

**Ironic effects of suppressing specific and non-specific demography-related thoughts in job candidate evaluations.**

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## Preface


The fundament for this thesis has been the candidate's wish to generate more empirical evidence on the subject. The construction of the thesis along with the hypothesis has been elaborated in cooperation with professor Frank Siebler. Two pilot studies and one main study were conducted to explore the conditions of the ironic effects of thought suppression.

The design and procedures of the studies were developed with professor Frank Siebler and the candidate. The materials for three studies were also developed by professor Frank Siebler and the candidate. The project as a whole has been a close cooperation between the supervisor and the candidate.

Data collection, through recruitment, was conducted by the candidate, as was the role of experimenter. The candidate found the whole literature for the thesis. The arrangements of the hypothesis, method and result section is written by the candidate with guidance from professor Frank Siebler.

Thanking the Handelshøyskole at the University of Tromsø is in order as the participants in the main study consisted of student from their faculty.

Many thanks to Professor Frank Siebler for his patience with the sometimes frenzy behavior exhibited by candidate in desperate times. Also professor Frank Siebler has played a major role in the analysis of the data and the candidate is forever grateful for all the guidance and many helpful advises he has shared throughout this journey.

  
Aida Babai

  
Frank Siebler

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### Abstract

This present work explored the suppression instructions conveyed during an applicant evaluation process. The following experiment predicted that the participants in the specific suppression condition would evaluate the stereotypical applicants less favorably compared to participants in the other conditions. The participants received one of three suppression instructions: one instructed them to suppress all demographic related thought; one instructed them to suppress specific demographic thoughts; a control group where no instructions were given. All the participants then evaluated female and male Italian, Norwegian and Sami applicants for six professions. Before the evaluation task, half of the participants were made cognitively busy while the other half were not. We expected an ironic effect where the busy participants instructed to suppress specific demographic thoughts to evaluate the counter-stereotypic applicants less favorably than the participants in the other conditions. The results did not support the prediction indicating an absence of the ironic effect. A jobwise analysis was conducted to investigate rating difference in the professions. Again, the results did not yield a significant finding. Thus no ironic effect was found in the experiment meaning that the participants rated the applicants equally in all the conditions.

*Keywords:* Ironic effects; Suppression, Applicant evaluation.

## Abstrakt (norsk versjon)

Dette studiet utforsket effekter av instruksjoner om å fortrenge under evalueringen av jobb kandidater. Det følgende eksperimentet undersøkte forskjellen mellom deltagere som fikk instruksjoner om å fortrenge spesifikke tanker og deltagere som fikk instruksjoner om å fortrenge demografiske tanker under kognitiv press. Det var forventet at deltagere som ble instruert i å fortrenge spesifikke tanker til å evaluere de stereotypiske kandidatene mindre positivt sammenlignet med de andre deltagerne i andre betingelser. Det ble gitt tre instruksjoner: en ba deltagerne om fortrenge alle demografiske tanker; en instruerte deltagere til å fortrenge spesifikke demografiske tanker; og en kontroll gruppe som ikke mottok noen instruksjoner om å fortrenge i det hele tatt. Deltagere ble så bedt om å evaluere både kvinnelige og mannlige italienske, samiske og norske jobb kandidater. Før evalueringsprosessen mottok halvparten av deltagerne en kognitiv manipulasjon som skulle sørge for å legge beslag på deres kognitive kapasitet. Deltagere som mottok den kognitive manipulasjonen ble bedt om å huske flest kandidat navn. Deltagerne som ikke mottok en kognitiv manipulasjon ble bedt om å huske navnet på den siste kandidaten. Vi forventet en ironisk effekt hos deltagerne med begrenset kognitiv kapasitet som hadde blitt bedt om å fortrenge spesifikke demografiske tanker til å evaluere de counter-stereotypiske jobb kandidater mindre velvillige sammenlignet med deltagerne i de andre gruppene. Hypotesen ble ikke støttet av resultatene og indikerte fravær av den ironiske effekten. En analyse av hver enkelt jobb ble kjørt også disse resulterte i liten støtte til hypotesen. Det var altså ingen signifikante funn i dette studiet og alle jobb kandidater ble evaluert likt av deltagerne uansett gruppe.

*“When an idea imposes itself on the mind to such an extent as to give rise to a suggestions, all the conscious efforts which the subject makes in order to counteract this suggestion are not merely without the desired effect, but they actually run counter to the subjects conscious wishes and tend to intensify the suggestion. (Baudouin, 1921, p.116.)*

When applying for a job the applicants often send a resume to the employer. The employer has an opportunity to view the applicant’s credentials and affiliations before making a hiring decision (Biesanz, Neuberg, Jucice & Smith, 1999). All though this is the most common process in the labor market, studies have demonstrated that the evaluative process is subjective and vulnerable to rating error such as discriminatory tendencies (Cole, Field & Giles, 2004), implying the existence of an unfair selection process of the applicants. Research conducted on the topic revealed the existence of discriminatory tendencies in the labor market especially towards African -American, Arab and Muslim applicants (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Rooth 2010; Dereous, Nguyen & Ryan, 2009). Thus discrimination based on ethnicity, gender or affiliations may be an unfortunate reality for many job applicants.

Discrimination can be defined as negative behavior towards a group or its members (Hall, 2005). Ethnic discrimination is often based on stereotypes (Hall, 2005). Stereotypical beliefs implies categorizing “individuals based on their gender, ethnicity or other affiliations to all members of that category and attributes that set of characteristics to any individual member of that category “(Snyder, 1981, p.415). The cost of inflicting an individual to stereotype beliefs or narrow simplifications entails a substantial loss of the individuals’ complexity and personal qualities (Sherman, Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). When applying stereotype beliefs in hiring decisions, as described above, members of the stereotyped group

may be disregarded as job applicants based solely on their names i.e. (in other words) discriminated against. Like ethnic discrimination, prejudices are often based on stereotypical beliefs, which arise from incorrect information (Jensen, 2005). The stereotypical beliefs are often based on emotional biased interpretations of experience and information that further enhances and maintains stereotypical beliefs (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004). Therefore discrimination, prejudice and stereotype can be similar in that they all might lead to negative evaluations implied by categorization. Although there are many advantages of categorization such as more rapid information processing (Sherman et al., 2000), there are also disadvantages. For instance, once an individual is categorized, others will start to feel, think and behave towards that individual regardless of whether the individual fit all the labels included in the category (Sanchez & Medkik, 2004).

Because stereotype application is relatively automatic, categorizing applicants based on stereotypes may seem as a convenient “shortcut” for busy recruiters in the labor market. By categorizing we use little cognitive effort while providing maximum information by applying individual categorical knowledge (Sherman et al., 2000). Therefore categorization in an applicant selection process might lead to stereotyped and biased decision where the applicant’s skills and qualifications are neglected or overlooked. Alternatively the process of individuating applicants as opposed to categorizing them might result in a more thorough evaluation of each of the applicants’ attributes (Sherman et al., 2000). This process certainly requires much more cognitive effort but when individuating a fair affective and behavioral reaction toward the applicant reduces the possibility of making an unfair decision (Sanchez & Medkik, 2004). Several organizations today are aware of these processes and aim to reduce stereotypical influences in the selection process and work environment (Cocchiara, Connerley & Bell, 2010). The respective organizations aim to minimize the possibilities of making unfair decisions during the evaluation process, therefore professionals are solicited to

propose strategies which might diminish stereotypical influenced thinking (Stewart, LaDuke, Bracht, Sweet & Gamarel, 2003).

