' implicit bias ' to refer to research on implicit attitudes and implicit stereotypes associations linked to particular groups"

TABLE 1
Continued

Term	Source	Definition
Implicit Attitude	Greenwald and Banaji (1995, p. 5)	“Traces of past experience that affect some performance, even though the influential earlier experience is not remembered in the usual sense – that is, it is unavailable to self-report or introspection”
	Fazio and Olson (2003, pp. 302-303)	“...[cognitive psychology] implies implicit attitudes are ones for which individuals lack awareness.... how do we know that individuals lack awareness of their attitudes ? Nothing about our current implicit measurement procedures...guarantees that participants are unaware of their attitudes Thus, as long as the term “ implicit ” is to reflect unawareness, we fail to see any justification for labeling these attitudes as implicit For these reasons, it is more appropriate to view the measure as implicit or explicit , not the attitude ... We encourage researchers not to equate an implicitly measured construct with an unconscious one”
	Rooth (2010, p. 523)	“...a person’s attitudes and stereotypes in fact often operate in an automatic, less conscious, mode ... people can process information using simple, low effort, readily available decision rules , referred to as automatic, spontaneous, implicit or impulsive processes...”

Note: “Terms have been colour coded as follows: **prejudice, stereotype, bias, attitude, belief, implicit/explicit, unconscious, automatic, and cognition**. References that directly or indirectly mention some form of prejudice, or “pre-judgement,” have been highlighted in yellow.

attendant's explanation of the incident, which creates an arduous dilemma in practice. Could it be that the flight attendant was honest when she said that she had not registered the colour of the passengers? Consciously honest, that is. Consider an explanation of the same event according to our framework: Subconscious prejudice was primed and operated without consciousness to unintentionally undermine her conscious intent to not discriminate. Specifically, seeing minority passengers primed her subconscious prejudice that had been associated with skin colour in the past. The prime caused it to rear its ugly head in her present-day workplace, yet the behaviour it triggered was not under her conscious control nor within her awareness.

Review of Prior Research

Prior research has offered invaluable contributions and is reviewed in Tables 2 and 3. As presented in Table 2, the effects of subconscious prejudice on discrimination outcomes have been emphasised in social psychology. These findings converge on a conclusion that automatic processes can lead to discriminatory thoughts without conscious control (Devine, 1989) and that those who are non-prejudiced can still harbour prejudiced beliefs (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). Group prejudice can also unfold without conscious guidance (Ashburn-Nardo, Voils, & Monteith, 2001), as can stereotyping (Bertrand et al., 2005; Blair, Ma, & Lenton, 2001; Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair, 2001) and attitudes during inter-racial interactions (Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2003).³

As documented in Table 3, management research on subconscious prejudice, compared to social psychology, is scant, aside from open-ended mentions, for example, "something below the surface is clearly at work" (Chugh, 2004, p. 207). Management research has focused mostly on examining links between conscious prejudice and work discrimination (Goldman et al., 2006; Lindsey et al., 2013). Findings include evidence that compared with White employees, Black employees received lower job evaluations, fewer promotions, and reported less career satisfaction (Greenhaus, Parasuaman, & Wormely, 1990); graduate students with White men mentors received higher annual compensation (Dreher & Cox, 1996); and gender and race were factors in vulnerability to uncivil treatment at work, which predicted employees' intent to quit (Cortina et al., 2013). Management research also examined

³A keyword search was conducted in the ABI/INFORM database with words *prejudice*, *discrimination* combined with *implicit*, *automatic*, *nonconscious*, *unconscious*, and *subconscious*. Inclusion in Tables 2 and 3 was initially determined based on reading abstracts. If the content related to conscious *and* subconscious (or similar) prejudice as causes of work discrimination, it was read in full and coded into Tables 2 and 3. These tables were developed to substantiate the points made herein, not to represent a comprehensive review of the discrimination literature.

Table 2
Review of Applied and Social Psychology Literatures Relevant to Primed Subconscious Prejudice

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
1974	Word, Zanna, & Cooper	Black job applicants received less immediacy, higher rates of speech errors, and shorter interview time.	No	—	No	—	No
1987	Graf & Schacter	Interference manipulation affected explicit memory, but not implicit memory, evidencing their dissociation.	Yes	"...implicit memory is revealed when performance...is facilitated without deliberate recollection..."	Yes	"Explicit and implicit memory are affected differently..."	No
1989	Devine	Stereotypes were automati- cally activated, low prejudice responses required controlled inhibition, and only low-prejudice inhibited automatically activated stereotype thoughts.	Yes	"Automatic processes ... do not require conscious effort and appear to be initiated by the presence of stimulus cues in the environment"	Yes	"... stereotype priming were equally strong for high- and low-prej- udice subjects..."	No
1996	Keltner & Robinson	People exaggerated their opponents' extremism and magnitude of conflict.	No	—	No	—	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious	Dual Process		Primed	
			Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Prejudice Considered? ^b	How?	Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
1997	Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, & Howard	Explicit measures predicted deliberative race-related responses whereas implicit measure predicted spontaneous responses.	Yes	"...self-reported attitudes and response latency measures of attitudes may both be valid measures of attitudes (one conscious, the other unconscious) that predict different types of behaviors"	Yes	"...significant correlations between the response-latency measure and word-completion responses and weak relationship between self-report measures of racial attitudes and word-comple-tion responses... support the implicit-explicit dichotomy"	No
1997	Dunton & Fazio	Developed the motivation to control prejudice scale.	Yes	"The aim of our scale development efforts was to isolate and measure those factors that account for this motivation to engage in more deliberative processing when negative racial attitudes are automati-cally activated"	No	–	No

