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ORIGINAL ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

A Suppression-Justification Approach to Prejudice in Resume Screening: The Role of Time Pressure and Organizational Diversity Climate

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ABSTRACT

Even though ethnic discrimination after resume screening has received much research attention, it is not well understood under which conditions it is particularly likely to occur. Biased resume screening is often based on prejudice. However, prejudice does not always translate into discriminatory behavior. Building on the Justification-Suppression Model of Prejudice, we examine two moderating factors of the relationship between prejudice and biased evaluations of job applicants. First, we propose that making selection decisions under time pressure hinders the suppression of prejudice. Second, we propose that a diversity-unfriendly organizational climate acts as a justification for prejudice expression. We conducted two studies to test these expectations. In the first study, 482 Dutch participants evaluated a resume of a Dutch-Moroccan or Dutch job applicant while we experimentally manipulated time pressure. We then assessed participants' prejudice towards Moroccans or Dutch and their current organizations' diversity climate. For Dutch-Moroccan applicants, we found that more prejudice was associated with a lower self-reported invitation likelihood only under high time pressure or in a climate that is relatively diversity-unfriendly. For Dutch applicants, we found no association between prejudice and invitation likelihood. Unfortunately, data from the second study ($n = 255$) failed to replicate these results. While the replication study indicates that more research is needed, the results of study one suggest that organizations might be able to prevent biased resume screening of minority applicants by creating an environment that supports prejudice suppression and removes opportunities for prejudice justification.

Research consistently shows that applicants from ethnic minorities face discrimination in the labor market, as they receive fewer invitations to job interviews in response to their resume than applicants from the ethnic majority (for reviews, see Quillian et al. 2019; Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016). Importantly, hiring discrimination does not seem to decline. In the Netherlands, where the present work was conducted, hiring discrimination has even increased (Quillian and Lee 2023). Therefore, it is crucial to continue developing a better understanding of biased resume screening.

An important cause of biased resume screening is prejudice (Blommaert et al. 2012; Deros et al. 2009; Dovidio and Gaertner 2000; Rooth 2010). However, prejudice does not always translate into discriminatory behavior (Kunda and Spencer 2003). In the Justification-Suppression Model (JSM), Crandall and Eshleman (2003) propose that prejudice is only expressed if it is not suppressed or if it can be justified. Suppression refers to any motivated attempt to reduce one's expression of prejudice, while justification refers to the psychological process of deeming prejudice expression acceptable. While organizational settings provide a

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variety of cues that may affect both suppression and justification, it is unclear how such factors shape the link between prejudiced attitudes and their expression in resume screening. In the present study, we focus on time pressure as a factor associated with prejudice suppression and the organization's diversity climate as a justifier of displaying prejudice. While there is some research that suggests that these factors may be important in understanding biased resume screening (Derous and Ryan 2018, 2019), to date, it has not been tested whether they affect the translation from prejudice to bias in resume screening.

First, prejudice *suppression* requires cognitive control (Dasgupta 2009; Devine 1989). Consequently, cognitive control can affect whether prejudiced attitudes translate into the expression of prejudice (Crowder-Meyer et al. 2020; Stern et al. 2013). We propose that having limited time during decision-making impairs cognitive control (Kahneman 2011), and subsequent prejudice suppression. Interestingly, resume screening is often done under high time pressure. For example, Arnulf et al. (2010) estimate that, on average, recruiters spend only 45 s on screening a resume before making a decision. Other studies even suggest that first decisions are made in only 16 (Lahey and Oxley 2021) or 7 s (Indeed Editorial Team 2022; Ladders Inc. 2018). However, while time pressure is likely to result in biased decision-making for individuals who have more prejudiced attitudes, no studies have tested whether time pressure affects the extent of bias expression in resume screening. Therefore, the first goal of the present study is to test whether time pressure can explain the manifestation of prejudice in resume screening outcomes.

Second, prejudice *justification* is driven by factors that provide the opportunity to rationalize prejudice (Crandall and Eshleman 2003). One such factor can be social norms (Plant and Devine 1998). Research suggests that prejudiced attitudes are expressed more in decisions and behavior if prejudice is deemed socially acceptable (Crandall et al. 2002; Paluck 2011). The diversity climate of an organization – a comprehensive representation of organizational values, practices, and policies related to Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI; Gelfand et al. 2005; McKay et al. 2007) – provides a social norm regarding which diversity-related behaviors are desired or acceptable within the organization (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004). We posit that a diversity-unfriendly climate can be an opportunity to justify the expression of prejudice. For example, previous work shows that an organization's explicitly stated preference for homogeneity (i.e., stressing that a candidate should “fit in” to perform well) is associated with more discriminatory hiring decisions (Brief et al. 2000; Petersen and Dietz 2005). As such, communication about diversity may impact decision-making in selection. We argue that not only direct communication, but also more indirect cues of organizational preferences can affect selection decisions. A diversity-unfriendly climate could rationalize prejudice, whereas a diversity-friendly climate could potentially buffer prejudice expression. While we know that a diversity-friendly climate has a positive impact on a range of individual- and organizational-level outcomes (Perry and Li 2019), the role of such climates in shaping the degree to which prejudice translates into resume screening outcomes has not been studied. The second goal of the present study is to examine whether a diversity-friendly climate is associated with the extent to which prejudice is displayed in resume screening.

We conducted two experimental studies in which we asked Dutch individuals, among them many with HR responsibilities in their current job, to evaluate resumes of Dutch or Dutch-Moroccan applicants. Moroccans are one of the two biggest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands, and they suffer significantly from discrimination in the Dutch labor market (Ramos et al. 2021; Thijssen et al. 2021). A possible reason for the high extent of discrimination in the Netherlands is that Dutch individuals perceive the greatest social distance towards Moroccans (Soiné and Lancee 2025). Illustrative of this sentiment, Dutch politician Geert Wilders asked supporters at a 2014 political rally whether they wanted “more or fewer Moroccans”, prompting the crowd to chant “Fewer! Fewer! Fewer!” (Herrenberg 2017). A decade later, his party, the PVV, won the 2024 Dutch elections. This suggests that it is quite acceptable to express prejudice against Moroccans, at least in some parts of the Dutch society.

The central outcome of our study was a measure of behavioral intentions mimicking real-world decisions, namely, the inclination to invite a job candidate to an interview (Hainmueller et al. 2015). By focusing on two factors that are not only highly prevalent in real-world organizational settings but also manageable, we believe that the present work can aid organizations in making well-informed decisions on practices and policies. While organizational anti-bias efforts often have the goal to change employees' prejudice, this approach is rarely successful (Chang et al. 2019; Schmader et al. 2021). What might matter more than prejudiced feelings, however, is to what extent decisions and behavior are tinted by these feelings. Rather than changing prejudice or reducing biased behavior by intervening on the personal level, we propose that a potentially more fruitful approach to reduce discriminatory hiring is to create working conditions in which recruiters are able to suppress prejudice and by stimulating an environment that cannot be used to justify prejudiced actions.

1 | The Association Between Prejudice and Biased Resume Screening

To examine the mechanisms underlying biased hiring decisions, it is important to distinguish between discrimination and prejudice. Discrimination can be defined as biased *behavior* towards an individual due to their group membership, resulting in disadvantages for that individual (Dovidio et al. 2010). Often, discriminatory behavior is an expression of prejudice (e.g., Adelman and Verkuyten 2020; Bai and Zhao 2024; Esses 2021). Crandall and Eshleman (2003, 414) define prejudice as “a negative evaluation of a social group or a negative evaluation of an individual that is significantly based on the individual's group membership.” Hence, prejudice describes generalized *feelings and attitudes*. These are usually activated quickly, automatically, and often without one being aware of them (Devine 1989). It is possible to hold prejudice towards both outgroups (social groups one does not identify with, e.g., people of other ethnicities) as well as ingroups (social groups one identifies with, e.g., people of the same ethnicity).

Importantly, however, generalized evaluations of outgroups are typically more negative than those of one's ingroup (Brewer 1999).

Thus, when being confronted with a job application of an outgroup candidate, prejudice might have a negative effect on the recruiter's decision. Additionally, prejudiced feelings and stereotypical beliefs are more likely to come to mind when encountering an outgroup member than an ingroup member. This is due to the fact that individuals are more likely to categorize outgroup members and individuate ingroup members (Fiske and Neuberg 1990). A stronger focus on group membership compared to a focus on individual attributes (i.e., individuation), in turn, is more likely to stimulate generalized feelings and stereotypes (Hugenberg et al. 2010). Consequently, generalized negative feelings typically play a significant role when evaluating outgroup but not ingroup members.

Past research indeed suggests that prejudiced feelings towards an ethnic minority group (i.e., an outgroup) can lead to biased, and consequently discriminatory, hiring decisions: it has been found that both more negative implicit associations (Deros et al. 2009; Rooth 2010) and more negative explicit attitudes (Blommaert et al. 2012; Cheung et al. 2022; Dovidio and Gaertner 2000) towards a minority group are associated with a lower invitation likelihood or job suitability rating of respective minority applicants.

In sum, we expect that when Dutch majority individuals evaluate a resume of a Dutch-Moroccan minority applicant (i.e., a member of an ethnic outgroup), there is a negative association between prejudiced feelings towards Moroccans and intentions to invite the Dutch-Moroccan applicant to a job interview. Conversely, we do not expect to observe an association between prejudiced feelings towards Dutch and intentions to invite a Dutch applicant to an interview, as prejudiced feelings are less likely to occur for ingroup members due to individuation.

H1. *There is a negative association between prejudice held by Dutch individuals towards Moroccans and the invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants.*

2 | Moderators of the Association Between Prejudice and Biased Resume Screening

While prejudice and stereotypes usually come to mind automatically (Devine 1989), there might be ways to buffer the relationship between prejudice and behavior/decisions (Fazio 1990; Kunda and Spencer 2003; Rivers et al. 2020). According to the JSM, "raw" prejudice is almost never expressed directly. Instead, prejudice expression is shaped by suppression and justification: prejudice only (or especially) affects behavior and decisions if it is not suppressed or can be justified. Since suppression refers to an effortful attempt to reduce the expression of one's genuine feelings, it can cause a feeling of tension. By contrast, as justification refers to the process of rationalizing and thereby defending one's genuine feelings, it typically is perceived as relieving. Factors that can influence or act as suppressors and justifiers can stem from internal as well as external sources (Crandall and Eshleman 2003). Inspired by the JSM, we test two potential moderators of prejudice expression: time pressure and the organization's diversity climate.

2.1 | Prejudice Suppression: The Role of Time Pressure

Prejudice suppression describes the attempt to restrict the influence of one's prejudice on one's behavior and decisions (Crandall and Eshleman 2003). Illustrating this, in a study on hiring discrimination, Frazer and Wiersma (2001) observed that even though participants did not discriminate against minority (as compared to majority) job candidates in selection decisions, participants did (wrongly) indicate that they perceived the minority candidates to be less intelligent than majority candidates. This suggests that they had prejudiced feelings (as shown in intelligence ratings) but suppressed these feelings during selection decisions.