### **Diversity Training Strategies**

To enhance fairness in the workplace and the applicant selection process, organizations offer diversity-training programs to their employees. Diversity in a work place refers to a group's heterogeneity and variety of individual attributes ranging from highly visible, immediately apparent characteristics such as gender and ethnicity to more subtle and difficult-to-detect qualities such as values or religion (Hobman, Bordia & Gallois, 2003). The diversity-training programs goal is to provide strategies to reduce stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination in the workplace (Stewart et al., 2003). Ultimately the goal of diversity training is to achieve "...full integration of members of minority social categories into the social, structural, and power relationships of an organization or institution" (Brewer, Hipper & Gooden, 1999, p. 337).

Strategies from diversity training programs entails conferring knowledge, skills and motivation to the employees to best facilitate cooperation and productivity with dissimilar others (Pendry, Driscoll & Field, 2007). The strategies are often a combination of social psychology theories and a practical execution of those theories (Pendry et al., 2007). Diversity training practices a "real world" hands on solutions to improve the integration of diversity in the workplace, whether it relates to gender, ethnicity, race, age or other social groups, by using exercises which includes staff training or training in recruitment procedures (Pendry et al., 2007). Thus the diversity- training program offer organizations strategies aimed at reducing stereotypical thinking in the work environment and the selection process.

**Diversity training limitations** A common strategy often suggested by the diversity-training program is to provide the decision maker with strategies to successfully suppress



stereotypical thoughts (Kulik, Perry & Bourhis, 2000). Suppression in diversity training includes instructions to consciously avoid specific thoughts (e.g. stereotypical thoughts associated with the applicant) and instead think of a range of applicant's demographics (Kulik et al., 2000). Strategies of suppressing stereotypical thoughts may seem appealing as these strategies are promoted to be an effective solution to workplace problem such as discrimination or bad relations (Pendry et al., 2007). However research on diversity-training programs is still at an early stage, and most studies have been exploratory in nature with a too limited scope (Pendry et al., 2007). To date few studies have evaluated the effectiveness of suppression strategy as diversity training (Pendry et al, 2007). One must therefore be careful when making assumptions regarding the programs efficiency. Many of the assessments and evaluations of diversity training have been conducted by the diversity-training practitioners, which are either missing the expertise or other resources (money, staff) to conduct a proper scientific evaluation (Pendry et al., 2007). Furthermore many of the scientific studies are conducted in controlled laboratory settings where information and stimuli are presented and extraneous variables controlled. Such studies lack ecological validity since these elements are often hard to retain in a natural workplace environment (Pendry et al., 2007). Hence, more research is needed before a conclusion on the effectiveness of the diversity- training programs can be established and the potential drawbacks can be accounted for. Kulik, Perry and Bourhis (2000) conducted a research, which highlighted the dangers associated with suppression during hiring decisions. The researcher examined the ironic effects of suppressions based on Wegner's ironic process theory, which postulates that suppression under certain conditions may heighten the accessibility of the unwanted thoughts (Wegner, 1994). For this reason, the current paper is interested in exploring suppression as a diversity training strategy and explored which conditions efforts to suppress specific thoughts might effect evaluations of applicants in stereotype groups

**Ironic process theory**

How can we define ironic effects and why do ironic effects occur? It is best explained by examples from our everyday life for example the constant thinking of food when on a diet. It seems as though the harder we try ignoring food related thoughts, images of burgers and pizza keep popping into mind more frequently. According to the theory of ironic processes the success of mental control is dependent on our mental capacity. Mental control is best achieved adequate mental resources are available (Wegner, 1994). Thus when mental capacity is reduced mental control declines and the attempt to suppress unwanted thoughts backfires, ironically increasing the magnitude of the unwanted thoughts (Wegner, 1994). Diversity training programs often encourage employers to suppress thoughts related to stereotypical thinking when making hiring decisions or evaluating applicants (Kulik et al., 2000). The existence of empirical evidence suggests that suppression might lead to ironic effects. However more research on the effectiveness of this strategy is necessary. In other words findings from studies indicated that suppressing stereotypical related thoughts might in fact increase the amount of the thoughts that were being suppressed causing an ironic effect. The goal of this paper was first to briefly outline the ironic process theory and concentrate on the theoretical issues that can inform the practitioners in the diversity-training program about the possibilities of an undesired effect. Second, this paper further investigates which conditions might cause an ironic effect by means of suppression.

**Mechanisms of ironic effect:** Wegner's (1994) research on ironic processes of mental control demonstrated that there were two processes initiated when unwanted thoughts were suppressed; the operating and monitoring process. The operating process searched for thoughts consistent with the desired mental state, for instance thoughts that were not related to the subject being suppressed (e.g. stereotypical beliefs). The second process, the monitoring process that tested whether the operating process is doing its job by screening for

thoughts (stereotypical beliefs) reflecting a failure of mental control (Kulik et al., 2000). By doing so the monitoring process creates an undesirable effect as it searches for thoughts related to the subject the operating process is attempting to avoid. The operating process requires more cognitive resources, whereas the monitoring process relies on limited resources. The operating process therefore has more influence over mental control compared to the monitoring system, but this is only true when there is substantial cognitive capacity available (Wegner, 1994). The interference of the monitoring process is necessary if the goal is successful achievement of mental control. The monitoring process does at some level impede the operating process to suppress thoughts but at the same time it alerts the operating process of the need of renewing distraction when conscious awareness of the unwanted thoughts becomes imminent (Gibbs, 2007). Therefore when the operating process functions successfully unwanted thoughts related to the suppressed subject are reduced and desired thoughts are increased. However a fully functioning operating process is not manageable if there already exist some form of cognitive load (Kulik et al., 2000). Cognitive load can include concurrent tasks, time pressure, memory load or some kind of stress related preoccupation that impairs the cognitive processing (Gilbert & Hixon 1991; Monahan & Laliker, 2002). As the attempt to suppress requires cognitive effort, suppression becomes more difficult when one is experiencing cognitive load simultaneously (Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Wheeler, 1996). The monitoring process inhibits the operating process attempts so suppress a thought as it searches for the unwanted thoughts and making them more accessible by increasing their frequency (Kulik et al., 2000).