TABLE 2
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
1997	Fazio & Dunton	Individuals motivated to control prejudiced reactions weighted race less heavily even after stereotypes were automatically activated.	No	—	No	—	No
1998	Abelson, Dasgupta, & Banaji	Groups evoked beliefs, feelings, and behavioural responses that differed from those evoked by individuals.	No	—	No	—	No
1999	Franco & Maass	Explicit and implicit prejudice correlated for unprotected groups, but were uncorrelated for protected groups.	Yes	"...implicit measures able to capture the less controlled component of prejudice"	Yes	"...explicit and implicit measures correlated only for the target group for which there was no particular norm..."	No
2000	Dovidio & Gaertner	Investigated self-reported racial prejudice in employment selection decisions over a 10-year period and showed discrimination is more likely when decisions are ambiguous.	Yes	"...people who explicitly...believe themselves to be nonprejudiced also unconsciously harbor negative feelings and beliefs..."	No	—	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice		Dual Process		Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?
			Considered? ^a	How?	Considered? ^b	How?	
2000	Reskin	Asserted that social cognition theory evidences that people rapidly and automatically categorise others, leading to discrimination.	Yes	"...we need to... recognize that [discrimination] occurs as a result of non-conscious... processes..."	No	–	No
2001	Ashburn-Nardo, Voil, & Monteith	Intergroup bias occurred automatically.	Yes	"...intergroup bias can occur automatically or with little intent or conscious awareness..."	No	–	No
2001	Blair, Ma, & Lenton	Counter-stereotypic mental imagery reduced implicit stereotypes.	Yes	"Implicit stereotypes are social category associations that become activated without the perceiver's intention or awareness..."	Yes	"...implicit measures are also shown to be sensitive to contextual variation and temporary states..."	No
2001	Dasgupta & Greenwald	Evidenced that exposure to pictures of admired and disliked exemplars temporarily reduced automatic preferential stereotypes.	Yes	"...effortful processes may not be the only way to moderate implicit prejudice"	Yes	"Correlations between explicit and implicit attitude measures revealed nonsignificant relationships..."	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Dual Process Considered? ^b	How?	Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
2001	Haidt	Proposed a model of social intuition in which moral judgment results from quick, automatic evaluations, and moral reasoning is a post hoc construction, generated after a judgment has been reached.	Yes	"... moral judgment is caused by quick moral intuitions and is followed (when needed) by slow, ex post facto moral reasoning"	No	–	No
2001	Karpinski & Hilton	Evidenced a lack of correlation between the IAT and explicitly measured attitudes.	Yes	"'implicit attitudes' are thought to shape people's automatic reactions..."	Yes	"the results... suggest that explicit attitudes and the IAT are independent..."	No
2001	Lowery, Hardin, & Sinclair	Tacit and expressed social influence reduced expression of automatic prejudice.	Yes	"prejudice and stereotyping can operate automatically..."	Yes	"...automatic prejudice neverthe- less may be controlled consciously"	No
2001	McConnell & Leibold	Strong negative IAT scores led to more negative social interaction with target groups and higher reported explicit prejudice.	Yes	"Attitudes assessed by the IAT do relate to intergroup behavior"	Yes	"the current study explored relations among the IAT, intergroup behavior, and explicit reports of prejudice"	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Dual Process Considered? ^b	How?	Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
2001	Rudman, Ashmore, Richard, & Gary	Diversity education modified automatic and controlled intergroup biases.	Yes	"If people do not know they possess implicit biases, they cannot accurately report them"	Yes	"...findings support conceptualizing implicit and explicit orientations as related but distinct concepts"	No
2001	Wittenbrink Judd, & Park	Automatic group attitudes and stereotypes were sensitive to changes in situational context.	Yes	"Activation of group attitudes and stereo- types then was assessed using...the IAT and the sequential priming paradigm"	Yes	"...automatically activated group attitudes may vary with situational context"	No
2002	Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner	Self-reported racial predicted bias in verbal behaviour to Black relative to White confederates, whereas implicit measures significantly predicted Whites' nonverbal friendliness.	Yes	"Whites have full access to their explicit attitudes and are able to monitor and control their more overt and deliberative behaviors. They do not have such full access to their implicit attitudes...."	Yes	"Participants' bias in self-perceived friendliness was related to their explicit prejudice, but not to their implicit prejudice."	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice		Dual Process Considered?		Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?	
			Considered? ^a	How?	Considered? ^b	How?	Yes	No
2002	Lepore & Brown	Awareness of priming and impression formation promoted implicit correction of automatic stereotype activation.	Yes	"Implicit and automatically accessed responses will still be prejudiced"	Yes	"...evidence regarding the congruence or incongruence of implicit and explicit attitudes is contradictory and not yet reconciled"		No
2003	Fazio & Olson	Reviewed research that used implicit measures and discussed their predictive validity, interrelations, and mechanisms of operation.	Yes	"We would encourage researchers not to equate an implicitly measured construct with an unconscious one."	Yes	whether a relation [between implicit and explicit measures] exists is not very productive."		No
2003	Towles-Schwen & Fazio	Negative attitudes were associated with more negative behaviours and judgments and with less willingness to interact with African Americans depending on whether or not the situation was scripted.	Yes	"...automatically activated attitudes might [determine]... whether people choose to interact at all and in what kinds of situations they might be willing to do so."	Yes	"Automatically activated racial attitudes...relate to anticipated comfort in interracial interactions among those participants with relatively low concern with activating prejudiced."		No

TABLE 2
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2004	Olson & Fazio	Motivation to control prejudice moderated the effect of automatically activated racial attitudes on trait inferences.	Yes	"...participants are both unaware that their attitudes are being measured, and lack the opportunity to evoke the opportunity to processes."	Yes	"...automatic response...is either combined with or attenuated by more careful deliberation..."	No
2004	Dambrun & Guimond	When there were strong norms against prejudice, implicit and explicit measures were negatively related.	Yes	"Implicit attitudes are assumed to operate in an unconscious mode..."	Yes	"...little reason to believe that implicit and explicit measures are tapping distinct... constructs"	No
2005	Bertrand, Chugh, & Mullainathan	A theoretical view that discrimination results from unintentional action operating outside of the discriminator's awareness.	Yes	"Discrimination may be unintentional and outside of the discriminator's awareness"	No	—	No
2005	Conrey, Sherman, Gawronski, Hugenberg, & Groom	Implicit measures reflected joint contributions of multiple, qualitatively different processes – not just automatic ones.	Yes	"...responses on implicit measures depend on automatic activation of association activation," "discriminability, overcoming bias, and guessing"	Yes	"...conventional strategies to disentangle automatic and controlled processes by means of explicit and implicit measures are inadequate..."	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice		Dual Process		Primed Subconscious Prejudice	
			Considered? ^a	How?	Considered? ^b	How?	Conceptualised? ^c	
2005	Pager & Quillian	Employers indicating higher likelihood of hiring ex-offenders were not more likely to hire an ex-offender.	No	—	No	—	No	No
2006	Quillian	A review and critique of Reviewed and critiqued research on prejudice, discrimination, and racism.	Yes	"A central idea in implicit prejudice research is that past associations...exist in the mind and influence future judgments..." "...microaggressions... are often unconsciously delivered in the form of subtle snubs..."	Yes	"A basic finding...is the distinctness of implicit attitudes from explicit attitudes..."	No	No
2007	Sue, et al.	Microaggressions are brief behavioural and environmental indignities, intentional or not, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults.	Yes		No	—	No	No
2007	Chao & Willaby	Contended that a complete understanding of employment discrimination should consider conscious and unconscious bias.	Yes	"[prejudice] can now be measured as implicit or explicit attitudes"	Yes	"...employment discrimination should consider conscious and unconscious...bias"	No	No

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice		Dual Process		Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised ^c	
			Considered? ^a	How?	Considered? ^b	How?	Considered?	How?
2008	Dotsch, Wigboldus, Langner, & Knippenberg	People's representations of ethnic faces were related to their level of prejudice.	Yes	"The prejudice level of each participant...was assessed using... Implicit Association Test."	No	–	No	
2008	Glaser & Knowles	People with a high belief that they were prejudiced and a low association between prejudice and negative attitude had the strongest relation between implicit stereotype and bias.	Yes	"We used the IAT...to assess NAP [implicit negative attitude toward prejudice] and BOP [implicit belief that oneself is prejudiced]"	Yes		No	"If IMCP reflects a truly nonconscious goal, it should have the effect of inhibiting automatic discriminatory behavior even in the presence of implicit stereotypes"
2008	Hofmann, Gschwendner, Castelli, & Schmitt	Implicit racial attitudes were more predictive of behaviour when participants were cognitively taxed than when they were not taxed.	Yes	"...implicit attitudes are not always translated into spontaneous behavior..."	Yes		No	"...the correlation between implicit and explicit attitude measures was ... positive in Study 1 but zero in Study 2..."