Prejudiced feelings and stereotypical beliefs are intuitive by nature, and as such, occur quickly, automatically, and often without conscious awareness (Bodenhausen 1993; Macrae et al. 1994). Suppression of the influence of prejudiced beliefs on behavior thus requires activation and awareness. A critical requirement for this, however, is cognitive control (i.e., the ability to regulate emotions, thoughts, and behavior; Dasgupta 2009; Devine 1989). If cognitive control is impaired, intuitive beliefs such as prejudices are likely reflected in actions and decisions (Gilbert et al. 1988; Schmader et al. 2021). Factors common in organizational contexts that impair cognitive control are time pressure and cognitive load (Tinghög et al. 2016). Time pressure can be described as the "subjective feeling of a shortage of time" (Wu and Xie 2018, 246), which is caused by actual or perceived time constraints. Cognitive load refers to the mental workload that is required in a given moment to process information or to execute a task (Orzu and Longo 2019). Both time pressure and cognitive load are thus associated with cognitive control. Although we focus specifically on the role of time pressure as a cognitive control impairer in our studies, both time pressure and cognitive control have been used to operationalize cognitive control impairment and show similar effects. Below, we therefore discuss literature examining the effects of cognitive control impairment for both these factors (i.e., being caused by both time pressure and high cognitive load).

Past research provides evidence for the effect of cognitive control impairment on prejudiced decisions in a wide range of contexts. Not being able to control intuitive beliefs is related to less tolerance (Verkuyten et al. 2022) and less egalitarianism (Van Berkel et al. 2015). Furthermore, judgments (Kricheli-Katz and Weinsall 2023; Kruglanski and Freund 1983; Martell 1991; van Knippenberg et al. 1999; Wesselmann et al. 2012) as well as behaviors (De Dreu 2003; Gamberini et al. 2015; Taghizadeh 2021) are more biased when cognitive control is hindered. Previous work also provides some illustrative evidence of the potential role of cognitive control impairment in biased resume screening. In this respect, Hangartner et al. (2021) observed that outgroup individuals were discriminated against more in the afternoon than in the morning. This observation coincided with the finding that recruiters spent less time on the evaluation of applicants' profiles in the afternoon as compared to the morning. It may be that time constraints in the afternoon (e.g., the end of the workday as a deadline) impaired cognitive control, resulting in more prejudiced evaluations of outgroup candidates.

The aforementioned studies speak to the main effects of time pressure and cognitive load on a variety of prejudice expression outcomes. However, following Crandall and Eshleman's (2003) reasoning, a lack of cognitive control might affect the association between prejudice and prejudice expression. Thus, according to the JSM, cognitive control impairment might limit the ability to suppress prejudice while screening resumes. Previous work provides some illustrative evidence for this prediction. For instance, it has been found that liberals were biased against candidates of color only under high cognitive load, while conservatives expressed a bias under both high and low cognitive load (Crowder-Meyer et al. 2020). As liberals have more intrinsic motivation to suppress prejudice (Webster et al. 2014), the differences in bias expression under low cognitive load could be explained by liberals' more pronounced bias correction, which was impaired under high cognitive load.

Building on this body of research, we expect that the relationship between prejudice towards Moroccans and intentions to invite a Dutch-Moroccan applicant to an interview (see H1) is moderated by time pressure (a cognitive control impairer), as it impedes prejudice suppression. By contrast, we do not expect time pressure to play a role in the intentions to invite a Dutch applicant. We hypothesize:

H2. *Time pressure moderates the association between prejudice held by Dutch individuals towards Moroccans and the invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants: more prejudice is associated with a lower invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants under high (but not low) time pressure.*

2.2 | Prejudice Justification: The Role of Organizational Diversity Climate

Prejudice justification describes the process of deeming prejudice expression acceptable. An example of prejudice justification in the context of labor market discrimination is provided by King and Ahmad (2010), who showed that Muslim job applicants encountered more discrimination when their appearance was in line with stereotypical expectations. They suggest that the stereotypical appearance offered an opportunity to justify reliance on stereotypical beliefs and consequently the expression of prejudice (i.e., they "asked for it").

Whether it can be justified to display prejudice in behavior depends on opportunities to do so. Normative perceptions could offer such an opportunity. It is well-established that (social) norms can have a significant impact on people's attitudes and behavior (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004; Cialdini and Trost 1998). Normative influence also plays a crucial role in shaping behavior in organizations (Cialdini et al. 1999; Dannals and Miller 2017). One core factor shaping normative influence in organizations is organizational culture. It can be described as the "shared perceptions of the organization's policies, practices and procedures, as well as employees' perceptions of the kinds of behavior that management rewards, expects, and supports" (Gelfand et al. 2005, 22). The culture related to DEI and discrimination is often labeled "diversity climate" and describes the extent to which employees perceive policies, practices, and values within the organization as opposing discrimination and

fostering diversity and a fair and inclusive work setting (Gelfand et al. 2005; Hatter et al. 2024; McKay et al. 2007). Consequently, an organization's diversity climate might determine the degree to which prejudice is expressed.

Studies have demonstrated that reported attitudes towards ethnic minorities are influenced by norms inferred from broader, systematic elements such as migration policies or experienced country-level inclusion of minorities (Andriessen et al. 2023; Huo et al. 2018), (meta-)perceptions of what others think (Sechrist and Stangor 2001), or direct observations of others (Blanchard et al. 1994). There is also evidence that normative influences play a critical role in the context of workplace discrimination (Cheung et al. 2016). In this regard, it has been found that high external (i.e., normative) motivation to respond without prejudice is associated with less biased evaluations of minority job applicants (Derous et al. 2012). However, although recruiters report the organization's culture as an influencing factor in the selection and hiring process (Almeida et al. 2012), scholars have not conducted any direct tests of whether organizational diversity climates affect bias in personnel selection.

Importantly, researchers have argued that normative influences might be more relevant for behavior than for attitudes (Paluck 2011). In line with that, it has been proposed that the perceptions conveyed through an organizational climate affect the range of decisions and actions employees consider acceptable and desired (Stamarski and Son Hing 2015). Therefore, similar to our arguments on the impairment of cognitive control, we propose that an organizational diversity climate might not (primarily) change genuine prejudice, but rather, through justification, the expression of prejudice (Crandall et al. 2002). That is, the diversity climate might be an organizational factor speaking to the degree to which one can explain or rationalize to others and oneself why a prejudiced decision was made. If the climate is relatively more diversity-friendly, it should make it more difficult for employees to justify expressions of prejudice. By contrast, relatively diversity-unfriendly environments make it more acceptable to display prejudice (as prejudiced actions could be seen as being in the best interest of one's colleagues). Hence, an organizational climate that is not diversity-friendly might lead to more prejudiced decisions via increased justification opportunities for prejudice expression. Interestingly, past research provides some suggestive evidence for this argument. It has been found that racist attitudes only lead to discriminatory decisions when authority figures provide business-related justifications for such decisions (Brief et al. 2000; Ziegert and Hanges 2005). More specifically, subtly prejudiced individuals behaved just like blatantly prejudiced individuals in the presence of business justifications (Petersen and Dietz 2005). While this illustrates that providing a justification of prejudice expression could stimulate more biased decision-making, it is unclear whether a more abstract positive narrative regarding diversity on the organizational level (i.e., the diversity climate) can help to mitigate the negative link between prejudice and discrimination.

Based on the discussed literature, we expect that the relationship between prejudice towards Moroccans and intentions to invite a Dutch-Moroccan applicant to an interview (see H1) is

moderated by an organization's diversity climate, as a diversity climate that is relatively more negative can be used as an opportunity for prejudice justification. We do not expect diversity climate to play a role in the intentions to invite a Dutch applicant. We hypothesize:

H3. *An organization's diversity climate moderates the association between prejudice held by Dutch individuals towards Moroccans and the invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants: the less diversity-friendly the organization's climate is, the stronger is the negative association between prejudice and invitation likelihood.*

We conducted two studies to test these hypotheses, with the second study aiming to replicate the findings of the first study.

3 | Study 1

3.1 | Methods

The study was preregistered on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/jdxrt/overview?view_only=f171fb32a0e54395866ae35d4a41c273) and data were collected within the Human Resources, Hiring and Discrimination (HHD) Survey (Lancee et al. 2024). In this paper, we focus on different hypotheses than the preregistered ones. Initially, we planned on focusing on the main effects of time pressure/diversity climate. However, we noticed that for an accurate examination of our research questions, the prejudice towards the applicant's ethnic group was crucial as a starting point, and time pressure/diversity climate acted as moderators of the prejudice effect on resume screening decisions. Furthermore, besides the primary dependent variable, for which we report results in this paper, we preregistered additional dependent variables. Results for all preregistered hypotheses and the additional dependent variables can be found in the Supporting Material (Part A, Tables S1 and S2). As the study took place in the Netherlands, all materials were presented in Dutch.¹

3.1.1 | Experimental Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to a two (time pressure: low vs. high) by two (applicant's ethnicity: Dutch majority vs. Dutch-Moroccan minority) between-subject design in which they evaluated a hypothetical job application. Furthermore, we measured the diversity climate of the participants' organization as a continuous factor. We were primarily interested in the effects on the evaluation of Dutch-Moroccan minority applicants. However, to test whether the effects are specific to minority applicants and do not also hold for majority applicants, we included an experimental condition in which Dutch majority applicants were evaluated.

3.1.2 | Procedure

Participants were asked to evaluate a hypothetical job application, consisting of a motivation letter and a CV (see Appendix A). We manipulated time pressure with instructions and ethnicity of the hypothetical applicant on the CV (for details on the

manipulations, see below). It was emphasized that participants should treat the task as if it were part of their actual work life. At the very beginning of the experiment, participants were asked: "Imagine that *your company* has a vacancy for an administrative officer." Participants were then presented with a short description of the corresponding vacancy and the required skills (i.e., a junior employee who works on wage and salary administration, keeping employee data up to date, helping with organizational tasks such as the planning of meetings and secretarial tasks, as well as occasional support in meetings with clients and partners).

After participants read the application, they were asked to indicate the likelihood of inviting the applicant to a job interview. Importantly, participants in the high time pressure condition were subsequently instructed not to rush anymore when answering the forthcoming questions. Then, participants were asked to answer some manipulation check questions. Thereafter, we assessed participants' perception of the diversity climate of their own organization, followed by a measurement of participants' prejudice towards the applicant's ethnic group (Dutch or Moroccan, depending on experimental condition). Finally, participants answered questions related to their demographics, their social desirability tendency, as well as three items meant to identify careless responses.

3.1.3 | Manipulations

3.1.3.1 | Time Pressure Manipulation. To manipulate time pressure, we used instructions to reduce participants' subjective experience of the time being available (Weng and Zheng 2020). We created a scenario that not only increases participants' pace while working on the experimental task, but also creates the need to cognitively cope with the time restriction (Ordóñez and Benson 1997). Before participants saw the application, they were instructed to either imagine that they have no time constraints and to evaluate the applications carefully (low time pressure condition: "Important: Read the application carefully. Don't rush, you have as much time as you need to provide your evaluation.") or that they have only little time so that they should evaluate the application quickly (high time pressure condition: "Important: While evaluating the application, imagine that you have very little time; therefore, you need to make a quick decision. You will very soon have an appointment; an important business partner is already waiting for you.").

3.1.3.2 | Ethnicity Manipulation. Participants were presented with a motivation letter and CV. On the CV, the applicant's mother tongue(s) were indicated either as Dutch (Dutch majority condition) or Dutch and Moroccan (Dutch-Moroccan minority condition; Lancee 2021). Apart from this ethnicity signal, applications were identical between conditions.

3.1.4 | Measures

3.1.4.1 | Prejudice Towards the Applicant's Ethnic Group – Independent Variable. To assess participants' prejudice, we used a feeling thermometer (Miller et al. 2004; Wilcox et al. 1989). Specifically, it read: "Please describe your feelings towards Dutch people [people with a Moroccan

background] on a thermometer, reaching from 0 degrees (very cold feelings) to 100 degrees (very warm feelings).” We recoded the variable so that higher values indicate more prejudice.