**Empirical evidence for ironical effects of thought suppression** The ironical effect of thought suppression was demonstrated in a study conducted by Wegner and colleagues (1987). This classic study, referred to as “white bear” study demonstrated that thoughts of a white bear were found more likely to recur for the participants who were instructed to

suppress thoughts of a white bear compared to participants who had not been instructed to suppress such thoughts (Wegner, Schneider, Carter & White, 1987). In short the participants were asked to speak about a random topic (whatever came to mind) for five minutes. After five minutes half the participants were interrupted and instructed to “not to think of an white bear” while speaking. They were in addition asked to ring a bell whenever an image of a white bear came to mind. The other participants were asked to think of a white bear, and ring the bell whenever a thought of a white bear came to mind. The results indicated that the participants instructed to suppress thoughts of a white bear experienced white bear thoughts more frequently compared to the participants who did not need to suppress such thoughts. The study also demonstrated the possibility of a “rebound effect” (Wegner et al., 1987), where the frequency of white bear thoughts increased per minute in a post-suppression period, whereas white bear thoughts decreased over time in all the other “not-suppression” conditions (Wegner et al., 1987). The rebound effect occurs when target thoughts are reported infrequently during suppression and only increase in occurrence during subsequent expression periods (Wegner et al., 1987). In summary Wegner’s study demonstrated that suppressed thoughts retaliate and become more accessible during and after suppression.

Galinsky and Moskowitz (2007) also conducted a study yielding support for the ironic effects of mental control when attempting suppression. In addition they proposed that suppression increases the accessibility of counter stereotypical thoughts. They suggested that by replacing stereotypical thoughts with opposite constructs or the antonym of the stereotypical thoughts (counter stereotypical thoughts), suppression might lead to an ironic effect where both stereotypical and counter stereotypical thoughts become simultaneously accessible (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2007). The counter stereotypical thoughts were intended to work as distractors making thought suppression more effective by replacing the stereotypical thoughts with counter stereotypical beliefs. The researchers predicted that the

availability of counter stereotypical beliefs would lead to successful suppression of stereotypical thoughts if the participant's cognitive capacity were fully available. However if under some kind of cognitive load, they predicted that the counter stereotypical beliefs would be trounced by the stereotypical thoughts and suppression would backfire. An experiment was conducted where the researchers manipulated cognitive load and the evidence indicated that the stereotype and counter stereotype are made accessible through two different processes associated with suppression. The researchers explained their finding by suggesting that counter stereotypical thinking was made accessible through the operating process (resource dependent) whereas stereotypical thinking was made accessible through the monitoring process (automatic system). Thus when the participants were cognitively busy the monitoring process took control and overwhelmed the participants with undesired thoughts (stereotypical beliefs (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2007)).

Another study also supporting the monitoring's process performance was conducted by Bowman and colleagues (1994- Paper presented at the Society of Southeastern Social Psychology Winston-Salem NC). Participants (male and female) were asked to complete a series of stem sentences such as "woman who go out with a lot of men are...". Half the participants were instructed to not be sexist when completing the sentence stems, whereas the remaining half did not receive any instructions. In addition some of the participants were put under time pressure demanding an immediate response. Cognitive load was created with time pressure as the researchers predicted that any stress related preoccupation during the suppression task would yield ironic effects (Bowman et al., 1994). The results indicated that the participants instructed to not to be sexist and asked to respond immediately made more sexist completions compared to the participants in the other conditions (Bowman et al., 1994). Once again indicating that people attempting suppression while experiencing cognitive load e.g. time pressure, ironically experience an increase in the unwanted thoughts.

Giuliano and Wicha (2010) demonstrated the cognitive processes of the ironic effect relying on more objective methods of measurement by using electrophysiological measures. The researchers used a N400 device to test whether suppression would facilitate semantic access to suppressed words through an ironic monitoring process. The N400 is a component often used in memory and language research, which measures temporal cognitive processes, and semantic automatic spread of activation. They hypothesized that a suppressed word would activate the spread of semantic properties more compared to not-suppressed words . Half the participants were instructed to suppress the word “mountain” while the other participants did not receive any suppression instruction. Next the participants were instructed to look at a screen where the target word “mountain” were presented along with other related words and some nonsense words (Giuliana & Wicha, 2010). The ERP `s revealed that the participants who were instructed to suppress the word “ mountain” had a larger spread of semantic activation when the target word and related words appeared on the screen whereas the participants who did not suppress had less semantic activation during the experiment (Giuliana & Wicha, 2010). The results further support the ironic process theory by demonstrating the ironic effects of suppressing at a semantic level.

These studies show the possible drawbacks of applying suppression in the diversity training programs as a strategy to reduce stereotypical thinking since suppression might lead to an increase in the unwanted thoughts. The findings from Wegner`s “white bear” study (1987) indicated that suppressed thoughts become more eruptive when they are allowed to be expressed after suppression. In a work place environment it could imply that employees requested to suppress stereotypical thoughts will retaliate by stereotyping more when they exit the work place. A possible pitfall like this makes more research on the diversity training programs “suppression” strategies necessary. The above-mentioned studies suggest that

suppression is an ineffective way to achieve control over undesired thoughts especially when experiencing cognitive load.

**Integrating inconsistent empirical evidence** However the existence of contradictory research cannot be left unmentioned. Gilbert and Hixon (1991) conducted a study, which predicted that suppression under cognitive load would not necessarily increase stereotypical thoughts. The researchers proposed that although cognitive busyness may heighten the tendency to exert stereotypes it might also revoke the same tendency if counter-stereotypical beliefs are made available. They suggested that stereotypes are information that must be activated before they can be applied. Therefore contrary to the above-mentioned findings, subjects being cognitively busy might be less likely prone to construe others in stereotypical terms as cognitive busyness might inhibit the activation of stereotypes (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). Gilbert and Hixon (1991) study aimed to investigate the effects of cognitive busyness on the activation and the application of stereotypes. The participants were instructed to complete to a word-fragment completion task. Where the word fragments were displayed on a card presented in a video by either an Asian or a Caucasian woman. The Asian or the Caucasian woman in the video was the ethnic manipulation. The subjects were instructed to complete the word fragments. Five of the nineteen presented words were pretested words that were stereotypically associated with Asian women for example “Polite” and “Police” as the not stereotypical word (in word fragments: “P OLI\_E”). Prior to being exposed to the word fragments half the participants were assigned to the cognitively busy condition where they were told that they had to perform a nonverbal and a verbal task simultaneously. In addition the same participants were asked to memorize an eight-digit number. The researchers predicted that the not-busy participants would generate more stereotypical word fragment completions if the Asian woman presented the words. The results supported the predictions demonstrating that the not-busy participants did in fact make more stereotypical word

fragments compared to the participants in the busy condition indicating that the not-busy participants applied more stereotypical constructs to the task (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991). These findings were differed from the findings mentioned in the previous sections (Kulik et al., 2000, Galiensky & Moskowitz, 2007, Sherman, Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). However two limitations due to the experimental methodology in the work by Gilbert and Hixon (1991) should be further discussed. First, the participants rated an Asian woman based on word fragments intended to be stereotypic however some of the stereotypical intended words derived from the pretest could easily have be applied to other ethnic groups e.g. calm, composed, intelligent. Perhaps the participants perceived the intended stereotypical words as neutral and as a result the stereotypical words were not distinguished different from other words. Second, the cognitive busyness manipulation can be criticized. The busy subjects performed as well as the not-busy subjects on a variety of the indices that were given to evaluate their cognitive resources while being busy (manipulation check) perhaps offering the possibility that the cognitively busy subjects did not experience a cognitive load and therefore did not need to rely on stereotypical thoughts (a functioning operating process). This suggests that cognitive busyness manipulations might have been ineffective and the participants operating process was fully functioning causing a successful suppression without an overtaking of the monitoring process. In previous mentioned studies it was reported that the cognitive busyness manipulation had been successful and the participants had reported that they were preoccupied with a distracting task during the experiment (Kulik et al., 2000, Galiensky & Moskowitz, 2007, Sherman, Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000).