TABLE 2
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2008	Park, Glaser, & Knowles	Implicit motivation to control prejudice moder- ated the effect of depletion on discriminatory behaviour.	Yes	“Intergroup biases... can be activated and applied automatically and implicitly”	No	–	No
2008	Peery & Bodenhausen	When a target had mixed-race ancestry, people were more likely to rapidly categorise the target as Black.	Yes	“We examined the effect of cues to multiracial identity on rapid, reflexive categorizations well as more deliberate judgments”	No	–	No
2008	Quillian	Proposed that the debate regarding unconscious racism is not whether researchers can establish empirical unconscious racism, but whether there is evidence of how it influences action.	Yes	“Implicit attitudes are difficult to access through introspection, but they are not wholly unconscious either...”	Yes	“Studies find low correlation between scores on the IAT and explicit beliefs...supporting the view they represent a distinct level of attitude”	Yes

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious	Dual Process	Primed
			Prejudice Considered? ^a	Considered? ^b	Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
2009	Stewart, von Hippel, & Radvansky	Older White adults exhibited more racial prejudice on an implicit measure (IAT) than younger adults due to less control of their automatic prejudicial associations. A dual-process model was proposed to explain the role of cultural meanings in people's behaviour by considering how culture is implicated in both motivation and justification.	Yes	No	No
2009	Vaisey		Yes	No	No
2010	Rooth	Automatically activated associations led to discriminatory behaviour among recruiters in hiring.	Yes	Yes	No

“Older adults might have greater difficulty inhibiting their unintentionally activated stereotypes and prejudicial thoughts”
“... actors are driven primarily by deeply internalized schematic processes...yet they are also capable of deliberation and justification when required by the demands of social interaction”
“...a person's attitudes and stereotypes in fact often operate in an automatic, less conscious, mode”
“Either the implicit and explicit measures tap related but distinct constructs or there are measurement issues...”

TABLE 2
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice		Dual Process		Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised ^c	
			Considered? ^a	How?	Considered? ^b	How?	Yes	No
2010	Wallaert, Ward, & Mann	Implicit prejudice was amenable to voluntary control through use of simple, direct means.	Yes	"...automatic stereotypes and prejudice are at least partially amenable to voluntary control"	Yes	"...an increase in pressure to engage in stereotyping ... resulted in an increase in IAT scores..."		
2011	Legault, Gutsell, & Inzlicht	Motivating people to reduce prejudice with external control produced more explicit and implicit prejudice than not intervening.	Yes	"In Experiment 2, we manipulated motivation subtly, and then measured automatic racism with the Implicit Association Test"	Yes	"We measured explicit prejudice using the Symbolic Racism 2000 Scale"		No
2012	Blommaert, van Tubergen, & Coenders	Explicit interethnic attitudes affected discrimination in grading of applicants, but both explicit and implicit interethnic attitudes increased discrimination in selection for an interview.	Yes	"People are unaware of their implicit interethnic attitudes and therefore unable to report them accurately"	Yes	"The correlation between implicit interethnic attitudes and the (explicit) thermometer is weakly negative... these findings are in line with...several meta-analytical studies"		No

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious		Dual Process		Primed	
			Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Considered? ^b	How?	Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c	
2014	Blommaert, Coenders, & van Tubergen	Differences in the role of people's interethnic contacts, education, and religion influenced decision-making in different stages of the hiring process.	No	–	No	–	No	

^aArticles in the following journals were included in this review: *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *Contemporary Sociology*, *Psychological Review*, *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, *The American Economic Review*, *American Sociological Review*, *American Psychologist*, *Applied Psychology: An Internal Review*, *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, *Psychological Science*, *Labour Economics*, *Social Science Research*, and *Social Indicators Research*. Articles were read to determine if reference was made to any of the following words or phrases: implicit attitudes, implicit prejudice, implicit memory, implicit stereotypes, implicit bias, automatic processes, automatically activated prejudice, automatic stereotypes, non-conscious processes, unconscious processes, moral intuition, subtle discrimination, unintentional activation, internalised processes, and automatic process. If so, this column was coded as a “Yes” otherwise this column was coded as “No.”

^bFor purposes of this literature review, if reference was made to any of the following words or phrases it was coded as a “Yes” for this column: implicit and explicit measures/attitudes/prejudice, conscious and unconscious bias, automatic processes in combination with deliberate or conscious processes.

^cFor purposes of this literature review, if prejudice was defined, explained, or conceptualised as a construct created through internalisation of prejudicial associations experienced either directly or indirectly in the environment, and is primed supraliminally into action that unfolds automatically in natural settings from environmental cues, operating unintentionally below the level of awareness, it was coded as a “Yes” for this column.

mitigating interventions aimed to combat conscious prejudice such as education (Rainbird, 2007), cross-functional collaboration (Kalev, 2009), and various forms of diversity training (King, Dawson, Kravits, & Gulick, 2012).

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF AN INTERACTION BETWEEN CONSCIOUS AND PRIMED SUBCONSCIOUS PREJUDICE AS A CAUSE OF WORK DISCRIMINATION

Our model consists of five psychosocial factors: (I) Environment as a source of prejudice, (II) Conscious and primed subconscious prejudice, (III) Categorisation and interaction, (IV) Discriminatory work behaviour, and (V) Feedback loop. Figure 1 presents the full model.

Environment as a Source of Prejudice

The social environment is a rich source of demographic characteristics such as race, sex, colour, and national origin. Importantly, though the environment merely hosts demographic characteristics; the socially construed tenor associated with it can radiate prejudice. As people interact, directly or vicariously, in their social milieu and encounter demographic characteristics embedded in it, lenses of the past or present can incubate subconscious prejudice (Vaisey, 2009).

In the workplace, organisational culture has a powerful role in the formation and enactment of subconscious prejudice because it is “tacit and turns automated over time, eventually dropping out of daily awareness” (Schein, 2009, p. 19). Cues associated with subconscious prejudice can automatically

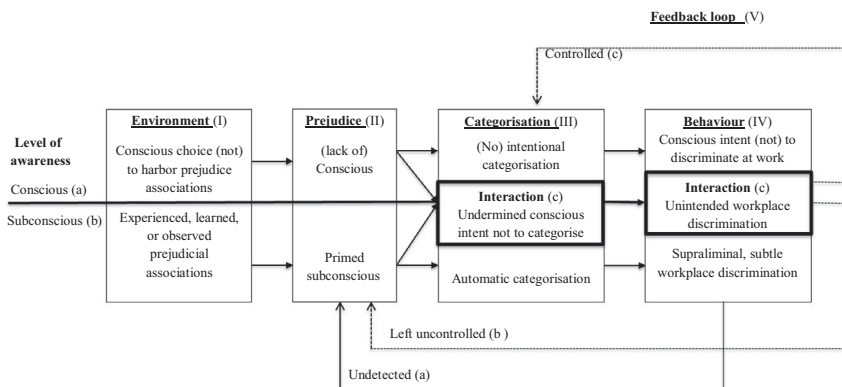


FIGURE 1. Conceptual model of (lack of) conscious and primed subconscious prejudice as interactive causes of workplace discrimination.