3.1.4.2 | Organizational Diversity Climate – Moderator. To assess the perceived organizational diversity climate, we adopted a scale used by McKay et al. (2007), which was based on work by Mor Barak et al. (1998). The scale consisted of nine items, such as “My organization recruits from diverse sources.” Participants were asked to indicate how much they (dis)agree with the presented statements on a 7-point Likert scale reaching from *very much disagree* to *very much agree*. The full scale yielded a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.879 and can be found in Appendix B.

3.1.4.3 | Invitation Likelihood – Dependent Variable. The dependent variable is the intention to invite the applicant to a job interview. Participants were asked: “How likely would you be to invite this applicant to a job interview?”, answered on a 10-point Likert scale reaching from *not at all likely* to *very likely*.

3.1.4.4 | Manipulation Checks. To check whether the time pressure manipulation had the intended effect (on the group level), we measured the time taken for the applicant’s evaluation. Furthermore, participants were asked to answer five questions on a 7-point Likert scale: “Did you evaluate the application in a rather intuitive or deliberative way?” (*very intuitive* to *very deliberate*), “I relied on my gut instinct while evaluating the application” (*very much disagree* to *very much agree*; reverse coded), “I analyzed all available information in detail while evaluating the application” (*very much disagree* to *very much agree*), “How stressed did you feel while evaluating the application?” (*not at all stressed* to *very stressed*; reverse coded), “How capable did you feel of providing an evaluation?” (*not at all capable* to *very capable*). Combining the five items to one scale yielded a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.571. We tested whether the removal of an item would lead to improved internal consistency. We removed the item “I relied on my gut instinct while evaluating the application”, resulting in an acceptable Cronbach’s alpha of 0.703 for the new scale.

To check whether the ethnicity manipulation had the intended effect (on the subject level), participants were asked, “What is/are the native language(s) of the applicant you saw?”, answered as free text entry.

3.1.4.5 | Participant Characteristics. Multiple items assessed participants’ demographics, specifically age, gender, and education level. Furthermore, participants indicated the extent to which they have HR responsibilities in their current job. Lastly, careless responses were identified with the three self-reported single-item (SRSI) indicators developed by Meade and Craig (2012; see Appendix C).

3.1.5 | Sample

We hired Dutch survey company *I&O Research* to collect data on our behalf. They invited participants from their pool to participate in our study for compensation according to the

company’s guidelines. All participants were at least 18 years old and living in the Netherlands. Given that our research questions revolve around bias against minority applicants by majority evaluators, we only recruited participants of Dutch ethnicity. Furthermore, as we intended to study the impact of the diversity climate of participants’ actual organizations, we only recruited participants who were employed at the time of the study.

We used G*Power software to calculate the required sample size to test the hypotheses with linear regression models. As the size of the expected effects was unknown, we wanted to be able to detect rather small effect sizes. To be able to detect effects of $f = 0.15$ with 80% power at an alpha of 0.05, a sample size of 488 participants was needed. To allow for additional analyses and for potential data exclusion due to failed manipulation checks, we aimed for a sample of $n = 700$. As we were primarily interested in effects within the Dutch-Moroccan minority condition, we slightly oversampled participants for this experimental condition. In total, we collected data from 787 participants.

Following our preregistration, we removed 124 participants from the data who failed the attention check for the applicant’s ethnicity. Another 82 participants were removed due to self-reported careless responses. Furthermore, 17 participants were removed since they indicated that their ethnicity was not Dutch. Lastly, participants were removed if they took more or less time for certain parts of the experiment than considered reasonable (i.e., less than 5 s for reading the instructions of the experiment, or less than 5 s or more than 30 min for reading the application and providing the evaluation, or less than 5 or more than 90 min to complete the full study. In such cases, we suspected that participants did not read the materials or did not focus on the study, which was asked to be completed in one go. Based on these considerations, another 82 participants were removed from the dataset.² Consequently, the analytic sample was $n = 482$. From the 482 participants, 108 were in the low time pressure/Dutch ethnicity condition, 100 in the high time pressure/Dutch ethnicity condition, 142 in the low time pressure/Dutch-Moroccan ethnicity condition, and 132 in the high time pressure/Dutch-Moroccan ethnicity condition.

3.2 | Results

Analyses were conducted in R (R Development Core Team 2022, V. 4.3.0); data can be found via the following link: <https://ssh.datastations.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.17026/SS/766GAK>.

3.2.1 | Manipulation Check Time Pressure

The four aggregated manipulation check items showed a significant difference between low ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 0.86$) and high time pressure condition ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.06$) in the expected direction ($t(480) = 8.68$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.79$). Furthermore, participants in the low time pressure condition spent more time reading the resume and providing an invitation likelihood ($M = 102$ s, $SD = 53$ s) than participants in the high time pressure condition ($M = 77$ s, $SD = 40$ s; $t(480) = 5.74$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.52$). Moreover,

we conducted regression analyses with time pressure condition, ethnicity condition, and prejudice towards the applicant's ethnicity as predictors for the manipulation check scale and the evaluation time. Results are displayed in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. While the analyses confirm that the time pressure manipulation was successful, it should be noted that ethnicity showed a significant main effect on the manipulation check scale and evaluation time. That is, participants were more deliberate and took longer if they evaluated a Dutch-Moroccan candidate. Altogether, however, it can be concluded that the (high) time pressure manipulation had the intended effect.

3.2.2 | Main Effect of Applicant's Ethnicity on Prejudice

To compare whether prejudiced feelings differed for Dutch and Moroccan people, we conducted an unpaired two-sided *t*-test and found less prejudice towards Dutch ($M = 27.24$, $SD = 13.28$) than towards Moroccans ($M = 35.35$, $SD = 18.08$; $t(480) = -5.45$, $p < 0.001$, $d = -0.50$).

3.2.3 | Main Effect of Applicant's Ethnicity on Invitation Likelihood

We conducted an unpaired two-sided *t*-test to compare whether the applicant's invitation likelihood differed between Dutch majority and Dutch-Moroccan minority applicants. Dutch applicants ($M = 6.92$, $SD = 2.06$) were less likely to be invited than Dutch-Moroccan applicants ($M = 7.62$, $SD = 2.05$; $t(480) = -3.71$, $p < 0.001$, $d = -0.34$). While the direction of the effect was unexpected, it possibly occurred due to social desirability bias. Since our research questions focus primarily on variance within the two ethnicities, however, this result should not affect the hypothesized effects, and we move forward with the analyses as planned.

3.2.4 | Main Effects of Demographics and Independent Variables on Invitation Likelihood

Before examining our primary research questions, we tested whether participants' demographic characteristics affect applicants' invitation likelihood as well as the main effects of our predictors (see Table 3). None of these variables showed a direct effect, neither for the majority nor for the minority candidates. Furthermore, as a robustness check, we also used evaluation time and scores on the time pressure manipulation check as predictors. We did not find a significant effect on the majority or minority applicants' invitation likelihood for any of these variables (see Table 3).

3.2.5 | Main Effect of Prejudice on Invitation Likelihood (H1)

To test whether participants' prejudice towards the applicant's group is associated with invitation likelihood, we conducted a linear regression with prejudice towards Moroccans as predictor for Dutch-Moroccans' invitation likelihood and found a significant negative association: for every one-point increase in

TABLE 1 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, applicant's ethnicity, and prejudice towards the applicant's group on the time pressure manipulation check.

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5				
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	
(Intercept)	5.17	0.11	48.53	5.08	0.12	43.52	5.21	0.13	39.95	5.06	0.16	32.39	4.99	0.19	26.55	< 0.001	
Time pressure	-0.76	0.09	-8.79	-0.59	0.13	-4.46	-0.85	0.19	-4.23	-0.76	0.09	-8.78	-0.61	0.32	-1.92	0.056	
Ethnicity	0.28	0.09	3.12	0.43	0.12	3.49	0.28	0.09	3.10	0.44	0.20	2.23	0.72	0.26	2.81	0.005	
Prejudice	0.00	0.00	1.41	0.00	0.00	1.43	0.00	0.00	0.72	0.474	0.01	1.52	0.01	0.01	1.23	0.219	
Time pressure × Ethnicity				-0.31	0.17	-1.76									-0.57	0.41	0.159
Time pressure × Prejudice							0.00	0.01	0.53	0.594					-0.01	0.01	0.930
Ethnicity × Prejudice															0.00	0.01	0.220
Time pressure × Ethnicity × Prejudice															0.01	0.01	0.558

Note: $n = 482$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0), reference group for ethnicity is Dutch (coded as 0). Prejudice was included as a continuous variable. The first model includes only the main effects of the three predictors. The second, third, and fourth model additionally include the two-way interaction between time pressure and ethnicity, time pressure and prejudice, and ethnicity and prejudice, respectively. The fifth model additionally includes the three-way interaction between the predictors.

TABLE 2 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, applicant's ethnicity, and prejudice towards the applicant's group on the time taken to evaluate the application.

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5							
	b	SE	t	p	b	SE	t	p	b	SE	t	p	b	SE	t	p				
(Intercept)	97.59	5.28	18.49	<0.001	96.86	5.81	16.69	<0.001	97.20	6.46	15.05	<0.001	101.81	7.75	13.14	<0.001	101.61	9.35	10.97	<0.001
Time pressure	-24.67	4.28	-5.76	<0.001	-23.18	6.52	-3.55	<0.001	-23.82	9.29	-2.56	0.011	-24.71	4.28	-5.77	<0.001	-24.92	15.84	-1.57	0.116
Ethnicity	10.63	4.49	2.39	0.017	11.88	6.09	1.95	0.052	10.64	4.46	2.39	0.017	4.19	9.72	0.43	0.666	3.57	12.79	0.28	0.780
Prejudice	-0.06	0.13	0.47	0.639	-0.06	0.13	-0.47	0.642	-0.05	0.18	-0.29	0.774	-0.22	0.25	-0.88	0.379	-0.23	0.30	-0.79	0.431
Time pressure × Ethnicity					-2.61	8.65	-0.30	0.763									1.84	20.20	0.09	0.928
Time pressure × Prejudice									-0.03	0.26	-0.10	0.918					0.06	0.53	0.12	0.908
Ethnicity × Prejudice									0.22	0.29	0.75	0.457	0.27	0.37	0.74	0.460	-0.14	0.62	-0.23	0.822
Time pressure × Ethnicity × Prejudice																				

Note: $n = 482$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0), reference group for ethnicity is Dutch (coded as 0). Prejudice was included as a continuous variable. The first model includes only the main effects of the three predictors. The second, third, and fourth models additionally include the two-way interaction between time pressure and ethnicity, time pressure and prejudice, and ethnicity and prejudice, respectively. The fifth model additionally includes the three-way interaction between the predictors.

prejudice on a 100-point scale, there is a predicted decrease in invitation likelihood of 0.3% (see Table 4, Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan). The model explained 4.8% of the variance on invitation likelihood, $F(1, 272) = 14.88, p < 0.001$. In contrast, we found no association between prejudice towards Dutch and a Dutch applicant's invitation likelihood (see Table 4, Ethnicity: Dutch), Adjusted $R^2 = -0.001, F(1, 206) = 0.70, p = 0.405$. Thus, we find support for our first hypothesis: more prejudice towards Moroccans is associated with a lower invitation likelihood for a Dutch-Moroccan applicant, while prejudice towards Dutch is not associated with the invitation likelihood for a Dutch applicant.

3.2.6 | Time Pressure as a Moderator of the Association Between Prejudice and Invitation Likelihood (H2)

To test whether prejudice towards Moroccans is associated with Dutch-Moroccans' invitation likelihood under high but not under low time pressure, we conducted a linear regression with time pressure, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction as predictors for the invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants. Results are displayed in Table 5 (Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan). The analysis revealed a significant interaction between time pressure and prejudice, as well as a significant main effect of prejudice (controlled for time pressure), while the main effect of time pressure (controlled for prejudice) was not significant. The model including only main effects explained 4.6% of the variance on invitation likelihood, $F(2, 271) = 7.60, p < 0.001$, while the full model including the interaction explained an additional 1.1% of the variance, Adjusted $R^2 = 0.057, F(3, 270) = 6.53, p < 0.001$.