The study by Gilbert and Hixon (1991) nevertheless yielded results contradicting suggestions derived from other studies attempting to demonstrate the ironical effects when suppressing thoughts. According to Gilbert and Hixon (1991) cognitive busyness may inhibit the existent of stereotypical thoughts when suppression is attempted, however several studies



have yielded the opposite findings where stereotypical thoughts are enhanced when subjects experience cognitive busyness during suppression (Kulik et al., 2000, Galiansky & Moskowitz, 2007, Sherman, Macrae & Bodenhausen, 2000). These inconsistencies in earlier work make it even more important to further explore the possible the ironic effects of suppression in hiring decisions, especially as suppression is a suggested strategy for reducing stereotypical thoughts in the work place.

### **Ironic effects in hiring decisions**

Are ironic effects relevant in hiring decisions and how can they produce undesired effects? Kulik and colleagues (2000) conducted a study demonstrating the relevance of ironic effects during applicant evaluations by instructing participants to rate older job applicants. The researchers chose an older job applicant as the use of age stereotypes during the selection process may result in more negatively evaluation towards the older applicant (Kulik et al., 2000). The researchers hypothesized that ironic effects were likely to occur when the raters attempted thought suppression when experiencing cognitive load (Kulik et al., 2000). To avoid stereotypical thinking towards the older job applicants the raters had to successfully suppress any age related thoughts and instead focus on the qualifications of the older job applicant (Kulik et al., 2000). To test the hypothesis raters were instructed to evaluate three applicants (two middle-aged and one old). The researchers used video resumes to present the applicant's qualifications and relevant information to the raters. In addition three more videos were developed for the study. One video was about video resumes (control group), one video instructed the raters to not think about applicants age during evaluation (age suppression condition) and the final video instructed the raters to not think about the applicants sex, ethnicity or age during evaluation (demography suppression condition). Interestingly the researchers predicted that the participants who viewed the demography

video while being cognitively busy would rate the older applicant more favorably compared to the participants who viewed the age suppression video. The mentioned operating and monitoring processes can explain this prediction. When attempting to suppress only age relevant thoughts, the monitoring process searches for specifically age relevant thoughts, thus making a cognitive mental effort error. But when instructed to suppress demographic thoughts, there is a lower probability that the rater will focus solely age relevant thoughts (Kulik et al., 2000). The raters were randomly assigned to view one of the three videos. Half the participants were made cognitively busy before viewing the videos (Kulik et al., 2000). The raters in the cognitively busy condition were told that they had to make a video resume of their own after the experimental session and they were advised to prepare for the task while watching the two videos. The researcher expected this manipulation to be effective, as the raters would concentrate on this future task and devote much of their cognitive efforts for planning and preparing for the video resume making. Thus suppressing thoughts about older job applicants simultaneously as focusing on the given task was expected to ultimately create an ironic effect, as the cognitive capacity would be reduced, and the monitoring process would supersede the operating process creating more stereotypical thoughts about the older job applicants. The results revealed that the cognitively busy raters evaluated the older applicants less favorably than the not cognitively busy participants (Kulik et al., 2000). Hence, the ironic effect was stronger for the participants in the specific diversity training (older job applicants) who were cognitively busy during the evaluation of the applicants (Kulik et al., 2000). The researchers explained the results using Wegner's theory (1994) regarding the aforementioned processes (operating and monitoring process) that takes place; the intended mental control was undermined as the monitoring process surfaced, ironically overwhelming participants intention to control their mental state (Wegner, 1994). In addition a manipulation check was included in the study indicating that the participants in the busy

condition were distracted by the manipulation task. This finding emphasize the possible disadvantages associated with suppression during hiring decisions and indicates that efforts to suppress stereotypic thoughts while experiencing cognitive load might have negative implications for the selection process (Kulik et al., 2000).

### **The present research**

Suppressing stereotypical thoughts is one of the popular strategies the diversity-training programs practices to reduce discrimination in the selection process and the work place (Kulik et al., 2000). However as several studies have demonstrated, suppression can be vulnerable to ironic effects especially if the rater is experiencing some kind of cognitive load. If cognitive capacity is constrained the act of suppression backfires, and instead elicits more unwanted thoughts. The findings supporting these assumptions raise questions regarding the benefits of practicing suppression as a strategy to reduce discrimination when it may have negative consequences. Of interest to this paper are the effects of suppression under different conditions. Especially the difference of suppressing specific thoughts related to one single aspect of the applicant's demographic attributes compared to suppressing thoughts about several of the applicant's demographic attributes at the same time. Wegner (1994) argued that when the suppression instructions include thoughts about applicant's demographics, the monitoring process searches for a variety of thoughts including applicant's age, sex, age and ethnicity. However when instructed to suppress a single thought (for example related to applicants ethnicity) the monitoring process only searches for thoughts related to the applicants ethnicity and undoes the intention of the operating process (suppressing thoughts related to ethnicity).

The following experiment tested whether participants who are instructed to suppress specific thoughts will stereotype more while experiencing cognitive load, compared to

participants suppressing a broader range of demographical thoughts while experiencing cognitive load and compared to a control group which is experiencing cognitive load but receives no suppression instruction. In the present work the participants were instructed to suppress ethnic, gender and nationality related thoughts. In the non-specific instructions participants were asked to suppress all of these demographic related thoughts at the same time. In the specific instructions condition, participants were asked to suppress one of these thoughts. In the control condition, nothing was mentioned about suppressing thoughts or about demography.

As previously mentioned, prior studies have demonstrated that Muslim and African-American job applicants are discriminated against in the applicant selection process (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Rooth 2010). Because this study took place in northern Norway, this study was especially interested in whether discrimination towards Sami applicants was existent. The Sami is an indigenous ethnic group in the northern most part of Scandinavia with a strong political and social presence in Norway (Jensen, 2005). The Sami population historically experienced discrimination in Northern Norway from approximately 1850 to 1960 due to the policy of *Norwegiaziation* (Jensen, 2005). During this period the Sami population was exposed to ethnic discrimination and prejudice due to the Norwegian governments efforts to impose the adaption of Norwegian language and culture (Jensen, 2005).