Table 3
Review of Management Literature Relevant to Primed Subconscious Prejudice

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
1990	Greenhaus, Parasuraman, & Wormley	Blacks, compared to Whites, perceived less job discretion, received lower evaluations, less promotions, and experienced less career satisfaction and advancement.	No	–	No	–	No
1991	Cox & Blake	Reviewed research on managing diversity to create an organisa- tional competitive advantage.	No	–	No	–	No
1993	Watson, Kumar, & Michaelsen	Homogeneous groups were more effective initially, but overtime no differences in performance were found compared with heterogeneous groups.	No	–	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
1996	Dreher & Cox	MBA's with mentoring relationships with White men received an average of \$16,840 annual compensation advantage over those without White men mentors.	No	–	No	–	No
1997	Joplin & Daus	Described six challenges diverse workgroup leaders face and effective enactment of diversity initiatives.	No	–	No	–	No
1998	Harrison, Price, & Bell	Group tenure lessened surface-level diversity (demographic) and strengthened the effect of deep-level diversity (attitude) on group social integration.	No	–	No	–	No
2000	Gilbert & Ivanevich	Qualitatively analysed managing organisational diversity.	No	–	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2001	Ely & Thomas	Identified three perspectives on workplace diversity: integration-and-learning, access-and-legitimacy, and discrimination-and-fairness.	No	–	No	–	No
2002	Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey	Collaboration weakened surface-level diversity but strengthened deep-level diversity, and perceived diversity affected the impact of actual diversity on team social integration.	No	–	No	–	No
2004	Chugh	Summarised insights on implicit social cognition, highlighting the relevance of it to managerial work.	Yes	“...something below the surface is clearly at work...both the IAT and non-IAT evidence suggests that managers...are prone to unintended implicit bias”	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Dual Process Considered? ^b	How?	Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
2004	McLaughlin, Bell, & Stringer	Experimentally evidenced that perceived implications of a coworker's disability are critical for job performance.	No	—	No	—	No
2005	Clair, Beatty, & MacLean	Introduced a model of invisible identity management, focusing on revealing and passing strategies of identity management.	No	—	No	—	No
2005	Zigert & Hanges	Implicit racist attitudes interacted with a climate for racial bias to predict discrimination, and motivation to control prejudice moderated the relationship between explicit and implicit attitudes.	Yes	"Implicit attitude measurement techniques are believed to reflect the more ingrained beliefs of the responses...they may be activated automatically outside of the person's consciousness"	Yes	"When individuals have low motivation to control their prejudice, there is a positive relationship between the implicit and explicit racism measures...when individuals are highly motivated... there is a slight negative relationship...."	No

TABLE 3
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Dual Process Considered? ^b	How?	Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
2006	Goldman, Gutek, & Stein	Reviewed the work discrimination literature.	No	–	No	–	No
2006	Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelley	Training and evalua- tions were least effective at increasing management diversity; mentoring; and networking were moderately effective; and establishing responsibility for diversity was the most effective.	Yes	“The implicit associations we make...can have the effect of reproducing patterns of inequality”	No	–	No
2006	McKay & Avery	Introduced a theoretical model to explain how organisational and community attributes affect the hiring decision of minority and majority group applicants.	Yes	“...a mismatch between explicit and implicit verbal cues leads to more negative perceptions...”	No	–	No
2006	McKay, & McDaniel	Meta-analytically examined Black-White mean differences in work performance and found mean racial differences in performance favour Whites ($d=0.27$).	No	–	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2007	Bell, & Berry	Asserted that a simplistic view of diversity in organisations is inadequate.	No	–	No	–	No
2007	Harrison, & Klein	Described three types of diversity: separation, variety, and disparity, and presented guidelines for conceptualisation, measurement, and testing.	No	–	No	–	No
2007	Klein, & Harrison	Asserted that Page's (2007) logic of diversity conditions were too rare.	No	–	No	–	No
2007	Kravitz	Compared diversity interventions rooted in institutional theory, social network analysis, and social psychology theory.	No	–	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2007	Page	Established the importance of promoting diversity in organisations.	No	–	No	–	No
2008	Rainbird	Found that unequal pay for women in the UK can be addressed with education and training.	No	–	No	–	No
2008	Richard, Murthi, & Ismail	Examined short-term vs. long-term impact of racial diversity on financial performance; indicated a positive relationship between diversity and performance for long-term profitability.	No	–	No	–	No
2009	Kalev	When employers increased cross-functional collaboration, ascriptive inequality declined.	Yes	“...formalization limits implicit biases and unconscious stereotypes in decision making.”	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2009	Shore, et al.	Reviewed workforce diversity.	Yes	"...subtle non-verbal gestures that indicate a subconscious aversion to minorities"	No	–	No
2010	Hershcovis, & Barling	Meta-analysed workplace aggression of supervisors, co-workers, and outsiders.	No	–	No	–	No
2012	King, Dawson, Kravits, & Gulick	Diversity training in organisations had an effect on ethnic minorities' experiences of discrimination.	No	–	No	–	No
2012	Raggins	Intention to leave the workplace was influenced by community experiences and the community's perceived diversity climate.	No	–	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised?^c</i>
2013	Abben, Brown, Graupmann, Mockler, & Fernandes	Identified ways in which classic social psychological theories can point to and reduce the underlying motives of workplace discrimination.	No	–	No	–	No
2013	Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley	Evidenced that gender and race affect vulnerability to uncivil treatment at work, which predicted intent to quit.	Yes	“...individuals implicitly harbor negative emotions and cognitions... driving them to discriminate in inconspicuous or rationalisable ways.”	No	–	No
2013	Lindsey, King, McCausland, & Jones	Reviewed literature on employment discrimi- nation and discussed discrimination reduction tactics.	Yes	“...appoint people to hiring committees who are low in both explicit and implicit expressions of bias.”	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

<i>Year</i>	<i>Author(s)</i>	<i>Main Focus</i>	<i>Subconscious Prejudice Considered?^a</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Dual Process Considered?^b</i>	<i>How?</i>	<i>Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised^c</i>
2013	Wood, Braeken, & Niven	Discrimination related to well-being was strongest for managers compared to co-workers, patients, and visitors.	No	–	No	–	No
2014	Robinson, Wang, & Kiewitz	Presented a framework to address the impact of coworker deviant, dysfunctional, and counterproductive behaviours.	No	–	No	–	No
2015	Chung, Liao, Jackson, Subramony, Colakoglu, & Jiang	Examined joint effects of diversity composition and diversity management on loyal behaviour and the importance of considering their simultaneous effects on managing workforce diversity.	No	–	No	–	No

TABLE 3
Continued

Year	Author(s)	Main Focus	Subconscious Prejudice Considered? ^a	How?	Dual Process Considered? ^b	How?	Primed Subconscious Prejudice Conceptualised? ^c
2015	Giorgi, Lockwood, & Glynn	Reviewed 30 years of research on culture in organisation studies.	No	–	No	–	No

^aArticles in the following journals were included within this review: *Academy of Management Journal*, *Academy of Management Executive*, *Academy of Management Perspectives*, *Academy of Management Annals*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Academy of Management Review*, *Journal of Management*, *Strategic Management Journal*, *Personnel Psychology*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, and *Journal of Business Ethics*. Articles were read to determine if reference was made to any of the following words or phrases: implicit attitudes, implicit prejudice, implicit memory, implicit stereotypes, implicit bias, automatic processes, automatically activated prejudice, automatic stereotypes, non-conscious processes, unconscious processes, moral intuition, subtle discrimination, unintentional activation, internalised processes, and automatic process. If so, this column was coded as a “Yes” otherwise this column was coded as “No.”

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^cFor purposes of this literature review, if prejudice was defined, explained, or conceptualised as a construct that is created through internalisation of prejudicial associations experienced either directly or indirectly in the environment, and is primed supraliminally into action that unfolds automatically in natural settings from environmental cues, operating unintentionally below the level of awareness, it was coded as a “Yes” for this column.

prime it into discriminatory behaviours (discussed further in the next section). For example, exposure to photos of minority exemplars primed subconscious prejudice (Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001) and overt social pressure reduced expressions of it (Lowery et al., 2001). Subconscious prejudice was sensitive to environmental interventions (Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001), where awareness of priming phenomenon reduced its behavioural effects (Lepore & Brown, 2002). Taken together, subconscious prejudice is cultivated by social and work environments when prejudicial associations are internalised and stashed below awareness (link from Environment (I) to Prejudice (II), Figure 1).