To further examine the interaction, we conducted post hoc simple slope analyses. Results showed that prejudice towards Moroccans was negatively associated with Dutch-Moroccan invitation likelihood under high ($b = -0.04, SE = 0.01; t(130) = -4.30, p < 0.001$), but not under low time pressure ($b = -0.01, SE = 0.01; t(140) = -1.29, p = 0.201$). That is, under high time pressure, a one-point increase in prejudice on a 100-point scale is associated with a decrease in invitation likelihood of 0.4%. These results are illustrated in Figure 1.

We repeated the analysis for Dutch applicants and found neither an effect of time pressure (controlled for prejudice towards Dutch), nor of prejudice towards Dutch (controlled for time pressure), nor an interaction between these two variables (see Table 5, Ethnicity: Dutch; Full model: Adjusted $R^2 < 0.01, F(3, 204) = 1.24, p = 0.296$). Given the nonsignificant interaction term, we did not conduct post hoc tests.

In summary, we find evidence in support of our second hypothesis: more prejudice towards Moroccans is associated with a lower invitation likelihood of Moroccan applicants only under high, but not low, time pressure.

3.2.7 | Organizational Diversity Climate as a Moderator of the Association Between Prejudice and Invitation Likelihood (H3)

To test whether diversity climate moderates the extent to which prejudice towards Moroccans is associated with Dutch-

TABLE 3 | Descriptive statistics and associations of demographic characteristics and independent variables with invitation likelihood.

Variable	n	Invitation likelihood overall			Invitation likelihood Dutch-Moroccan			Invitation likelihood Dutch					
		M (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	p	M (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	p	M (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	p
Gender				$t = 1.04$	0.300			$t = 1.31$	0.191			$t = 0.10$	0.921
Female	225	7.43 (2.15)	[7.14; 7.71]			7.80 (2.01)	[7.44; 8.15]			6.94 (2.23)	[6.49; 7.39]		
Male	257	7.23 (2.02)	[6.98; 7.48]			7.47 (2.07)	[7.13; 7.81]			6.91 (1.92)	[6.55; 7.27]		
Age				$r = -0.04$	0.417			$r = -0.03$	0.672			$r = -0.04$	0.600
$M = 46.67, SD = 12.67$	482												
Education				$F = 0.02$	0.891			$F = 1.03$	0.312			$F = 1.76$	0.186
Lower level	19	7.37 (2.36)	[6.23; 8.51]			7.22 (2.77)	[5.09; 9.35]			7.50 (2.07)	[6.02; 8.98]		
Secondary education	101	7.35 (1.93)	[6.97; 7.73]			7.47 (2.07)	[6.93; 8.00]			7.17 (1.70)	[6.63; 7.71]		
Tertiary education	361	7.32 (2.11)	[7.10; 7.54]			7.71 (2.00)	[7.43; 7.98]			6.82 (2.15)	[6.48; 7.16]		
HR involvement				$F = 0.07$	0.793			$F = 0.00$	0.947			$F = 0.03$	0.854
Never	148	7.23 (2.02)	[6.90; 7.56]			7.62 (1.82)	[7.22; 8.02]			6.74 (2.16)	[6.21; 7.27]		
Rarely	137	7.51 (2.00)	[7.17; 7.85]			7.61 (2.17)	[7.12; 8.09]			7.38 (1.75)	[6.92; 7.84]		
Sometimes	115	7.11 (2.11)	[6.72; 7.50]			7.63 (1.89)	[7.16; 8.11]			6.48 (2.20)	[5.87; 7.09]		
Often	82	7.46 (2.27)	[6.96; 7.96]			7.64 (2.41)	[6.96; 8.32]			7.19 (2.05)	[6.45; 7.93]		
Time pressure				$t = 1.34$	0.180			$t = 0.61$	0.540			$t = 1.37$	0.172
Low	250	7.44 (2.02)	[7.19; 7.70]			7.70 (2.04)	[7.36; 8.04]			7.11 (1.95)	[6.74; 7.49]		
High	232	7.19 (2.14)	[6.91; 7.47]			7.55 (2.05)	[7.19; 7.90]			6.72 (2.17)	[6.29; 7.15]		
Evaluation time				$r = 0.01$	0.806			$r = 0.03$	0.607			$r = -0.07$	0.294
$M = 89.77, SD = 48.68$	482												

(Continues)

TABLE 3 | (Continued)

Variable	n	Invitation likelihood overall			Invitation likelihood Dutch-Moroccan			Invitation likelihood Dutch					
		M (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	p	M (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	p	M (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	p
Manipulation check scale time pressure				r = 0.04	0.419			r = 0.04	0.483			r = -0.03	0.701
M = 5.08, SD = 1.03	482												
Diversity climate				r = 0.07	0.102			r = 0.06	0.344			r = 0.08	0.253
M = 5.01, SD = 1.15	482												

TABLE 4 | Regression models estimating the effect of prejudice towards the applicant's group on invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch applicants.

	b	SE	t	p
Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan				
(Intercept)	8.53	0.27	32.20	< 0.001
Prejudice	-0.03	0.01	-3.86	< 0.001
Ethnicity: Dutch				
(Intercept)	7.17	0.33	21.90	< 0.001
Prejudice	-0.01	0.01	-0.84	0.405

Note: $n_{\text{(Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan)}} = 274$; $n_{\text{(Ethnicity: Dutch)}} = 208$.

Moroccans' invitation likelihood, we conducted a linear regression with diversity climate, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction as predictors for invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants. Results are displayed in Table 6 (Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan).

We found a significant interaction between diversity climate and prejudice. Furthermore, while there was no significant main effect of diversity climate (controlled for prejudice), there was a significant effect of prejudice (controlled for diversity climate). The model including only main effects explained 4.5% of the variance on invitation likelihood, $F(2, 271) = 7.49$, $p < 0.001$, while the full model including the interaction explained an additional 1.2% of the variance, Adjusted $R^2 = 0.057$, $F(3, 270) = 6.49$, $p < 0.001$.

Examining the interaction in more detail, post hoc simple slope analyses showed that prejudice towards Moroccans was negatively associated with Dutch-Moroccans' invitation likelihood when the climate was rather diversity-unfriendly (i.e., at $M - 1$ SD; $b = -0.04$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(270) = -4.21$, $p < 0.001$) or neutral (i.e., at mean level; $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(270) = -3.58$, $p < 0.001$), but not when it was rather diversity-friendly (i.e., at $M + 1$ SD; $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(270) = -1.15$, $p = 0.252$). That is, in climates which are rather diversity-unfriendly or neutral, a one-point increase in prejudice on a 100-point scale is associated with a decrease in invitation likelihood of 0.4% or 0.2%, respectively. These results are illustrated in Figure 2.

For Dutch applicants, we did not find an effect of diversity climate (controlled for prejudice towards Dutch), nor of prejudice towards Dutch (controlled for diversity climate), nor an interaction between these two variables (see Table 6, Ethnicity: Dutch; Full model: Adjusted $R^2 < 0.01$, $F(3, 204) = 0.85$, $p = 0.471$).

In conclusion, our findings support our third hypothesis: more prejudice towards Moroccans is associated with a lower invitation likelihood of Moroccan applicants in diversity-unfriendly or neutral, but not diversity-friendly, climates.

3.2.8 | Robustness Checks

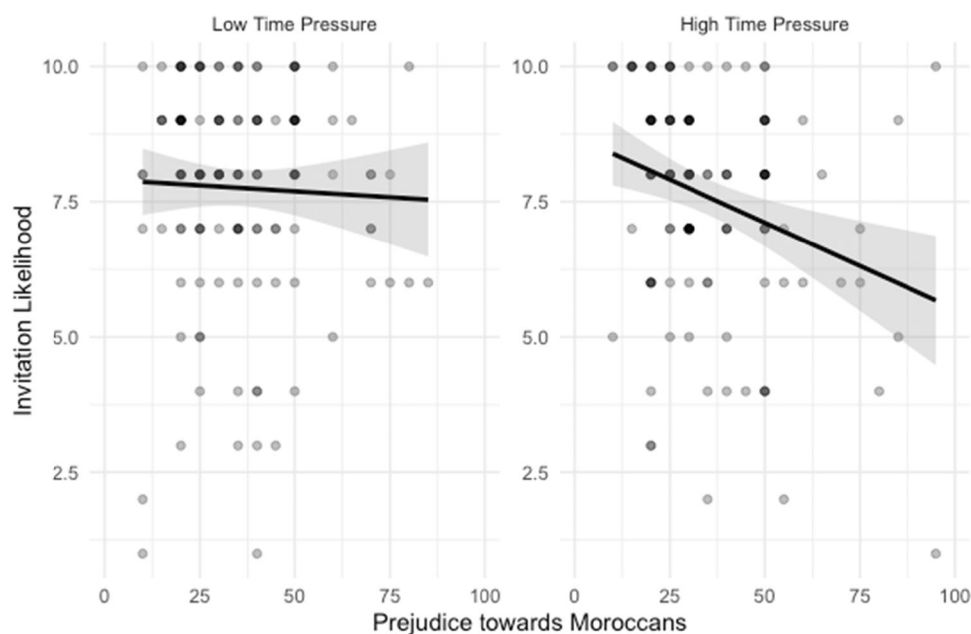
We conducted two robustness checks. First, we repeated all analyses with participants' gender, age, education, and HR involvement as control variables. Results did not change (see Supporting Material, Tables S3-S5 for results on

TABLE 5 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, prejudice towards the applicant's group, and their interaction on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch applicants.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan								
(Intercept)	8.60	0.29	29.78	< 0.001	8.13	0.37	22.09	< 0.001
Time pressure	-0.14	0.24	-0.59	0.555	0.82	0.53	1.56	0.121
Prejudice	-0.03	0.01	-3.85	< 0.001	-0.01	0.01	-1.32	0.189
Time pressure × Prejudice					-0.03	0.01	-2.05	0.041 ^a
Ethnicity: Dutch								
(Intercept)	7.37	0.36	20.67	< 0.001	7.58	0.41	18.54	< 0.001
Time pressure	-0.40	0.29	-1.38	0.168	-1.06	0.69	-1.53	0.127
Prejudice	-0.01	0.01	-0.86	0.391	-0.02	0.01	-1.30	0.194
Time pressure × Prejudice					0.02	0.02	1.05	0.293

Note: $n_{\text{Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan}} = 274$; $n_{\text{Ethnicity: Dutch}} = 208$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0). The first models include only the main effects of the two predictors, while the second models additionally include their interaction.

^aWhen including participants who have taken more or less time than considered reasonable (see Section 3.1.5), this effect is not significant anymore ($b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$, $t(284) = -1.80$, $p = 0.073$).

**FIGURE 1** | The effect of prejudice towards Moroccans on the invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants. Illustration of the association between prejudice towards Moroccans (higher values indicate more prejudice) and invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants, separate for low and high time pressure resume screening. 95% confidence intervals are illustrated as gray areas around the slopes.