In addition because they inhabited northern areas close to Russia they were viewed upon as a security risk (Gaski, 1997), making colonization more urgent for the Norwegian government. Although the policy of *Norwegianization* ended in the 1960's the Sami population are still considered to be discriminated against by some and Hansen and Sørli (2012) argue that they are, still today. There are currently 40,000 indigenous Sami inhabitants in northern Norway and the current political climate is making up for its former

discriminatory policies by implementing measures to promote the indigenous populations education, art, research and politics (Young & Bjerregaard, 2008). For these reasons, the specific diversity training instructions instructed the participants to suppress ethnic related thoughts, including Sami applicants.

Furthermore two Italian applicants were included in the study. The Italian applicants were first intended as a comparison group in the pilot studies. This study was interested in whether the participants would show similar results for other outgroups than the Sami. As a relatively arbitrary choice, Italians were selected as an additional outgroup. Male and female applicants were included because it would be interesting to know if there was a gender bias in the simulated hiring decisions. Several studies of the labor market have revealed a gender bias where different standards are applied to female applicants compared with men (Biernat & Kobrynowicz, 1997; Foschi, 2000) and that male applicants are preferred over female applicants in high responsibility jobs (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). In addition findings by Biernat and Fuegen (2001) reported that female applicants were less likely to be hired for a job during the final decision stage.

In the current study suppression and cognitive load was manipulated. Suppression was divided into “specific suppression (ethnicity, gender, nationality)” and “demographic suppression (all targets)” and no suppression (control group). Cognitive load was divided into cognitive load operationalized as a difficult memory task (memorize all applicants names) and no cognitive load (memorize the last applicant name). Finally, several jobs were selected from a pilot study such that different stereotypes (gender-stereotypes, ethnicity-stereotypes, or nationality-stereotypes) would be applicable to different jobs. Technically, the prediction was a three-way interaction between whether the participants worked under cognitive load or not, what kind of suppression instructions they had received beforehand, and, whether the job applicant was a good or bad match for the job at hand, according to common stereotypes. The

prediction was that under cognitive load, participants who had received broad suppression instructions (all targets) would evaluate a counter-stereotypical applicant for a job worse than participants who had received no suppression instructions (the control group). This ironic effect should be even stronger if the participants had received specific suppression instructions (either gender, or ethnicity, or nationality) that were applicable to the job and applicant.

## **Method**

### **Pilot studies**

The goal of the first pilot study was to identify professions that the participants associate with specific groups. The purpose of the second pilot study was to pretest the perceived quality of descriptions for the “applicants” applying for six professions that were selected from the first pilot study.

The participants in the two pilot studies were from the same population but different samples. First year psychologist students at the University of Tromsø were recruited during a lecture arranged with the lecturer beforehand. Participation was voluntarily and the participants did not receive compensation for their participation.

### **Pilot study 1: profession selection**

The purpose of this pilot study was to test which profession was evaluated to what degree as stereotypic for the different ethnic and gender groups. The participants were presented with fourteen professions; each of the professions included a Sami versus Norwegian, Italian versus Norwegian and female versus male rating. The applicants were instructed to evaluate to what degree each of the professions was associated with each of the group pairs. The second purpose of this pilot study was to select the professions that had a strong stereotypical association on one dimension (for example, that were considered

“typically female”), but not on others. The professions rated as stereotypical and neutral would be included in the main study.

**Procedure:** The pilot study consisted of a questionnaire (see Appendix A). The questionnaire presented fourteen professions selected from SSB (Statistisk Sentralbyrå), for example zoologist, psychologist, lawyer, architect and teacher. The participants read an instruction requesting them to “rate the professions: to what degree do you associate them with the presented groups”. For every profession the participants had to rate whether female-male, Norwegian-Sami, Norwegian-Italian applicants were most associated with the professions. For each profession, three ratings were collected on six-point scales from -3 to +3 (the signs were not shown in the questionnaire).

**Participants:** Fifty first-year psychology students at the University at Tromsø participated. The participants were recruited during a lecture in the classroom. The students were asked to fill out the questionnaires during the lecture. They received substantial information about participation and were ensured that participations were voluntarily and their respond would be anonyms.

**Results:** A one sample T-test was conducted to test the participant’s preference for each of the three dimensions (female-male, Norwegian-Sami, Norwegian-Italian) in all the presented jobs, where the participants had a clear preference on that dimension (for example, “this job is typically female”), but are neutral on both other dimensions (for example, “secretary is typically female job, but when it comes to Norwegian/Sami or Norwegian/Italian, I have no strong associations”). By conducting this test the ideal solution was to detect one “female” job, one “male” job, one “non-Sami” job, one “Sami” job, one

“non-Italian” job, and one “Italian” job. However, as Table 1 shows, people mostly had strong associations for the same job on several dimensions. For example, the secretary is stereotypically female according to the pilot study, but it is also stereotypically non-Sami and in addition it is non-Italian too. Therefore six jobs where the participants showed strong preference on one dimension (for example, the secretary job is “typically female”) were selected. Later in the main study, the applicant names were varied on that dimension (some secretary applicants were given female first names, whereas others were given male first names). To even out the problem that the participants had significant associations between secretary and non-Sami, and between secretary and non-Italian, the same kind of family name for all of them (all secretary applicants then had non-Sami and non-Italian family names) was applied. In the same way, the first OR family name for all other jobs were varied, such that all applicants for the job differed only on one dimension, but were in the same group for all others.



Table1. Means and standard deviations of participant's rating of professions associated with the groups.

	Female/male	Norwegian/Sami	Norwegian/Italian
Actor	-.68 (1.58) **	-.86 (1.46) ***	.20 (1.54)
Architect	.68 (1.80) **	-1.22 (1.50) **	.18 (1.77)
Carpenter	2.46 (0.71) ***	-.56 (1.59) *	-.84 (1.65) **
Doctor	.20 (1.82)	-1.54 (1.16) ***	-1.08 (1.29) ***
Graphic Designer	-.14 (2.01)	-1.06 (1.42) ***	.06 (1.73)
Italian language tutor	-.94 (1.54) ***	-1.22 (1.37) ***	2.50 (.86) ***
Lawyer	.22 (1.83)	-1.28 (1.34) ***	-.98 (1.42) ***
Psychologist	-.90 (1.56) ***	-1.44 (1.11) ***	-1.16 (1.22) ***
Reindeer herder	1.82 (1.21) ***	2.52 (1.07) ***	1.70 (1.49) ***
Secretary	-2.12 (1.00) ***	-1.38 (1.07) ***	-.64 (1.69) *
Taxi driver	1.71 (1.35) ***	-.88 (1.45) ***	-.20 (1.69)
Teacher	-.30 (1.85)	-1.26 (1.32) ***	-1.10 (1.39) ***
Writer	-.08 (1.76)	-1.06 (1.27) ***	-.60 (1.29) *
Zoologist	.00 (1.73)	-.54 (1.51) *	0.62(1.23) ***

*Note* :Standard deviation in parentheses. Means with different superscripts are significant with \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . Six-point answer scale from -3 to +3, the scale endpoints were labeled as in the column titles.