Primed Subconscious Prejudice

Simply put, priming is intriguing because people can be affected by factors they fail to recognise (Bargh, 2007). Priming operates by activating mental representations that are subconsciously stored in knowledge structures (Kruglanski, Shah, Fishbach, Friedman, Chun, & Sleeth-Keppler, 2002). Knowledge structures comprise interrelated concepts organised according to their associations (Shah & Kruglanski, 2003). Subconscious prejudice is linked in memory with behaviours and with symbolic representations of environments in which it was encountered (Bechtoldt, Dreu, Nijstad, & Choi, 2010). If prejudice is encountered often in similar circumstances, cognitive associations between environmental cues, prejudice, and related behaviours will turn automatic over time. When a cue is encountered, it can prime subconscious prejudice into automatic behaviour without conscious override (Chartrand & Bargh, 2002).

Employees spend an average of 2,000 hours per year working. Thus, embedded cues at work have ample opportunities to form automatic associations with colleagues' demographic characteristics, such as looks, backgrounds, names, and personal orientations via repeated exposure (Bargh, Chen, & Burrows, 1996; Chen & Bargh, 1997). Prejudice associations can also be formed vicariously by observing others discriminate (Bandura, 2016; Chartrand & Bargh, 1999). For example, research has found that discussing prejudice about women at work increased the chance of asking a sexist question during a job interview (Fiske, Xu, Cuddy & Glick, 1999); comments about pregnancy before an interview fuelled prejudice in evaluating the job candidate (Heilman, 1995); men and women discussing gender issues increased the salience of gender prejudice (Ridgeway, 1997); and if a race composition in a group is skewed, hearing a minority use rude words exasperated prejudice toward them (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2001; Bodenhausen, Macrae, & Garst, 1998).

Categorisation and Interaction

Automatic Categorisation. Categorisation is a cognitive shortcut that saves time and mental energy because it enables judgement without investing resources to uncover pertinent knowledge (Allport, 1954). It is easier to categorise others according to salient features and myths than to understand and appreciate their subtle differences. Many wrongly assume that because two people look similar (phenotypes), or are from the same country, their personalities and character (genotypes) must be similar, too (Allport, 1954). For example, one myth in the US is that French people are rude, and, not knowing any better, many repeat it. Similarly, US tourists are often categorised as culturally ignorant, if not inconsiderate, when abroad. When categorisations are not reversed with new knowledge, such as, meeting a kind Frenchman or a considerate American traveller, they stem from prejudice (Allport, 1954).

When subconscious prejudice is primed, categorisation automatically unfolds, meaning that people categorise a person without conscious intervention. Research shows that automatic racial attitudes are related to the extent that people categorise by race when judging similarity of photos (Fazio & Dunton, 1997). If people believe that a typical American is White, they are less likely to select an equally qualified Asian-American for a job (Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2010). When subconscious prejudice is primed, automatic categorisation interacts with and undermines a person's lack of conscious prejudice (link from Prejudice (II) to Categorisation (III) in Figure 1). Because this is the key premise of this work, we elaborate on this psychological process next.

Conscious and primed subconscious prejudice can interact in four ways: (1) primed subconscious prejudice, lack of conscious prejudice, (2) lack of primed subconscious prejudice, conscious prejudice, (3) primed subconscious prejudice, conscious prejudice, and (4) lack of primed subconscious prejudice, lack of conscious prejudice. The behaviour resulting from a congruent mental state will depend on whether that mental state is prejudiced. A congruent prejudiced state would cause deliberate workplace discrimination, potentially increasing discriminatory behaviour more than conscious prejudice alone (e.g., Stajkovic, Locke, & Blair, 2006). If a congruent state that lacks prejudice is present, discrimination should not occur. More intricate are the conflict interactions. Rarely, though, would conscious prejudice be present without subconscious prejudice, as repeated exposure to one's own conscious prejudice would foster subconscious prejudice. Therefore, we propose that a consequential interaction, yet not immediately intuitive, occurs when primed subconscious prejudice conflicts with lack of conscious prejudice, causing the two psychological processes to be in a cognitive conflict.

Interaction Between Conscious and Primed Subconscious Prejudice. An obstacle to readily recognising the interaction of conscious and subconscious prejudice is that “people do not and cannot have direct access to acts of causal intention” all the time (Bargh, 2005, p. 42). Unlike conflict between intentional acts and conscious beliefs, in which cognitive dissonance can be reduced by changing action, beliefs, or both (Festinger, 1957; Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959), conflict between subconscious prejudice and lack of conscious prejudice goes unnoticed. This creates a special case of cognitive dissonance (Abben, Brown, Graupmann, Mockler, & Fernandes, 2013; Festinger, 1957), where dissonance stems from an incongruence between prejudice in the conscious and subconscious spheres. Demands causing dissonance can be conflicting cognitions, such as lack of conscious prejudice and primed subconscious prejudice, or they can be caused by cognition that conflicts with discriminatory acts caused by primed prejudice. In dissonance theory, inconsistencies are known, but in the interaction of non-prejudiced conscious beliefs and primed subconscious prejudice, dissonance remains unknown.

In this conflicted interaction, allocation of cognitive resources to conflicted cognitive processes is a necessity the mind gauges. Cognitive resources are gauged, calibrated, and reallocated. Non-prejudiced conscious intent and primed subconscious prejudice compete for cognitive resources, and self-regulation is pressed for allocation to each conflicted motive. As a result, cognitive trade-offs are necessary, and they can undermine behaviours of those who are not consciously prejudiced. The key premise is that primed subconscious prejudice can cause undesired, unintentional, automatic discriminatory action. To illustrate, consider this vivid personal recount.

Civil Rights leader, Jesse Jackson, was quoted in the article titled, “Buried Prejudice” (Carpenter, 2008) on how his own subconscious prejudice influenced his behaviour, recognition of which was rather unexpected and personally painful for him as a long-time activist.

There is nothing more painful to me at this stage of my life, Jesse Jackson told an audience, than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start thinking about robbery – then look around and see somebody White and feel relieved. (Carpenter, 2008, p. 33)

This experience can be analysed through the model we propose. A prejudiced association was formed in his subconscious even though he consciously abhorred it. As the subconscious stores more information and is faster than consciousness (Dijksterhuis, Aarts, & Smith, 2005; Hassin et al., 2005; Sweeney, 2009), he acted on the stored association. Specifically, hearing footsteps behind him primed Jesse Jackson’s subconscious prejudice, and his conscious mind was unable to stop the categorisation of robbery

before it occurred. Seen through a similar lens suggested by our reviewer, this conflict may be reinforced by added dissonance between the aspired collective conscious, co-varying with an individual and ingrained personal subconscious.

Jackson's remark illustrates the basic fact of our social existence, one that even a committed Black civil-rights leader cannot escape: ideas that we may not endorse – for example, that a Black stranger might harm us but a White one probably would not – can nonetheless lodge themselves in our minds and, without our permission or awareness, colour our perceptions, expectations, and judgements. (Carpenter, 2008, p. 33)

To emphasise this point, just because someone believes they are not prejudiced does not exclude the possibility that subconscious prejudice still exists within them but below their awareness. The dissonance between conscious beliefs and subconscious prejudice could be amplified because it remains below awareness, resulting in automatic acts beyond conscious control. Consequently, primed prejudice leads to unintended discriminatory behaviour. We next describe manifestations of these behaviours at work.