H1–H3). Second, we repeated all analyses with the full sample (i.e., without excluding any participants based on the pre-registered exclusion criteria). Results did not change, apart from the following two exceptions: First, for Hypothesis 2, the interaction term between time pressure and prejudice is not significant for the Dutch-Moroccan condition. However, post hoc simple slope analyses still showed that prejudice towards Moroccans was negatively associated with Dutch-Moroccan invitation likelihood under high, but not under low time pressure. Second, for Hypothesis 3, the interaction term between diversity climate and prejudice is not significant for the Dutch-Moroccan condition. However, again, post hoc simple

slope analyses still showed that prejudice towards Moroccans was negatively associated with Dutch-Moroccans' invitation likelihood when the climate was rather diversity-unfriendly or neutral, but not when it was rather diversity-friendly (for the full results of this second robustness check, see Supporting Material, Tables S6–S8 for results on H1–H3).

3.3 | Discussion Study 1

Study 1 shows that the more prejudice a Dutch decision-maker holds against Moroccans, the less likely it is that they would

TABLE 6 | Regression models estimating the effects of diversity climate, prejudice towards the applicant's group, and their interaction on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan and Dutch applicants.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan								
(Intercept)	8.32	0.62	13.34	< 0.001	10.42	1.18	8.81	< 0.001
Diversity climate	0.04	0.10	0.38	0.707	-0.38	0.22	-1.67	0.096
Prejudice	-0.03	0.01	-3.75	< 0.001	-0.08	0.03	-2.94	0.004
Diversity climate × Prejudice					0.01	0.01	2.08	0.039
Ethnicity: Dutch								
(Intercept)	6.45	0.76	8.49	< 0.001	5.17	1.66	3.12	0.002
Diversity climate	0.14	0.13	1.04	0.298	0.39	0.32	1.22	0.224
Prejudice	-0.01	0.01	-0.69	0.493	0.04	0.05	0.70	0.484
Diversity climate × Prejudice					-0.01	0.01	-0.87	0.386

Note: $n_{\text{Ethnicity: Dutch-Moroccan}} = 274$; $n_{\text{Ethnicity: Dutch}} = 208$. The first models include only the main effects of the two predictors. The second models additionally include the interaction between the predictors.

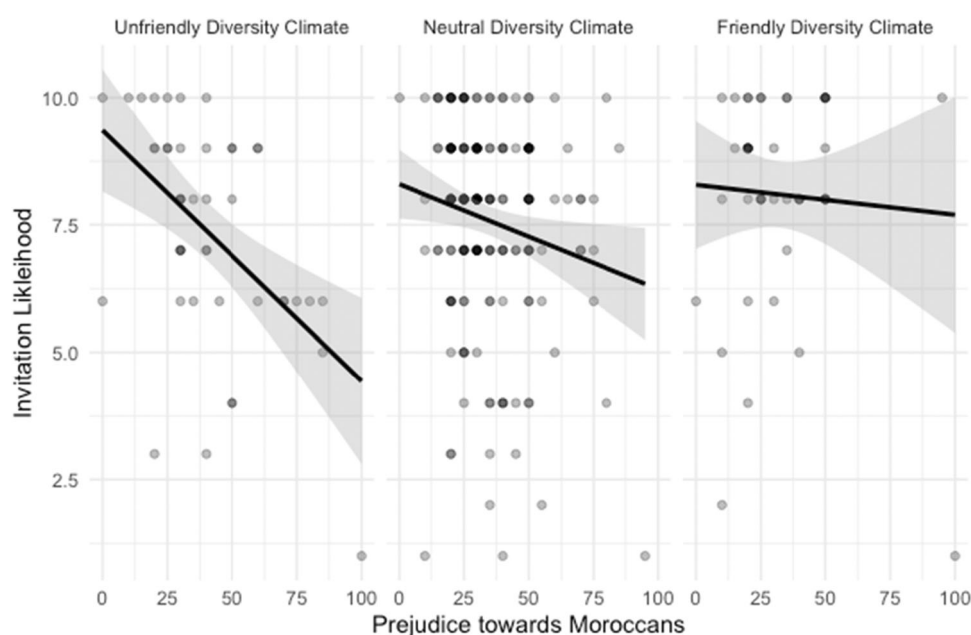


FIGURE 2 | The effect of prejudice towards Moroccans on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants. Illustration of the association between prejudice towards Moroccans (higher values indicate less prejudice) and invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants, separate for different diversity climates. 95% confidence intervals are illustrated as gray areas around the slopes.

invite a Dutch-Moroccan applicant to a job interview. By contrast, prejudice against the Dutch is not associated with the invitation likelihood of a Dutch applicant. Additionally, we found that the association between prejudice against Moroccans and Dutch-Moroccan applicants' invitation likelihood is moderated by time pressure and organizational diversity climate: the association only holds under high (but not low) time pressure, and only in more diversity-unfriendly or neutral (but not more diversity-friendly) organizational climates. In line with the JSM (Crandall and Eshleman 2003), we interpret these results as a lack of opportunity to cognitively control one's prejudice when time pressure is high, and by the presence of an opportunity to justify the expression of one's prejudice when the climate at one's workplace is less diversity-friendly.

4 | Study 2

Given some of our deviations from the preregistration in Study 1 (i.e., focusing on moderating rather than main effects of time pressure and organizational diversity climate), we aimed to replicate our Study 1 findings pertaining to Dutch-Moroccan candidates with a second, preregistered study.

4.1 | Methods

The study was preregistered on the Open Science Framework (https://osf.io/bgcuz/overview?view_only=1b28ffd38cb74745aa18a2a97e862716).

4.1.1 | Experimental Conditions

Participants were randomly assigned to a low or high time pressure condition. In this study, all participants evaluated the resume of a Dutch-Moroccan minority applicant. In contrast to Study 1, we did not include a Dutch majority applicant condition, since evaluations of this group are not our primary interest.

4.1.2 | Procedure

For Study 2, we followed the same procedure and used the same materials as in Study 1, with the following minor deviations: we adjusted the dates that were mentioned on the stimulus material, such that the time between the mentioned dates and the beginning of the study was the same for both studies. Furthermore, we measured self-reported careless responses with only one item (instead of three items).

4.1.3 | Time Pressure Manipulation

To manipulate time pressure, we followed the same procedure as in Study 1.

4.1.4 | Measures

We used the same measures as in Study 1 to assess prejudice (independent variable), organizational diversity climate (moderator; Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.865$), and invitation likelihood (dependent variable). The time pressure manipulation was checked using the four manipulation check items we retained in this scale in Study 1 (Cronbach's $\alpha = 0.710$).

Similar to Study 1, we assessed participants' age, gender, and education level, and the extent of HR responsibilities in their current job. With regard to gauging for careless responses, we only used one item in this study ("In your honest opinion, should we use your data in our analyses in this study?"; Meade and Craig 2012).

4.1.5 | Sample

Data was collected online on Prolific.com. Participation was only possible for people whose nationality and primary language were Dutch, who, at the time of the study, were living in the Netherlands, employed, 18–65 years old, and who had an approval rate on previous Prolific submissions of at least 95%.

Since the goal of this study was to replicate the findings of the Dutch-Moroccan minority condition of study 1 ($n = 274$), we planned on collecting a sample of a similar size. To account for potential data exclusions, we collected a sample of $n = 348$ participants. The pool of potential participants meeting our inclusion criteria (see above) on Prolific.com consisted of only about 600 individuals, making it challenging to collect a bigger sample.

In line with the preregistration, 51 participants were removed because they failed to correctly indicate the applicant's ethnicity, and another seven participants were removed due to self-reported

careless responses. Even though we pre-screened participants on being currently employed, we also assessed self-reported employment status. Based on that check, another 35 participants were removed from the dataset as they indicated that they were not employed. Similar to Study 1, we also checked whether there were any participants who took more or less time for certain parts of the experiment than was considered reasonable. However, in contrast to Study 1, there were no participants who did not adhere to our criteria (see p. 19/20). Thus, the final sample consisted of $n = 255$ participants. 131 participants were in the low time pressure condition, and 124 were in the high time pressure condition.

4.2 | Results

Analyses were conducted in R (R Development Core Team 2022, V. 4.3.0); data can be found via the following link: https://osf.io/mz65c/overview?view_only=90888d9ecf3a484c8af83a92ba6a03fb.

4.2.1 | Manipulation Check Time Pressure

The manipulation check scale showed a significant difference between low ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 0.69$) and high time pressure conditions ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 0.99$) in the expected direction ($t(253) = 8.03$, $p < 0.001$, $d = 1.01$). Moreover, participants in the low time pressure condition spent more time reading the resume and providing an invitation likelihood ($M = 107$ s, $SD = 116$ s) than participants in the high time pressure condition ($M = 75$ s, $SD = 41$ s; $t(253) = 2.87$, $p = 0.005$, $d = 0.36$). We also conducted regression analyses with time pressure condition and prejudice towards the applicant's ethnicity as predictors for the manipulation check scale and the evaluation time (see Tables 7 and 8, respectively). The analyses confirm that the time pressure manipulation was successful.

4.2.2 | Prejudice – Descriptive Result

The degree of prejudiced feelings towards Moroccans was similar to the mean obtained in Study 1 ($M = 38.26$, $SD = 20.86$).

4.2.3 | Main Effects of Demographics and Independent Variables on Invitation Likelihood

We tested whether applicants' invitation likelihood was affected by participants' demographic characteristics, the independent variables, evaluation time, or scores on the time pressure manipulation check. Results are displayed in Table 9. We did not find a significant effect for any of those variables.

4.2.4 | Main Effect of Prejudice on Invitation Likelihood (H1)

Similar to Study 1, we conducted a linear regression with prejudice towards Moroccans as a predictor for invitation likelihood to test Hypothesis 1. In contrast to Study 1, we did not find support for Hypothesis 1 (see Table 10). The model explained no variance on invitation likelihood, Adjusted

TABLE 7 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction on the time pressure manipulation check.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	5.67	0.13	44.62	< 0.001	5.71	0.16	34.98	< 0.001
Time pressure	−0.84	0.11	−7.86	< 0.001	−0.92	0.22	−4.14	< 0.001
Prejudice	0.00	0.00	1.59	0.113	0.00	0.00	0.83	0.408
Time pressure × Prejudice					0.00	0.01	0.43	0.669

Note: $n = 255$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0). The first model includes only the main effects of the two predictors. The second model additionally includes the interaction between the predictors.

TABLE 8 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction on the time taken to evaluate the application.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	121.18	13.17	9.20	< 0.001	127.39	16.93	7.53	< 0.001
Time pressure	−33.07	11.07	−2.99	0.003	−44.96	23.16	−1.94	0.053
Prejudice	−0.35	0.27	−1.33	0.184	−0.51	0.37	−1.36	0.176
Time pressure × Prejudice					0.31	0.53	0.59	0.559

Note: $n = 255$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0). The first model includes only the main effects of the two predictors. The second model additionally includes the interaction between the predictors.

$R^2 = -0.004$, $F(1, 253) = 0.06$, $p = 0.804$. Thus, more prejudice towards Moroccans was not associated with a lower invitation likelihood for a Dutch-Moroccan applicant.

4.2.5 | Time Pressure as a Moderator of the Association Between Prejudice and Invitation Likelihood (H2)

We conducted a linear regression with time pressure, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction as predictors for invitation likelihood to test whether time pressure moderated the relationship between prejudice towards Moroccans and Dutch-Moroccans' invitation likelihood (see Table 11). The analysis did not reveal any significant effect. The model including only main effects explained 0% of the variance on invitation likelihood, $F(2, 252) = 0.44$, $p = 0.646$, and the full model including the interaction did not explain additional variance, Adjusted $R^2 = -0.008$, $F(3, 251) = 0.30$, $p = 0.827$.

Although the interaction term was not significant, we conducted post hoc simple slope analyses to further examine it. Results showed that prejudice was neither under high ($b = -0.00$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(122) = -0.12$, $p = 0.904$) nor under low time pressure ($b = -0.00$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(129) = -0.39$, $p = 0.701$) associated with applicants' invitation likelihood. Hypothesis 2 was not supported in this study.