### **Pilot study 2: qualification script**

The purpose of the second pilot study was to select which qualifications the applicants should possess to be an appropriate applicant for the professions selected from the first pilot study. The idea of including three applicants (low, averaged and highly qualified) came from an experiment by Kulik and colleagues (2000) where a similar method was utilized where they were investigated rater's evaluations of older job applicants while suppressing stereotypical thoughts of older job applicants and being cognitively busy simultaneously. Kulik and colleagues (2000) included three applicants to give the participants standards of comparison. In the Kulik and colleagues (2000) experiment the participants viewed the best candidate

and the worst-candidate video resume first, and watched the average-candidate video last, which was the applicant the researchers were really interested in. The current study was also interested in the averaged qualified applicants but included low- and highly qualified applicants to provide the participants with a standard of comparison. However unlike the Kulik and colleagues (2000) the current experiment was a questionnaire study and not a video study, therefore all three applicants (low, averaged and highly qualified) were presented at the same time, on the same page.

Nine different descriptions were created (one sentence) of applicants for each profession presenting relevant education and work experience descriptions. Each profession had three low, three averaged and three good descriptions of applicants. The low qualified applicants had little education and almost no work experience. The averaged applicants had some education and relevant work experience. The highly qualified applicants were very educated (at least a masters degree) and more relevant work experience.

We were interested in identifying which description would receive low, average and high ratings by the participants. These selected descriptions would then be included in the main study representing either the low, average or highly qualified applicants for the already selected professions (pilot study one).

**Procedure:** A questionnaire was developed for the purpose (See Appendix B). We developed one-sentenced scripts for applicants for the six professions depicting the low, averaged and highly qualified applicant. Thus, each profession was presented with nine descriptions of applicants' qualifications, three bad three averaged and three very good. The nine descriptions for each profession were randomly presented with no fixed order concerning the levels of qualifications. The participants were instructed to evaluate how

qualified each of the nine applicants would be for the profession based on the presented descriptions by rating the applicants on an eight-point likert scale.

**Participants:** Thirty-five first years psychology students at the University of Tromsø were required in the same way as the first pilot study.

**Results:** Three descriptions were selected for each job (from the nine per job that were pretested); one representing the low qualified applicants, the other the averaged qualified applicants and finally one for the highly qualified applicants. The ratings for the three applications for each of the professions were entered into repeated-measures ANOVA, and pairwise comparisons of each application with each of the remaining two applications were requested. The pairwise comparison revealed that the averaged qualified applications received significantly higher ratings than the low-quality application, and significantly lower ratings than the high-quality application, all  $p < .005$ . The results yielded one low, one average and one highly qualified description for each applicant relevant for the six professions. In total eighteen descriptions were selected from the pilot study. The selected descriptions derived from the participant's ratings were included in the main study as the applicant's qualifications (see table 2).

Table 2. Means and standard deviations of participants rating of applicant's qualifications.

	Low qualified applicant	Averaged qualified	High qualified
Carpenter	2.40 (1.28) a	5.09 (1.17) b	6.71 (0.46) c
Italian Language tutor	2.81 (1.36) a	4.94 (1.34) b	5.82 (1.01) c
Lawyer	4.60 (1.16) a	5.67 (.84) b	6.50 (.85) c
Reindeer herder	2.69 (1.28) a	3.46 (1.01) b	5.63 (1.29) c
Psychologist	4.65 (1.30) a	6.09 (.79) b	6.85 (.44) c
Secretary	1.43 (1.71) a	4.71 (1.31) b	6.69 (.46) c

*Note:* Within professions, ratings with a different subscript differ from each other at  $p < .005$ . Answer scale from 0, "little qualified," to 7, "highly qualified."

### Main Study

To test whether if the busy cognitively participants who had been instructed to suppress thoughts related to ethnicity, gender or nationality demonstrated more stereotypical thinking than the raters in all the other conditions. A study was conducted in which the participants were instructed to evaluate eighteen applicants based on their qualifications applying for six professions (one low, averaged and highly qualified applicant) derived from the pilot studies. The applicants were presented with a name indicating the applicant's gender and ethnic group and one sentence describing their education and qualifications in the questionnaires (derived from pilot study two). The materials for the main study questionnaire was derived and pretested from the pilot studies.

**Participants: Participants** Students at the department of "Handelshøyskolen" participated in the experiment. Ninety-three students (41 females and 52 males) age varying from 19- 44 ( $M=23.65$  years,  $SD=4.90$ ). None of these participants participated in one of the pilot studies. The participants were informed that those who participated would be included

in a draft to win an Ipad. No participants were excluded from the analysis. These students were specifically chosen because of their education and future career possibilities.

“Handelshøyskolen” offers educations that are business related and because this paper is interested in diversity training strategies (often used in organizations) these students’ decisions were of interest to us. The students from the “Handelshøyskole” are possibly future leaders thus making their hiring decisions particularly interesting.

**Design:** Three independent variables were manipulated: diversity training (control versus specific suppression versus demographic suppression), cognitive busyness (busy versus not busy) and applicant stereotypical for the profession versus counter-stereotypical for the profession). Diversity training and cognitive busyness were between subject factors and the applicants stereotypicality for the profession was a within subject factors.

**Procedure:** The experimental sessions were conducted during a lecture in the classroom. The participants (N=93) were told that the purpose of the study was to examine their hiring decisions. Participants received a consent sheet informing them briefly about the procedure (answering a questionnaire) and the experimenters email address if they had any questions. The consent sheet also ensured the participation that their responds would remain anonymous and that participation was voluntarily. The questionnaires contained eight pages including the consent sheet. Participant’s demographics (age, ethnicity and gender) were requested at the last page of the questionnaires (see Appendix C).

After the questionnaires were collected a sheet was send around the classroom and the participants were instructed to write their emails if they were interested in being included in the draft to win the Ipad. All the participants (N=93) wrote their email addresses. This procedure was repeated nine times during small courses (maximum 27 students) as we

wanted to have control over the session and control (see manipulation check) would have been reduced if data collection were conducted in a class with more than 30 students.

### **Materials and Measures**

**Suppression instructions** The specific suppression conditions contained a paragraph copied from the University of Tromsø's web page promoting equality of the genders at the Universities work environment. The paragraph was adjusted to fit the suppression conditions. Three different paragraphs were developed for the specific suppression condition: a gender specific, a Sami specific and a nationality specific. Thus, three questionnaires for the specific suppression condition was developed containing one of the three paragraphs. The participants in this condition only read one of the three paragraphs. Each paragraph promoted a gender or Sami or Nationality equality in the work environment. At the end of the paragraph the participants were instructed to suppress thoughts related to gender, Sami or nationality depending on which paragraph they had read (gender, Sami or nationality).

To investigate whether the specific instructions had an effect we developed an additional version but altered it further to promote all three demographic affiliations at the same time (mixing gender, ethnic and nationality). At the end of the demographical paragraph the participants were instructed to suppress any demographical related thoughts. Similar instructions have been successfully used in previous research (Kulik et al., 2000). We also created questionnaires for the control group. The control group questionnaires did not contain any information on specific groups and therefore no suppressing instruction was given (see Appendix D).