Discriminatory Work Behaviour

Conscious prejudice results in *intentional* work discrimination. As Pager, Western, and Bonikowski (2009, p. 10) explain, "... we observe cases in which employers' evaluations of applications appear *actively* [emphasis added] shaped or constructed through a racial lens ..." Though intentional, this discrimination is often "practiced chiefly in covert and indirect ways, and not primarily in face-to-face situations where embarrassment would result" (Allport, 1954, p. 55). For example, Hispanic men employed full-time made comparatively less than White men (US Department of Labour, 2009); equally qualified women were less likely to receive a job call back (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007); managers favoured in-group members in evaluations and reward considerations (Brewer & Brown, 1998); older Whites showed more racial prejudice than younger Whites or than Blacks (Stewart, von Hippel, & Radvansky, 2009); and having less inter-ethnic contacts, impaired selection of "ethnic" individuals for employment (Blommaert, Coenders, & van Tubergen, 2014).

Subconscious prejudice results in *subtle* work discrimination, such as in verbal or kinetic micro-aggressions (Dovidio et al., 1997; Sue et al., 2007), a decreased willingness to interact with others (McConnell & Leibold, 2001), and negatively skewed judgements (Jackson, 1997; Word, Zanna, & Cooper,

1974). For example, priming a stereotype related to African Americans increased the likelihood of classifying an ambiguous object as a gun (Correll, Park, Judd, & Wittenbrink, 2007); when Whites were primed with Black faces, they showed greater hostility (Bargh et al., 1996); Whites with implicit prejudice favouring Whites were less likely to speak with Black experimenters (McConnell & Leibold, 2001); and priming a category of Black with story-writing led to worse performance on standardised tests (Wheeler, Jarvis, & Petty, 2001). Those who wrote in the first person exhibited stronger priming effects (Wheeler et al., 2001), indicating that the more people felt the group traits were part of their self-concept, the stronger the effect was of primed prejudice on their behaviour (Bargh, 2007; Bargh et al., 1996).

Examples of subtle discrimination are further demonstrated by research showing that names difficult to pronounce by native English speakers were seen as risky because they were perceived as a proxy for individuals “different from us”, leading to supraliminal discrimination (Song & Schwarz, 2009); ethnically White names paired with leadership roles compared with ethnic minority name pairing led to an under-representation of minorities in leadership positions (Gündemir, Homan, de Dreu, & van Vugt, 2014); “ethnic-looking” faces were subconsciously labelled as “outsiders” and treated more discriminatorily (Dotsch, Wigboldus, Langner, & van Knippenberg, 2008); multiracial Black and White individuals had their race attributed to the “socially subordinate” Black parent (Peery & Bodenhausen, 2008); pleasant words were readily attributed to in-group names and unpleasant words to out-group names (Ashburn-Nardo et al., 2001); and Whites believed that they attributed equal friendliness to Whites and Blacks, but response latency measures showed greater non-verbal friendliness behaviour of Whites toward Whites than toward Blacks (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). Often, these types of discrimination are supraliminal, or “hiding in plain sight”. The behaviour is observable (e.g., apportioning lower salary to women), but the individual is not aware that s/he is discriminating.

Social identity and social categorisation theories draw on the possibility of prejudice operating without awareness in the study of performance of diverse groups and individuals at work (Olsen & Martins, 2012; van Knippenberg, de Dreu, & Homan, 2004). Other studies have examined similar processes pertaining to leadership (Gündemir et al., 2014), applicant screening (Blommaert et al., 2014; McKay & Avery, 2006; Rooth, 2010; Yogeewaran & Dasgupta, 2010), job interviews (Rivera, 2015; Ziegert & Hanges, 2005), promotions (Dovidio et al., 2002; Dreher & Cox, 1996; Rainbird, 2007), job satisfaction (Cortina et al., 2013), and job evaluations (Joshi, Son, & Roh, 2015; McKay & McDaniel, 2006; McLaughlin, Bell, & Stringer, 2004).

The interaction of non-prejudiced conscious intent with primed subconscious prejudice results in *unintended* discrimination. We were unable to

find studies that defined or tested this interaction at work, but the following research findings are “in the ballpark”. Conscious racial attitudes predicted verbal discrimination and implicit measures predicted non-verbal discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2002); automatically activated racial attitudes and consequent race-related judgements were moderated by motivation to control prejudice (Dunton & Fazio, 1997; Olson & Fazio, 2004; Towles-Schwen & Fazio, 2003); and in the presence of strong norms against prejudice, implicit and explicit measures of prejudice were negatively correlated (Dambrun & Guimond, 2004). A study correlated implicit racist attitudes with a reported climate for racial bias, and found the relationship to be moderated by motivation to control prejudice (Zigert & Hanges, 2005). Lastly, two studies reported counterintuitive results, where overt pressure to avoid stereotyping increased implicit prejudice (Wallaert, Ward, & Mann, 2010) and external control to reduce explicit prejudice increased both explicit and implicit prejudice (Legault, Gutsell, & Inzlicht, 2011). These findings appears to suggest that overt pressure to eradicate prejudice could push it into the subconscious and actually prolong its effects (Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, & Schaal, 1999).

Feedback Loop

Mechanisms to mitigate prejudice after work discrimination has occurred will depend on whether the act resulted from conscious prejudice, primed prejudice, or their interaction. If conscious work discrimination occurs, legal mechanisms are in place to address it, and if no discrimination occurs, a negative feedback loop (behaviour/outcome is below the standard) is not created. If discrimination is solely caused by subconscious prejudice and its automatic influence is undetected (link from Behaviour (IV) to Feedback Loop (Va)), it will stay below awareness. If unintended discrimination resulting from the interaction of lack of conscious prejudice and primed prejudice is left uncontrolled (link from Behaviour (IV) to Feedback Loop (Vb)), the behaviour is likely to continue, as primed prejudice remains outside awareness. This can result in decreased self-reported prejudice but increased discrimination claims. If, however, unintended discrimination resulting from the interaction is detected and controlled (link from Behaviour (IV) to Feedback Loop (Vc)), it can weaken the power of the prime to activate prejudice in the future-reducing the likelihood of future unintended work discrimination.

DISCUSSION

Conscious prejudice has been studied across social science disciplines. Comparatively, notice of subconscious prejudice has arisen more recently. Building upon multiple literatures, we bridge research on these two types

of prejudices in a proposed conceptual model. We push theory forward by suggesting that work discrimination studied through the lens of only conscious or only subconscious prejudice provides an incomplete conception of its causes.

During current times of accelerated change in organisations and increasingly multifaceted jobs, a seemingly ever-growing number of informational and behavioural cues are present in the workplace (Cappelli, 2006, 2012 ; Rahinel, Amaral, Clarkson, & Kay, 2016). Consequently, it is likely that the probability of subconscious prejudice being primed in today's organisations is on the rise, and that conscious prejudice interacts with it. For these reasons, both research and application stand to benefit from a more complete understanding of the interaction effects between primed and conscious prejudice.