4.2.6 | Organizational Diversity Climate as a Moderator of the Association Between Prejudice and Invitation Likelihood (H3)

We conducted a linear regression with diversity climate, prejudice, and their interaction as predictors for invitation likelihood. Results are displayed in Table 12. Unfortunately,

Hypothesis 3 was not supported. The model including only main effects explained 0% of the variance on invitation likelihood, $F(2, 252) = 0.05$, $p = 0.954$, and the full model including the interaction did not explain any additional variance, Adjusted $R^2 = -0.011$, $F(3, 251) = 0.05$, $p = 0.985$.

Post hoc simple slope analyses showed that prejudice was not associated with invitation likelihood when the climate was rather diversity-unfriendly, neutral, and rather diversity-friendly (all estimates < 0.01, all t 's(251) ≤ 0.30 , all p 's ≥ 0.76).

4.2.7 | Robustness Checks

Similar to Study 1, we conducted two robustness checks. First, we repeated all analyses with participants' gender, age, education, and HR involvement as control variables, which did not change the findings (see Supporting Material, Tables S9–S11 for results on H1–H3). Second, we repeated all analyses with the full sample (i.e., without excluding any participants). While effects remained nonsignificant, their directions and the overall pattern of results more closely resembled those observed in Study 1. The (negative) main effect of prejudice towards Moroccans on the invitation likelihood of Moroccan applicants approached significance (H1; p -value < 0.10), as did some of the simple slope tests focusing on the moderating roles of time pressure (H2; under high time pressure, p -value < 0.10; under low time pressure $p > 0.50$) and organizational diversity climate (H3; in diversity-unfriendly and neutral climates, p -value < 0.15; in diversity-friendly climates, $p > 0.45$). We report all results in the Supporting Material (see Tables S12–S14 for results on H1–H3). Although Study 2 did not replicate the findings of Study 1, these additional findings provide some confidence in the meaningfulness of the results of Study 1.

TABLE 9 | Descriptive statistics and associations of demographic characteristics and independent variables with invitation likelihood.

Variable	<i>n</i>	Invitation likelihood			
		<i>M</i> (SD)	95% CI	Statistic	<i>p</i>
Gender				$t = -0.53$	0.599
Female	98	7.41 (2.15)	[7.20; 7.87]		
Male	156	7.53 (2.02)	[7.12; 7.87]		
Age				$r = -0.07$	0.234
$M = 31.32$, $SD = 8.14$	255				
Education				$F = 1.04$	0.357
VMBO/HAVO/VWO	30	7.83 (1.72)	[7.19; 8.48]		
MBO	22	7.68 (1.94)	[6.82; 8.54]		
HBO/University	202	7.38 (1.76)	[7.14; 7.63]		
HR involvement				$F = 0.03$	0.993
Never	94	7.46 (1.64)	[7.12; 7.79]		
Rarely	64	7.44 (1.80)	[6.99; 7.89]		
Sometimes	68	7.51 (1.85)	[7.07; 7.96]		
Often	29	7.41 (2.03)	[6.64; 8.18]		
Time pressure				$t = 0.88$	0.382
Low	131	7.56 (1.55)	[7.29; 7.83]		
High	124	7.36 (1.98)	[7.01; 7.72]		
Evaluation time				$r = -0.04$	0.525
$M = 91.53$, $SD = 89.33$	255				
Manipulation check scale time pressure				$r = 0.03$	0.592
$M = 5.42$, $SD = 0.95$	255				
Diversity climate				$r = 0.02$	0.809
$M = 4.87$, $SD = 1.13$	255				

Note: There was one participant who indicated “non-binary/other” for gender, and one participant who indicated “other” for education. These participants are not considered in the descriptive statistics and analyses presented in this table.

TABLE 10 | Regression model estimating the effect of prejudice towards Moroccans on invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants.

Variable	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	7.51	0.23	32.31	< 0.001
Prejudice	-0.00	0.01	-0.25	0.804

Note: $n = 255$.

4.3 | Pooled Data Analysis

As the findings of Study 2 are not in line with the findings of Study 1, we additionally conducted an integrative data analysis, where we pooled data from Study 1 and Study 2. We repeated the studies' central analyses on the pooled data from both the preregistered samples (i.e., where we excluded participants as preregistered and described above) and the full samples (i.e., where we did not exclude any participants).

First, we tested again whether prejudice towards Moroccans is associated with Dutch-Moroccan applicants' invitation likelihood (see H1). Results are displayed in Table 13. In line with Study 1, the pooled data analyses revealed a significant

relationship between prejudice and applicants' invitation likelihood, with higher levels of prejudice being associated with a lower invitation likelihood.

Second, we tested again whether the association between prejudice towards Moroccans and Dutch-Moroccan applicants' invitation likelihood is moderated by time pressure (see H2). Results are displayed in Table 14. In contrast to Study 1, results did not show a significant interaction between prejudice and time pressure. Nevertheless, we conducted post hoc simple slope analyses. For the preregistered sample, the pooled data analyses showed that prejudice was associated with applicants' invitation likelihood under high ($b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(254) = -2.89$, $p = 0.004$) but not under low time pressure ($b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(271) = -1.28$, $p = 0.200$). Results for the full sample were consistent with that and showed again that prejudice was associated with applicants' invitation likelihood under high ($b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.00$; $t(383) = -4.02$, $p < 0.001$) but not under low time pressure ($b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(396) = -1.35$, $p = 0.177$). Thus, the results of the integrative simple slope analyses are in line with the results of Study 1's simple slope analyses.

Third, we tested whether the association between prejudice towards Moroccans and Dutch-Moroccan applicants' invitation

TABLE 11 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	7.63	0.27	28.69	< 0.001	7.66	0.34	22.40	< 0.001
Time pressure	-0.20	0.22	-0.90	0.368	-0.26	0.47	-0.56	0.580
Prejudice	-0.00	0.01	-0.34	0.738	-0.00	0.01	-0.34	0.737
Time pressure × Prejudice					0.00	0.01	0.14	0.888

Note: $n = 255$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0). The first model includes only the main effects of the two predictors. The second model additionally includes the interaction between the predictors.

TABLE 12 | Regression models estimating the effects of diversity climate, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	7.41	0.60	13.32	< 0.001	7.21	1.04	6.92	< 0.001
Diversity climate	0.02	0.10	0.18	0.854	0.06	0.20	0.29	0.769
Prejudice	-0.00	0.01	-0.19	0.848	0.00	0.02	0.17	0.862
Diversity climate × Prejudice					-0.00	0.00	-0.23	0.816

Note: $n = 255$. The first model includes only the main effects of the two predictors. The second model additionally includes the interaction between the predictors.

TABLE 13 | Regression models estimating the effect of prejudice towards Moroccans on invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants, based on pooled data from Study 1 and Study 2.

Variable	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Preregistered sample				
(Intercept)	8.01	0.18	45.29	< 0.001
Prejudice	-0.01	0.00	-2.94	0.003
Adjusted $R^2 = 0.014$, $F(1, 527) = 8.63$, $p = 0.003$				
Full sample				
(Intercept)	7.90	0.15	53.68	< 0.001
Prejudice	-0.01	0.00	-3.82	< 0.001
Adjusted $R^2 = 0.017$, $F(1, 781) = 7.49$, $p < 0.001$				

Note: $n_{\text{Preregistered sample}} = 529$; $n_{\text{Full sample}} = 783$.

likelihood is moderated by the organizational diversity climate (see H3). Results are displayed in Table 15. In contrast to Study 1, we did not find evidence for a significant interaction between prejudice and an organization's diversity climate. Nonetheless, we again conducted post hoc simple slope analyses. For the preregistered sample, the analyses showed that prejudice was associated with invitation likelihood when the climate was rather diversity-unfriendly (i.e., at $M - 1$ SD; $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(521) = -2.76$, $p = 0.006$) or neutral (i.e., at mean level; $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.00$; $t(521) = -2.63$, $p = 0.009$), but not when it was rather diversity-friendly (i.e., at $M + 1$ SD; $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(521) = -1.27$, $p = 0.204$). Results for the full sample showed as well that prejudice was associated with invitation likelihood when the climate was rather diversity-unfriendly (i.e., at $M - 1$ SD; $b = -0.02$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(775) = -3.49$, $p = 0.001$) or

neutral (i.e., at mean level; $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.00$; $t(775) = -3.58$, $p < 0.001$), but not when it was rather diversity-friendly (i.e., at $M + 1$ SD; $b = -0.01$, $SE = 0.01$; $t(775) = -1.83$, $p = 0.068$). Hence, the results of the integrative simple slopes analyses are in line with the results of Study 1's simple slope analyses.

4.4 | Discussion Study 2

In light of the diverging results between Study 1 and Study 2, it is important to assess how the two studies differed from each other. While methods and materials were similar across studies, samples as well as timing were different. We briefly discuss these differences here and elaborate on why they might be relevant in explaining the discrepancies between Study 1 and Study 2 in Section 5.

First, the samples were recruited on different platforms. While Study 1's data was collected using a panel of a Dutch survey company (*I&O Research*), Study 2 was conducted on Prolific. Importantly, data quality might differ between the two recruitment platforms. Participants from the *I&O Research* panel can only participate in a study upon explicit invitation from the survey company, and they only receive one invitation at a time, and on average, two invitations per month. Thus, these participants typically only do one study in one sitting, making it easy to fully focus on this study. Conversely, Peer et al. (2021) found that 30% of Prolific participants spend 4 or more hours per week on the platform. Since many Prolific studies only take a few minutes to complete (Leong 2024), it is likely that many participants do multiple studies in one sitting, which might hamper their attention and tempt them to minimize the expenditure of effort (Zorowitz et al. 2023). Given that participants' attentiveness can have a strong impact on effect

TABLE 14 | Regression models estimating the effects of time pressure, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants, based on pooled data from Study 1 and Study 2.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Preregistered sample								
(Intercept)	7.91	0.19	40.93	< 0.001	8.11	0.25	32.72	< 0.001
Time pressure	0.20	0.22	1.18	0.239	-0.21	0.35	-0.60	0.552
Prejudice	-0.01	0.01	-2.99	0.003	-0.02	0.01	-3.02	0.003
Time pressure × Prejudice					0.01	0.01	1.30	0.194
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.015$, $F(2, 526) = 5.01$, $p = 0.007$				Adjusted $R^2 = 0.016$, $F(3, 525) = 3.91$, $p = 0.009$			
Full sample								
(Intercept)	7.89	0.16	48.81	< 0.001	8.11	0.20	40.05	< 0.001
Time pressure	0.02	0.14	0.13	0.894	-0.45	0.29	-1.54	0.124
Prejudice	-0.01	0.00	-3.82	< 0.001	-0.02	0.00	-4.02	< 0.001
Time pressure × Prejudice					0.01	0.01	1.83	0.068
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.016$, $F(2, 780) = 7.30$, $p < 0.001$				Adjusted $R^2 = 0.019$, $F(3, 779) = 6.00$, $p < 0.001$			

Note: $n_{\text{Preregistered sample}} = 529$; $n_{\text{Full sample}} = 783$. Reference group for time pressure is low (coded as 0). The first models include only the main effects of the two predictors. The second models additionally include the interaction between the predictors.

TABLE 15 | Regression models estimating the effects of diversity climate, prejudice towards Moroccans, and their interaction on the invitation likelihood for Dutch-Moroccan applicants, based on pooled data from Study 1 and Study 2.