**Cognitive busy versus not busy:** Half of the questionnaires instructed the participants to memorize as many applicant names as possible (busy cognition) while the other half instructed the participants to remember the last applicant name (not busy). This

instruction was shown after they had read the adjusted paragraph depending on which condition they were assigned to.

**Evaluation of the applicants:** After the two instructions (suppression and cognitive busyness manipulation) were given on the first page of the questionnaire, the evaluation task presenting the applicants and profession followed. Each profession included one low qualified, one averaged qualified and one highly qualified description (derived from pilot study two). The descriptions presented applicant's education and qualifications. In addition a name was written in front of each three descriptions in order for the participants to know the applicants gender and ethnicity. The applicants were given typically female and male Norwegian names as well as pretested Sami female and Sami male names and two Italian names that were chosen by the experimenter. For example one Sami female applicants were named "Stine Vinka" and one male Italian applicant was named "Paolo Rossi". In total there were eighteen different applicant names in the questionnaires. The participants were instructed to evaluate the applicants on two criteria's; qualifications (0= not qualified, 7=highly qualified) and expected success on applicants work performance (0=little success, 7= high success).

**Presentation of jobs and applicants:** The participants were presented with six profession in this order; secretary, carpenter, reindeer herder, psychologist, Italian language tutor and lawyer. Each of the professions had three applicants, one low qualified, one averaged qualified and one highly qualified. Furthermore each profession and its three applicants were shown on a separate page in the questionnaire, which always presented the professions, and its applicant in the same order. Within each of the questionnaires, the averaged qualified applicant (which will later be analyzed) was alternatingly stereotypical or counter stereotypical across the six professions. In total, two questionnaire versions were created. One, starting with the averaged qualified applicant who was stereotypical (female

secretary) and another starting with the averaged applicant who was a counter-stereotypical applicant (male secretary).

**Manipulation check:** A manipulation check was included at end of the questionnaires to indicate the extent the participants felt the memory task limited their concentration (0= Not at all, 7= very much) when evaluating the participants and to what extent they strived to remember the applicant names on a seven-point likert scale (0= No effort, 7=much effort). The manipulation check could thus ensure that the participants experienced cognitive load. We asked all participants to write the names they were instructed to memorize whether it was “as many applicant names” (cognitively busy) or the “last applicant name (not cognitively busy). Similar cognitive load manipulation has been used in prior studies (Moskowitz & Skrunik, 1999; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2007). Manipulation checks have been used more frequently during the last decades to ensure that the participants experienced some kind of cognitive load. In addition the manipulation check seemed necessary as many social psychologists view upon an experiment missing a manipulation check as a flawed experiment (Sigall & Mills, 1998).

**Questionnaire:** The study used questionnaires to collect data and a seven-point likert scale was used to assess the participant’s evaluations. In addition the participants answered questions addressing their demographics (age, gender and ethnicity and whether they were students) after they had evaluated the applicants and answered the manipulation check. In summary 20 different versions of the questionnaires were used: 5 (suppression instructions: all targets vs. control group vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity) x 2 (cognitive busyness: not busy vs. busy) x 2 (averaged qualified applicant for the first profession: stereotypical vs. counter-stereotypical).



## Results

**Manipulation check** We predicted that the participants who received instruction to memorize as many applicants names as possible (cognitively busy condition) would report a higher number of applicants names compared to the participants instructed to remember the last applicant name (not cognitively busy). To ensure whether the cognitive load has been effective, the participants were asked to write down the name of the last applicant (cognitively not busy condition) or all applicant names that they could remember (cognitively busy condition) when they had finished the evaluation of the applicants. The results demonstrated that on average the participants in the “not busy” condition wrote down fewer names ( $M = .85$ ,  $SD = 1.61$ ) than participants in the “busy” condition ( $M = 2.26$ ,  $SD = 1.80$ ). The difference was in the expected direction, and was statistically significant,  $F(1, 91) = 15.82$ ,  $p < .001$ . In addition the participants were asked to rate how much the memory task had distracted them from the evaluating the applicants, and how much effort they had put into memorizing the name(s). However, the results revealed that the distraction and effort ratings did not differ significantly between the “busy” and the “not busy” condition (see Table 3 for means and standard deviations), both  $F < 1$ , both  $p > .49$ . In sum, the manipulation check results were mixed. The number of names recalled showed a small but statistically significant difference in the expected direction however their ratings of distraction by and effort put into the memory task did not (see table 3).

Table 3. Manipulation check variables, means and standard deviations.

	Condition	Mean	Std.deviation	N
Distraction rating	not busy	2.09	1.79	46
	Busy	2.38	2.35	47
Effort rating	not busy	2.02	1.82	46
	Busy	1.83	2.09	47
Number of names recalled	not busy	.85	1.61	46
	busy	2.26	1.80	47

*Note:* distraction and effort: response scales from 0, “not at all” to 7, “very much.” Number of names: theoretical range from 0 (no name recalled) to 18 (all names recalled).

**Analysis for the averaged qualified applicants** The participants were instructed to answer two questions towards each applicant: (1) how well qualified the participant considered the applicant to be for the job at hand, and (2) to what degree the applicant would likely do this job well. The means and standard deviations for the ratings of the averaged qualified applicants, as well as the correlation between the two ratings for the same applicant are displayed in table 4. In general, the two ratings correlated well for each job, with Pearson correlation coefficients from .63 to .87,  $ps < .001$ . However, participants' ratings for the profession secretary did correlate positively and significant as expected but only to  $r = .23$ ,  $p < .05$ . Because this result was unexpected, the data were inspected for possible problems such as data entry errors, restriction of range, and systematic differences in the correlation between the conditions including a stereotypical versus a counter-stereotypical applicant. The inspection did not provide any explanation for the low correlation for the secretary job. Therefore, participant's ratings of all pairs for the same job (including the secretary job) were next averaged into a single score per job that could range from 1-7, where higher values indicate a better evaluation of the (averaged qualified) job applicant.

Table 4. Job qualification rating and expected job performance rating for the averaged qualified applicants.

	Secretary		Carpenter		Reindeer h.		Psychologist		Ital. teacher		Lawyer	
<i>M</i>	5.19	4.77	5.41	5.52	3.49	3.38	6.1	6.09	4.68	4.8	5.48	5.28
<i>SD</i>	1.07	.92	1.23	1.09	1.38	1.30	.90	.92	1.17	1.23	.89	.90
Min	3	2	2	2	1	1	3	3	1	1	3	3
Max	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
<i>r</i>	.23		.87		.76		.81		.76		.63	

*Note.* Response scales from 1, “to a low degree” to 7, “to a high degree.” *r* = Pearson correlation between job-qualification rating and expected-performance rating for the same (averaged qualified) job applicant. All values based on *N* = 93.