Future Research and Theory Boundaries

First, our theory is amenable to empirical testing. A 2×2 experiment could be designed in which conscious prejudice is measured and participants are randomly assigned to either a high or low primed prejudice condition, manipulated with primes that could naturally occur at work. Conducting experiments in organisations with manipulations resulting in negative outcomes has practical limitations. Thus, work discrimination could be measured by having participants reading a case that describes an applicant screening protocol, hiring scenario, or promotion consideration, and making a hypothetical decision whether to interview, hire, or promote the candidate. Similarly, mock interviews could be conducted with a confederate who could code employee behaviour for verbal and non-verbal discrimination. A related design could involve emailing employees a list of applicants' résumés and asking them to rate each applicant's qualifications. Qualitafactions could be manipulated so that each candidate is equally qualified, with the only variation among applicants being demographic (e.g., gender, race, names) or personal preferences (e.g., religion, sexual orientation). Because the former characteristics are ostensibly easier to observe than the latter, there may be important differences between prejudice primed by demographic features versus by personal preferences. The design of such an experiment allows for testing these differences.

Second, discrimination research encompasses constructs that, despite their different names, may be scrutinised as potential manifestations of the same higher-order core, defined as a "latent commonality underlying the dimensions" (Law, Wong, & Mobley, 1998, p. 747). Apropos, prejudice as a higher-order construct should be empirically examined to test if it latently underlies discriminatory attitudes, stereotypes, and biases as its observable manifestations.

Third, our conceptual framework does not conclusively state which psychological process is stronger, conscious intent to not discriminate or primed prejudice. We posit that primed prejudice can undermine conscious intent, increasing the likelihood of unintentional work discrimination, but the strength of this effect remains unknown. Future research could examine if demands on cognitive resources to regulate two conflicted prejudices are greater compared with handling just one. If cognitive demands are greater, then which prejudice will guide behaviour, conscious or subconscious? If both are of similar strength, discriminatory behaviour may cease due to cognitive paralysis caused by equally powerful conflicted processes. Alternatively, cognitive resources could be divided to allow both of the conflicted behaviours come to fruition.

Some neuroscience researchers dismiss consciousness as a reliable determinant of action and opine that “The brain runs largely on autopilot; it acts first and asks questions later” (Carey, 2011, p. 1). The practical problem with this view is that if actions are solely the result of neuronal processing and conscious states are purely epiphenomenal outputs from lower-level processing, can employees be held responsible for their actions at work? Conversely, attributing all responsibility to deliberate processing would be equally questionable in light of priming research. Instead, we call for more nuanced, integrative theory building to elucidate the interactive processes between the two types of prejudice (cf., Carey, 2011).

Fourth, we do not enumerate discriminatory behaviours that can be primed because if theoretical conditions are met, we believe most acts of work discrimination can be primed (Bargh, 1992). Though, there may be different types of discriminatory behaviours that are more prime-able than others (Bargh, 1989). For example, subconscious prejudice created through direct experience versus vicarious learning may affect how easily it is primed or the strength of its effect on discriminatory behaviour. Testing this reasoning could be fruitful for future research.

Fifth, our conceptual framework does not delineate potential moderators and mediators of the proposed relationships. This is because priming research has not considered moderators or mediators in many of its conceptualisations (Hassin, Ferguson, Shidlovski, & Gross, 2007). We suggest that dispositions, such as social dominance orientation, defined as “the degree to which individuals desire and support group-based hierarchy and the domination of ‘inferior’ groups by ‘superior’ groups” (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999, p. 48), may moderate the effects we proposed. Experimental research could further investigate the mediating or moderating influence of age, organisational position, cognitive load, and accountability on the relationship between conscious and subconscious prejudice and resulting work discrimination (more detail on the influence of these variables in the next section).

Finally, causal attributions (Heider, 1958; Stajkovic & Sommer, 2000; Weiner, 1985) may mediate effects of subconscious prejudice on work discrimination. Pettigrew (1979) argued that causal attributions given for performance of minorities are more often than not harsher than warranted. Drawing on these ideas, future research could compare attributions for minorities, women, and majority employees in performance evaluations. A study could test if minorities and women are given external attributions for success (e.g., that was an easy task, luck) and if majority members are given internal attributions (e.g., crediting their ability and effort) for comparable performance. Who is giving whom (i.e., controlling for gender, race, age) what types of attributions could also be examined. This research could show whether or not performance reviews are aligned with organisational non-discriminatory policies, and if not, what reasons are put forth for the discrepancy – conscious, subconscious, or both.

Practical Implications

What can be done to help organisational members overcome primed prejudice? We discuss two possibilities: (a) bringing subconscious prejudice into awareness and changing the belief system, and (b) mitigating the effects of subconscious prejudice after it has been primed.

Bringing Subconscious Prejudice into Awareness. Organisations can help employees become aware of subconscious prejudice so that they can try to consciously counter its influence. Research indicates that when people are motivated to avoid prejudice, they inhibit negative information that might otherwise prime prejudice (Maddux, Barden, Brewer, & Petty, 2005). One approach to this would be to measure subconscious prejudice with the Implicit Association Test (IAT) (Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009). Though a polemic about IAT exists, including both criticism (Blanton, Jaccard, Klick, Mellers, & Tetlock, 2009; Landy, 2008) and support (McConnell & Leibold, 2001; Rudman, 2008), it “... is the dominant method for assessing implicit associations because of its robust psychometric features, flexibility, and resistance to faking” (Rudman, 2008, p. 426). But, the IAT is not a simple diagnostic tool and should not be used without permission or by untrained professionals who are unfamiliar with its pitfalls (see Blanton et al., 2009, and Landy, 2008, for reviews). If the IAT is used to measure employees subconscious prejudice, we suggest voluntary participation.

Consciously Reversing Subconscious Prejudice. Years of observing and learning about prejudice may have ingrained it too deep in the subconscious such that it cannot be easily reversed. Research converges on

the conclusion that rewiring the human brain at a certain age is difficult, if not impossible (Bargh, 2007; Hassin et al., 2007; Kahneman & Tversky, 2000; Wilson, 2002). Organisations, though, are typically structured and monitored. Thus, they have a better chance than individuals of mitigating subconscious prejudice by taking action to break the link between work primes and employee discriminatory behaviours. By identifying prejudicial primes, organisations can facilitate non-discriminatory behaviour (Lepore & Brown, 2002). To foster increased organisational awareness, we outline several practical implications of this work.

First, work discrimination is prohibited by law, and it is considered unethical by normative standards (Demuijnck, 2009; Dipboye & Colella, 2005). However, research shows that strong formal anti-discriminatory pressure could reinforce prejudice to move into subterranean space (Moskowitz et al., 1999). This is because conscious and subconscious prejudice tend to diverge under strong anti-discrimination pressures (Dambrun & Guimond, 2004; Franco & Maass, 1999; Legault et al., 2011; Plant & Devine, 1998). For example, despite counter-stereotype training inhibiting automatic stereotype activation (Blair & Banaji, 1996; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000) and instructions to avoid prejudice reducing subconscious pro-White prejudice (Wallaert et al., 2010), these techniques have been labelled anti-diversity prejudice as they can increase defensiveness among majority employees (Lount, Sheldon, Rink, & Phillips, 2015; Rivera, 2015). Because voicing views against anti-discrimination initiatives may not be formally appreciated, such views may gradually transition into the subconscious (Moskowitz et al., 1999). Difficult conversations are needed where anti-discrimination initiatives are supported, but they should not cause others to feel tenuous.