Variable	Model 1				Model 2			
	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
Preregistered sample								
(Intercept)	7.86	0.44	18.00	< 0.001	8.44	0.78	10.77	< 0.001
Diversity climate	0.03	0.07	0.37	0.715	-0.09	0.15	-0.60	0.547
Prejudice	-0.01	0.00	-2.79	0.005	-0.03	0.02	-1.58	0.114
Diversity climate × Prejudice					0.00	0.00	0.89	0.372
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.013$, $F(2, 526) = 4.37$, $p = 0.013$				Adjusted $R^2 = 0.012$, $F(3, 525) = 3.18$, $p = 0.024$			
Full sample								
(Intercept)	7.77	0.37	21.16	< 0.001	8.35	0.67	12.43	< 0.001
Diversity climate	0.02	0.06	0.40	0.692	-0.09	0.12	-0.71	0.476
Prejudice	-0.01	0.00	-3.69	< 0.001	-0.03	0.01	-1.90	0.058
Diversity climate × Prejudice					0.00	0.00	1.04	0.300
	Adjusted $R^2 = 0.016$, $F(2, 780) = 7.37$, $p < 0.001$				Adjusted $R^2 = 0.016$, $F(3, 779) = 5.27$, $p = 0.001$			

Note: $n_{\text{Preregistered sample}} = 529$; $n_{\text{Full sample}} = 783$. The first model includes only the main effects of the two predictors. The second model additionally includes the interaction between the predictors.

sizes in the social sciences (Krefeld-Schwalb et al. 2024), a possible reason for the null findings of Study 2 might be that participants were simply less focused on the study. Also, since many Prolific participants are regularly active on the platform, it may be that they have been confronted with more studies on the topic of discrimination. This “training” could make them more likely to respond less authentically to our questions and the evaluation of the Moroccan candidate (e.g., these participants might display a more pronounced social desirability bias or are guessing the true goals of the experiment).

Second, the studies were conducted at different times: Study 1 was conducted at the beginning of 2022, while Study 2 was

conducted at the end of 2024. There are multiple noteworthy differences between these two times, such as, for example, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic as well as the political climate in the Netherlands. We expand our arguments on why these factors might help to explain the diverging results of the two studies in Section 5 below.

Third, there are differences in the demographics of the two samples. Most notably, Study 2's participants were, on average, 15 years younger than Study 1's participants. Younger age has been associated with lower racial prejudice and higher cognitive control (Stewart et al. 2009), which could theoretically explain why we did not find an association between prejudice and

invitation likelihood in Study 2. Since robustness checks controlling for age did not change our results, however, this explanation might not hold in our data. Future research could further explore the role of age in shaping prejudice and subsequent behavior.

While the factors mentioned above may offer potential explanations for the null findings of Study 2, it is worth noting that a robustness check within Study 2 (i.e., repeating the analyses with the full sample) and an integrative data analysis (i.e., repeating the analyses with pooled data from both studies) provide some further evidence for our hypotheses. Especially the pooled data analyses – which have substantially greater statistical power than the two studies separately – yield a similar pattern of results as those found in Study 1.

5 | General Discussion

In light of the lack of progress with regard to reducing discrimination after resume screening (Quillian and Lee 2023), solutions are still much needed. Since organizational anti-bias efforts focused on individual change have had limited success (Forscher et al. 2019; Huo et al. 2018; Schmader et al. 2021), we argued for more effective approaches than trying to change individuals' prejudices. In this respect, Crandall and Eshleman's (2003) JSM offers a valuable starting point, explicating that prejudice does not always lead to prejudice expression. Shifting the focus from the individual to contextual factors related to the organization, Study 1 suggests that it indeed seems possible to reduce biased resume screening without changing the decision-makers' prejudice. Instead, bias in resume screening might be tackled best by addressing the link between prejudice and decisions. In specific, in Study 1, we showed that prejudiced screening outcomes of minority applications can be reduced if decision-makers have sufficient time to evaluate a resume (i.e., they have the possibility to suppress prejudice) or if the climate in their organization is rather diversity-friendly (i.e., it does not offer a possibility to justify prejudice expression).

Before we discuss the results of Study 1 in more detail, we need to emphasize that we did not replicate these findings in Study 2. An exploratory yet noteworthy finding is that the pattern of results of Study 2 is more similar to the pattern we find in Study 1 if we analyze Study 2 with the full sample (i.e., without excluding any participants due to a failed attention check or other preregistered exclusion criteria). We think that these observations might offer some suggestive support for the findings of Study 1, as we consider it unlikely that the same pattern of results emerges across studies by chance alone. Furthermore, an integrative data analysis, pooling data from Study 1 and Study 2, provided evidence for a significant main effect of prejudice towards Moroccans on Dutch-Moroccan applicants' invitation likelihood, replicating the association observed in Study 1. Although the integrative analysis did not reveal significant interactions between prejudice and either time pressure or diversity climate (as Study 1 did), integrative post hoc simple slope analyses showed that prejudice was only associated with invitation likelihood under high (but not low) time pressure and in climates that were rather diversity-unfriendly or neutral (but not in those that were rather diversity-friendly). These simple-slope analyses results are consistent with the findings of

Study 1. Since pooling data from both studies increases statistical power, these findings might strengthen the meaningfulness of Study 1's results. Nonetheless, the null findings of Study 2 suggest that the proposed relationships do not generalize across all conditions and situations.

With regard to the lack of a significant association between prejudice towards Moroccans and the evaluation of Dutch-Moroccan job candidates in Study 2, prior research has consistently demonstrated that individuals high in prejudice are more likely to engage in discriminatory behavior (Adelman and Verkuyten 2020; Bai and Zhao 2024; Blommaert et al. 2012; Cheung et al. 2022; Deros et al. 2009). Thus, we do not doubt that, in general, prejudice and discriminatory behavior are linked. However, our findings suggest that this link is dependent on certain conditions. As we described above, we used different pools for our samples as well as the timing of our studies was different. Whether or not extensive experience with similar studies and whether or not the influence of political climate makes the link between prejudice and behavior less present is a question for further research.

With regard to the moderating roles of time pressure, which might hinder prejudice suppression, and of an organization's diversity climate, which might provide a justification for prejudice expression, the null findings of Study 2 might suggest that the mechanisms of prejudice suppression and justification are more complex. Specifically, these mechanisms might be subject to contextual and personal influences.

In this respect, a possible factor that could explain why time pressure did not act as a moderator of the association between prejudice and invitation likelihood of Dutch-Moroccan applicants in Study 2 may be that participants in Study 1 were more sensitive to the time pressure manipulation than participants in Study 2. One reason for this could be familiarity with the respective experimental manipulations: Study 1's participants were panel members who typically participate in only a couple of studies each month, such that they might not be familiar with an experimental manipulation of time pressure. By contrast, Study 2 was conducted on Prolific, where participants are typically experienced in completing studies under experimental manipulations. Frequent exposure may have reduced their sensitivity to experimentally induced time pressure. Another reason for varying sensitivity to the time pressure manipulation could be the time of data collection: Study 1 was conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic (in January/February 2022), a period in which life slowed down for many people. During this time, time pressure might have been perceived as particularly disruptive and stressful. By contrast, Study 2 was conducted after the pandemic (in December 2024), when individuals may have readjusted to a faster pace of life, making them less susceptible to stress through experimentally induced time constraints. We found some suggestive evidence for the explanation of varying sensitivity to the manipulation when examining separate questions in the time pressure manipulation check scale. More specifically, comparing participants who evaluated a Dutch-Moroccan candidate under high time pressure, we found that participants in Study 2 reported greater capability to evaluate the candidate ($M = 5.57$ on a 7-point Likert scale) than participants in Study 1 ($M = 5.01$), as well as greater use of ratio versus intuition during evaluations ($M = 4.61$ in Study 2; $M = 3.98$ in Study 1) and less perceived stress during the evaluations

($M = 4.92$ in Study 2; $M = 5.22$ in Study 1). This suggests that participants in Study 2 self-reported to be relatively less affected by the time pressure manipulation than participants in Study 1, which might explain the lack of an effect in Study 2.

The lack of support for the moderating role of organizational diversity climate in Study 2 may also be explained by both contextual and individual characteristics. First, the (diversity) climate on the country-level might have affected the association between prejudice and invitation likelihood in our studies. The political climate in the Netherlands changed significantly from the time of data collection for Study 1 compared to the data collection for Study 2. When Study 1 was conducted, the most popular party in the Netherlands (the liberal party VVD) was positioned slightly right of center on the political spectrum, and the governing coalition overall leaned toward the political center. At the time of conducting Study 2, the most supported party in the Netherlands was the PVV, a right-wing populist party that repeatedly made use of anti-immigrant rhetoric. The coalition of the governing parties had moved further to the right as well. Hence, Study 2 was conducted at a time when the climate, on the country-level, seemed less diversity-friendly than when Study 1 was conducted. It could be that the political climate provided a readily available justification for prejudice expression, thereby attenuating the moderating role of organizational diversity climate. In other words, when societal norms signal tolerance for prejudice expression, the influence of more local, organizational norms may be overshadowed. Second, prior research suggests that normative influence varies with group identification (Neighbors et al. 2010). Hence, the impact of an organization's climate might depend on how strongly employees identify with their organization. Such considerations imply that we may need to refine the JSM so that it accounts for more complex interactions within the mechanisms of prejudice justification and suppression. Rather than treating these mechanisms as stable, our findings suggest that they may be contingent on a range of contextual and individual-level boundary conditions. Situational influences such as time pressure and an organization's climate might affect justification and suppression processes differently depending on broader societal norms or individual traits. Thus, the JSM might be best understood as a context-sensitive framework.

Notwithstanding the lack of replication of our findings of Study 1, its results are in line with accounts that suggest that it generally is not required to change individuals' attitudes to reduce biased behavior. That is, Study 1's results respect the role of time pressure align with theorizing on differential processes of stereotype activation and application, which suggests that prejudiced decisions can be reduced by stopping stereotype application even though stereotypes have been activated (Rivers et al. 2020). Similarly, the moderating role of the organization's diversity climate found in Study 1 relates to the Bias of Crowds model (Payne et al. 2017), which suggests that it might be more promising to focus on changing social contexts instead of individuals' biases (Payne and Vuletic 2018).

Importantly, however, results of Study 1 also show that prejudiced resume screening cannot be explained by contextual factors alone: we did not find main effects of time pressure or diversity climate on applicants' invitation likelihood (see Table 3). Instead, the importance of these factors only became apparent when examined in conjunction with individuals' prejudices in Study 1. This suggests

that high time pressure and a negative diversity climate do not cause discriminatory decisions, but rather that personal prejudice may be the driver of discriminatory decisions, while contextual factors can buffer or bolster the extent to which personal prejudice is displayed in decisions. While the idea of behavior being a function of a person and their environment has already been formulated many decades ago (Lewin 1946), this and related theories have rarely been applied to the problem of discrimination after resume screening. Previous work focusing on the lack of effectiveness of diversity interventions indeed suggests that diversity-related cognitions, attitudes, and beliefs are crucial in shaping such effectiveness (e.g., employees' diversity mindsets; Homan 2019). This might also be true for organizational climates related to diversity.

5.1 | Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

While field studies consistently show discrimination of ethnic minorities (Zschirnt and Ruedin 2016), data from Study 1 showed that ethnic minority candidates were *more* likely to be invited to an interview than ethnic majority candidates. Since studies on sensitive topics often suffer from social desirability bias (Tourangeau and Yan 2007), discrimination observed in field studies is often not observed in experiments based on hypothetical decisions (Wulff and Villadsen 2020). Such social desirability effects could have also influenced our findings. Consequently, one limitation of the present research is that it is difficult to compare the invitation likelihood of majority and minority candidates. Importantly, however, our primary research questions focus on variance within one ethnicity, especially the minority group. Therefore, we still think that the results of Study 1 can be informative.