Second, power status is inherent in hierarchical structures. Research finds that those who harbour subconscious prejudice more readily act on it when they are the more powerful party in an exchange. For example, Guinote, Willis, and Martellotta (2010) demonstrated that participants with power, compared to those without it, expressed more positive words after exposure to White, rather than Black faces. Those with power showed more positive emotional responses to pictures of Chinese faces if they followed exposure to White faces than if they followed exposure to Black faces; yet, self-reported prejudice was not related to power. Similarly, Richeson and Ambady (2003) found that Whites assigned to a power role of supervisor over Blacks showed more racial discrimination than Whites assigned to a subordinate role. Position of power had no effect for Whites who anticipated same-race interactions. The authors noted that "... situational power hierarchies serve to reinforce existing social stratification" (Richeson & Ambady, 2003, p. 177). In other words, if a colleague treats a peer discriminatorily at work, this person will likely act even more discriminatory toward others as a boss.

Third, increased cognitive load is another staple of the workplace, and it increases the likelihood of subconscious prejudice being primed. Hofmann, Gschwendner, Castelli, and Schmitt (2008) found that subconscious racial prejudice is more predictive of discriminatory behaviour when participants were cognitively taxed than when they were not. If an employee is cognitively fatigued, less attention resources are available, lowering the power of conscious override of discriminatory cognitions (Sweeney, 2009). Thus, increased cognitive load can heighten the probability of priming prejudice. Similarly, ambiguity increases the likelihood of discriminatory actions. When participants evaluated work performance of mixed-sex dyads, unless feedback about individual members was offered or there was clear evidence of prior work competence, female members were devalued compared to males (Heilman & Haynes, 2005).

Fourth, it has been documented that older Americans are more prejudicial than younger ones (Firebaugh & Davis, 1988; von Hippel, Radnamsky, & Copeland, 2008; Wilson, 1996). Two explanations exist for this finding, one related to conscious prejudice and the other to subconscious prejudice. The former is that older people were socialised in more prejudicial times, and consequently express more of it (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). The latter is that older people have more prejudicial associations internalised and, therefore, subconscious prejudice is more easily primed (Radvansky, Zacks, & Hasher, 2005). To reverse the correlates, it is equally important to note that older employees receive more severe repercussions for poor performance compared with their younger counterparts (Rupp, Vondanovich, & Credé, 2006). Therefore, organisations looking to better understand or mitigate primed subconscious prejudice in their midst could start by examining the effects of their labour-age-distribution (see Clark & Ghent, 2010, for more details).

Fifth, research shows that personal accountability can reduce prejudice (Tetlock, 1992). If evaluators at work know they will be held accountable before they are exposed to information or job candidates, their discriminatory distortions are reduced (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978). Thus, it is important to be attuned to decisions made with little external oversight, as primed subconscious prejudice is more likely to affect discriminatory behaviour under these conditions.

Sixth, if some employees are discriminating, others may vicariously and automatically emulate the observed moral disengagement (Bandura, 2016). Organisations can institute training to improve recognition of subconscious prejudice manifestations. Snooty comments on race, gender jokes, ethnicity-directed microaggressions, or displays of hurtful symbols "... are not just pranks or displays of insensitivity, they are symbols that reflect a historical legacy of pain, intimidation, and cruelty that can strike to the core" (Gerhardt & Peluchette, 2014, p. 219).

Seventh, in addition to increasing awareness, counteractive primes could be implemented to negate or override the effects of primed prejudice. To illustrate, consider the experience of this African American male student, walking the streets of Chicago, described by Steele (2010, p. 6):

Couples locked arms or reached for each other's hand when they saw me ... people who were carrying on conversations went mute and stared ... I began to whistle ... I whistled popular tunes from the Beatles and Vivaldi's Four Seasons. The tension drained from people's bodies when they heard me. A few even smiled as they passed me in the dark.

In this example, the passers-by's subconscious prejudice was primed upon seeing the African American male dressed informally at night. The prime triggered automatic categorisation of the man as violent which led to the undesired, subtle behaviours described in the passage above. However, when the man began to whistle, the automatic categorisation of "violent" ceased (Steele, 2010, p. 7):

In a single stroke, he made the stereotype about violence-prone African American males less applicable to him personally... People may not have recognised the Vivaldi he was whistling, but they could tell he was whistling classical music. This caused him to be seen differently, as an educated, refined person, not as a violence-prone African American.

When the student whistled, it primed an association between classical music and genteel behaviour. This automatic categorisation overrode people's initial primed subconscious prejudice and resulted in non-discriminatory, and even friendly behaviour. Organisations can apply this logic by purposefully implementing primes to counteract primed subconscious prejudice.

CONCLUSION

Taken together, this work offers a clearer conceptual picture of how subconscious prejudice can be unintentionally primed into automatic discriminatory behaviours in the workplace, undermining employees' conscious intentions not to discriminate. We hope our theory-driven model spurs future research on primes and prejudice, as well as helps organisations in their continual efforts to manage change toward more discrimination-free, inclusive, and socially just places of work.

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APPENDIX A
Definitions of Terms with a Common Conceptual Thread Indicating Lack of Awareness

<i>Term</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Definition</i>
<i>Un-conscious</i>	Freud (1915) Das unbewusste ^a	A repository of deeply hidden, often sexual, desires and painful personal emotions suppressed out of conscious mind by psychological repression. These are not accessible by the conscious mind, but could be inferred and interpreted by the psycho therapy, dream analysis, and revealed by verbal slips (known as Freudian slips).
<i>Implicit</i>	Schacter (1987)	“Implicit memory is revealed when previous experiences facilitate performance on a task that does not require conscious or intentional recollection of those experiences” (p. 501).
<i>Pre-conscious</i>	Moskowitz, Gollwitzer, Wasel, & Schaal (1999)	Thoughts that are in “... preconscious stages in which categorization occurs and stereotypes are activated” (p. 167)
<i>Non-conscious</i>	Bargh (2005)	“Nonconscious control of individual social behavior – behavior induced to occur by environmental factors and not by the individual’s conscious awareness and intentions” (p. 38).
<i>Sub-conscious</i>	Stajkovic et al. (2006)	“Subconscious goals operate automatically, without intention, awareness, and conscious guidance” (p. 1172). Does not imply that current subconscious constructs cannot become conscious later. They can, but they are not currently.
<i>Processes</i>	Source	Definition
<i>Priming goals</i>	Bargh, Gollwitzer, Lee-Chai, Barndollar, & Trötschel (2001)	“Mental representations of goals can become activated without an act of conscious will, such that subsequent behavior is then guided by these goals within the situational context faced by the individual” (p. 1014).
<i>Supraliminal</i>	Bargh and Chartrand (2000)	A person is aware of the task (unscrambling the sentences) but not of its meaning in the given context (being primed by the words embedded in the sentences).
<i>Subliminal</i>	Dijksterhuis, Aarts, & Smith (2005)	“An objective threshold has to be passed for a stimulus to be sensed, that is, to enter the appropriate sensory system. A subjective threshold is one that has to be passed for a stimulus to enter conscious awareness. If the objective threshold is passed but subjective is not, subliminal perception occurs. If the subjective threshold is passed as well, conscious perception occurs” (p. 80).
<i>Automatically</i>	Aarts & Dijksterhuis (2000)	“Behavior is elicited by environment, without a consciously expressed fiat or mandate” (p. 18).
<i>Automaticity</i>	Bargh and Williams (2006)	“Refers to control of one’s internal psychological processes by external stimuli and events in one’s immediate environment, often without knowledge or awareness of such control” (p. 1).

^aFreud’s writings were in the German language, and this is the word he used.