Another limitation of the present work is that we did not directly measure the suppression and justification of prejudice. While the results of Study 1 are in line with the theoretical account introduced by the JSM (Crandall and Eshleman 2003), we do not have insights into the underlying processes. An example of a question we cannot answer is, for example, whether an organization's diversity climate acts only as an opportunity to justify prejudice in resume screening, or whether it can also be a prejudice suppressor. Furthermore, according to the framework described in the JSM, effects of suppression and justification can occur in tandem. For example, opportunities to justify prejudice can undo previous suppression. Our studies' statistical power does not allow for a thorough test of potential interaction effects between suppression and justification processes. Also, previous research illustrated that prejudice expression is associated with both internal and external motivation to suppress prejudice (Derous et al. 2012; Fehr and Sassenberg 2010; Legault et al. 2011). Since we did not assess motivation to suppress prejudice, we cannot examine the interplay of motivation and capability to suppress prejudice. Future research could zoom in on the underlying mechanisms of prejudiced resume screening, studying more directly the extent to which prejudice is suppressed and justified, and what role motivation plays in these dynamics.

Furthermore, there are some limitations with respect to the generalizability of our results. We prioritized experimental control over ecological validity. That is, we did not measure

actual evaluations of real applications to real vacancies, but behavioral intentions in response to hypothetical applications for hypothetical vacancies. Behavioral intentions in a hypothetical scenario might not perfectly reflect real-world behavior, and, more specifically, the stimuli we used (i.e., vacancy and application) might not have been a perfect fit for all our participants and their workplace organizations. However, we think that the chosen vacant role of an entry-level administrative officer is very common across organizations from different fields, so that our participants were able to make judgments in a realistic way regardless of the type of their actual organization.

Second, while many underlying processes of prejudice are not specific to certain group constellations (see, e.g., the Minimal Group Paradigm; Diehl 1990), research on labor market discrimination shows that some groups discriminate and are discriminated against more than others (Quillian et al. 2019). The present research only examined prejudiced resume screening for one specific ingroup/outgroup constellation (i.e., Dutch majority and Dutch-Moroccan minority) and one ingroup/ingroup constellation (i.e., Dutch majority and Dutch majority).

Lastly, and most importantly, we could not replicate the findings of our first study. While we suspect that differences in data quality between the two studies might play a role in the null findings, we also consider it likely that the relationships we examined in this paper are sensitive to the influence of additional moderators (which might be connected to differences in the studies in terms of samples and timing of the study). However, our current data do not allow us to draw firm conclusions regarding such moderating factors. Hence, more research is needed to replicate the findings of Study 1 and to illuminate under which conditions these effects can be observed.

In sum, we encourage researchers who intend to study this topic to incorporate rigorous attention checks to ensure high data quality and make use of potent manipulations. Also, assessing real behavior (instead of behavioral intentions in a hypothetical scenario) would improve ecological validity and potentially reduce the impact of social desirability bias (as real behavior comes with real consequences). Furthermore, future studies should collect high-powered samples that allow for the detection of small effects and stratification along demographic dimensions such as age. On a more conceptual level, we recommend that researchers more systematically examine which boundary conditions moderate the link between prejudice and discriminatory hiring decisions. For example, future studies could examine how diversity climates of different environments (e.g., friends, organization, country) interact in their effect on prejudice expression, and whether a high motivation to respond without prejudice buffers against situational factors that make prejudice control challenging. Lastly, future work in this domain could develop ways to measure prejudice suppression and justification more directly. In this way, we might be able to advance our understanding of when and how prejudice results in discriminatory resume screening.

5.2 | Practical Implications

The results of Study 1 suggest that organizations that want to reduce discriminatory hiring decisions should focus on creating

an environment and working conditions that support the suppression of prejudice and do not provide an opportunity for the justification of prejudice expression. Hence, intervening on the structural and group-level might be more promising than intervening on the individual level.

On the premise that the results of the first study can be replicated by future research, we specifically propose that organizations should enable decision-makers to screen resumes without time pressure. More broadly, we would propose that organizations provide resources for prejudice control. Next to the time being available, this also entails other ways to avoid the depletion of cognitive resources (Gilbert and Hixon 1991): decision-makers should not evaluate candidates under stress or while multitasking. Furthermore, personality traits that underlie epistemic motivation – such as high need for cognition and low need for closure – are linked to more systematic processing of social information (Curşeu and de Jong 2017; De Dreu et al. 2008; Neuberg et al. 1997). Hence, involving individuals with these traits in the recruitment process might help to avoid prejudice shaping selection decisions.

If the results of Study 1 hold, we also propose that organizations create a diversity-friendly climate to protect against prejudiced personnel decisions. Previous research offers some recommendations and starting points on how to accomplish this (Hatter et al. 2024). For example, an employer's communication on the topic of diversity has been found to play a major role in creating a diversity-friendly organizational culture: employees perceive the climate of their workplace to be more inclusive if the organization explicitly communicates their commitment to diversity (Men et al. 2023). Furthermore, initiatives that stress the value in diversity might be particularly promising in establishing a diversity-friendly culture (Ely and Thomas 2001). In addition to simply articulating organizational values, leadership's behavior is critical in shaping the organization's climate: supervisors' and managers' integrity in general (Kundro et al. 2024) and their adherence to values and organizational policies related to DEI in particular (Herdman and McMillan-Capehart 2010) has been linked to a more diversity-friendly climate. Lastly, as organizational climates are closely related to social norms, the vast literature on norm perception and normative change might be an important asset in developing new strategies. For example, research by Paluck (2011) showed that influential agents can act as role models in social networks and foster anti-discriminatory attitudes.

6 | Conclusion

Given the persistence of prejudiced attitudes, we scrutinized the issue of discriminatory resume screening through the lens of the decision-maker's environment rather than their attitudes. Results of our first study suggest that contextual elements (i.e., time pressure and organizational diversity climate) can shape the expression of prejudice in the evaluation of minority job applications. As such, these findings offer organizations some specific and actionable starting points to address biased hiring decisions, and illustrate that prejudiced recruiters do not inevitably make prejudiced decisions. However, since our second study did not replicate the findings of the first one, more research is needed to improve confidence in the described dynamics.

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Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

Data Availability Statement

Data for Study 1 can be found after an embargo period, which ends on December 31, 2025, at <https://ssh.datastations.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.17026/SS/766GAK>. Data for Study 2 can be found at https://osf.io/mz65c/overview?view_only=90888d9ecf3a484c8af83a92ba6a03fb.

Endnotes

¹The study was part of a larger data collection effort involving another experiment and more survey items, which are not reported in this paper and were not intended to be analyzed for the present research. After an embargo period, which ends on December 31, 2025, the data and a codebook can be found at <https://ssh.datastations.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.17026/SS/766GAK>.

²Since the removal of participants who took more or less time than considered reasonable was not preregistered, it is indicated in the paper if the inclusion of these participants led to any notable deviations from the reported results.

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Supporting Information

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section.

Supporting Material Time Pressure, Diversity Climate, and Prejudiced Resume Screening.

Appendix A

Stimulus Material

In the following, we display the CV and Motivation Letter that we showed to participants. The displayed CV is of a Dutch applicant who lists Dutch as the only mother tongue. The CVs of Dutch-Moroccan applicants listed Moroccan as an additional mother tongue.

PERSONALIA	WERKERVARING
<p>GEBORTE DATUM: 01.03.2000, Tilburg</p> <p>TALEN</p> <p>Nederlands (moedertaal) Engels (matig) Duits (matig)</p> <p>PC-VAARDIGHEDEN</p> <p>Windows Office (goed) Outlook (goed) SAP (matig)</p>	<p>2018-2021: SECRETARIEEL MEDEWERKER</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Afwikkeling van inkomende en uitgaande post en email - Agendabeheer en maken van afspraken - Facilitaire beheer van het gehele kantoor - Ondersteuning secretariaat
	OPLEIDING
	<p>2012-2017 HAVO BEATRIX COLLEGE TILBURG</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Diploma behaald
	<p>2004-2011 BASISSCHOOL DE BLAAK, TILBURG</p>



Geachte heer/mevrouw,

In uw vacature las ik dat u op zoek bent naar een secretariaal medewerker. Graag kom ik voor deze functie in aanmerking.

Nadat ik mijn havo-diploma heb behaald op het Beatrix College in Tilburg, ben ik aan de slag gegaan als secretariaal medewerker bij een klein bedrijf. Hier was ik verantwoordelijk voor de afwikkeling van inkomende en uitgaande post, zowel als telefoon- en e-mailbehandeling. Verder was ik verantwoordelijk voor het agendabeheer en het herschikken van afspraken. Ook voerde ik verschillende overige voorkomende ondersteunende werkzaamheden op facilitair en secretariaal vlak uit.

In juni 2021 ging mijn werkgever failliet. Als gevolg ervan raakte ik mijn baan kwijt en ben sindsdien op zoek naar een nieuwe uitdaging. Ik heb tot nu toe met veel plezier op het secretariaat gewerkt, en zou dit ook in de toekomst graag willen blijven doen. Ik haal veel voldoening uit het uitvoeren van administratieve taken en ga altijd met plezier naar mijn werk. De vacature die ik van uw bedrijf online had gezien spreekt mij enorm aan. Ik kijk er daardoor nu al naar uit om ook bij uw bedrijf verantwoordelijk te zijn voor de post, e-mail, telefoon en agendabeheer.

Ik geloof dat ik een goede aanvulling zou kunnen zijn op uw team. Ik vind het leuk om mijn kennis en vaardigheden te verbreden. Ook zorg ik ervoor, dat secretariale taken netjes en op tijd worden afgehandeld. Ik werk zelfstandig en in teamverband en verlies daarbij niet uit het oog dat taken op tijd af moeten zijn.

Ik denk dat ik met mijn opleiding en werkervaring een positieve bijdrage aan uw organisatie kan leveren. Graag licht ik mijn sollicitatie toe in een persoonlijk gesprek.

Met vriendelijke groeten

[Handwritten signature]



Appendix B

Diversity Climate Scale

The perceived organizational diversity climate was measured with the following scale (based on McKay et al. 2007):

Please indicate how much you (dis)agree with the following statements.

My organization...

1. ...recruits from diverse sources.
2. ...offers equal access to training.
3. ...engages in open communication on diversity.
4. ...publicizes diversity principles.
5. ...offers training to manage a diverse population.
6. ...respects perspectives of all people.
7. ...maintains a diversity-friendly work environment.
8. ...has a climate that values diverse perspectives.
9. ...has top leaders who visibly commit to diversity.

[7-point Likert scales, completely disagree to completely agree]

Appendix C

Scale to Identify Careless Responses

To identify careless responses, the three self-reported single-item (SRSI) indicators developed by Meade and Craig (2012) were used, which read as follows:

(1) “You will receive your compensation for this study no matter what, however, please tell us how much effort you put forth towards this study. ‘I put forth ____ effort towards this study’ with response options ‘almost no’, ‘very little’, ‘some’, ‘quite a bit’, and ‘a lot of.’”

(2) “Also, often there are several distractions present during studies (other people, TV, music, etc.). Please indicate how much attention you paid to this study. Again, you will receive your compensation no matter what. We appreciate your honesty! ‘I gave this study ____ attention’ with options ‘almost no’, ‘very little of my’, ‘some of my’, ‘most of my’, and ‘my full.’”

(3) “In your honest opinion, should we use your data in our analyses in this study?” with options “yes” and “no.”

Answering “almost no” on items (1) or (2), or “no” on item (3) might indicate careless responses in the study. As preregistered, these participants were removed from the analyses.