**Experimental conditions and applicant’s evaluation:** The hypothesis predicted a three-way interaction with a specific shape of the mean evaluation ratings. When the participants were cognitively busy (but not when they were not busy), instructions to suppress demography-related thoughts should have ironically increased those thoughts. The effect should be found for general suppression instructions and cognitive busyness, but it should be strongest when cognitive busyness, a stereotyped job, a counter-stereotypical applicant, and stereotype-specific suppression instructions all come together. According to ironic process theory these evaluations are the results of an increased availability of stereotypical thoughts related to the stereotyped groups (Kulik et al., 2000). For the counter-stereotypical applicants (but not for stereotypical applicants) the participants ratings should demonstrate a less favorably evaluation than if no thought-suppression instruction had been given. To test this the six evaluations of averaged qualified applicants were entered as the dependent variables into a mixed-model analysis of variance (ANOVA). The between-subjects factors in this analysis were (a) the thought-suppression instructions under which the participant completed the questionnaire (all demographics vs. none (control group) vs. gender

vs. nationality vs. ethnicity), (b) the level of cognitive busyness during the task (not busy vs. busy), and (c) the questionnaire version – this variable reflected which of the jobs had a counter-stereotypical averaged qualified applicant (version 1: carpenter, psychologist, lawyer; version 2: secretary, reindeer herder, Italian language teacher). The within-subjects factor was the applied-for job (secretary, carpenter, reindeer herder, psychologist, Italian language teacher, lawyer).

Because the mixed-model analysis is complex and investigates many effects that are not relevant to the hypothesis, the variance tables for between-subjects effects (see table 5) and within-subjects effects (see table 5) will be presented first, to see if there is any indication of the predicted three-way interaction. If so, the follow-up analyses to investigate whether the interaction also has the predicted shape will be presented.

Table 5. Test of between-subjects effects.

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	13826.97	1	13826.97	7942.74	.000***
Instruction	19.26	4	4.81	2.77	.034
Questionnaire	12.07	1	12.07	6.93	.010
Busyness	1.93	1	1.93	1.11	.296
Instruction * questionnaire	10.97	4	2.74	1.57	.190
Instruction * busyness	7.98	4	1.99	1.14	.342
Questionnaire * busyness	3.93	1	3.93	2.26	.137
Instruction * questionnaire busyness	13.70	4	3.42	1.97	.108
Error	127.01	73	1.74		

In its test of between-subjects effects, SPSS ignores the fact that each case provided six different ratings (internally, it averages the six ratings into a single one). As Table 5 shows,

there is some indication of a three-way interaction, but the effect fails to reach significance,  $F(4, 73) = 1.97, p < .11$ .

Table 6. Test of within-subjects effects.

Source	df	F	Sig.
Job	5	105.01	.00***
Job*instruction	20	.77	.74
Job*questionnaire	5	1.87	.09
Job*busyness	5	.26	.93
Job*instruction*questionnaire	20	1.14	.30
Job*instruction*busyness	20	1.31	.16
Job*questionnaire*busyness	20	2.25	.04*
Job*instruction*questionnaire*busyness	20	2.08	.00**
Error (job)	365		

Note: \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

As Table 6 shows, there is a significant four-way interaction of the three between-subjects factors with the applied-for job,  $F(20, 365) = 2.08, p < .005$ . On the one hand, the significant four-way interaction may mean that the three-way interaction exists in the shape (the pattern of means) that was predicted by the hypothesis, although perhaps not with all jobs. On the other hand, the significant four-way interaction may as well be the result of a mean pattern that is at odds with the shape predicted by the hypothesis. The results look promising so far, but it is too early to decide whether the hypothesis should be rejected or retained. To gain further insight, the data was analyzed separately for each of the six jobs.

## Main study, jobwise analyses

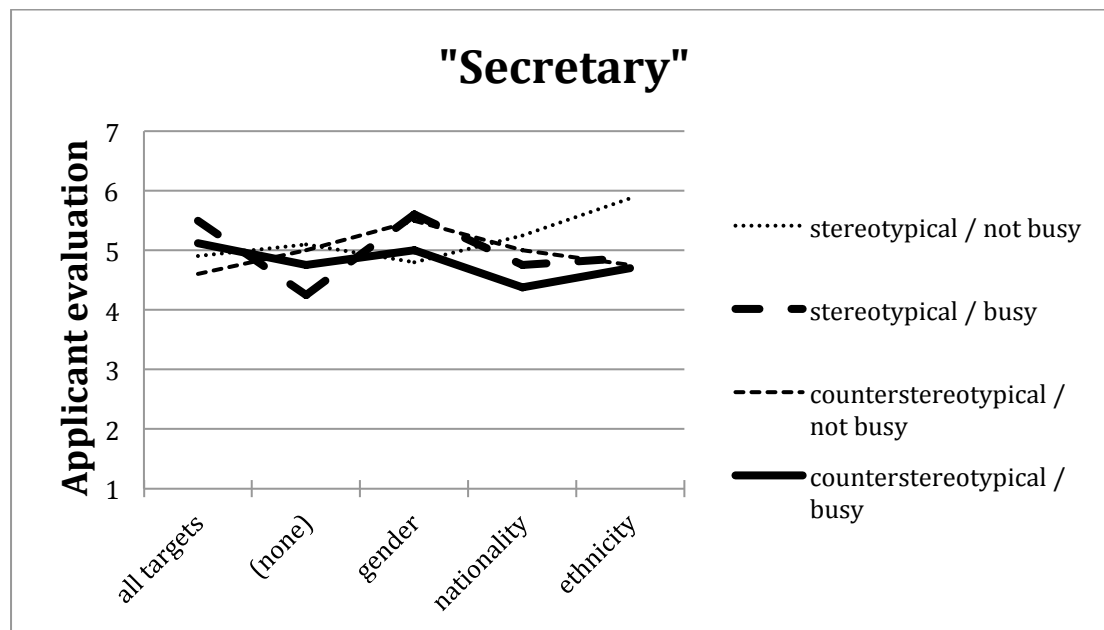


Figure 1. Secretary job: Evaluation of medium-qualified applicant. Greater scores indicate better evaluation.

For the secretary job, the averaged qualified applicant was either female (stereotypical condition) or male (counterstereotypical condition). Because we were interested in investigating the existence of gender bias apart from indicating different gender in the first name, all applicant names were non-Sami Norwegian names for the secretary job.

An analysis of variance was conducted with applicant evaluation as the dependent variable, and three between-subjects factors: applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions (all targets vs. none (control group) vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). The analysis did not show the expected three-way interaction,  $F(4, 73) = 1.47, p > .21$ .

Compared to the control group that did not receive any suppression instructions, conditions that did receive suppression instructions should show an ironic effect, when the participants were cognitively busy. Thus the participants who were instructed to suppress gender related thoughts should demonstrate less favorable evaluation of the

counterstereotypical applicant. As can be seen in Figure 1, the pattern of means for evaluating a counterstereotypical applicant under conditions of cognitive load (thick, unbroken line) was not in line with this expectation. Whether the instructions requested the participants to suppress all kinds of demography-related thoughts, or whether they requested the participants to suppress specifically gender-related thoughts, the evaluation was the same as in the control group, both  $ps > .44$  (pairwise comparisons). In sum, the results for the secretary job did not support the hypothesis.

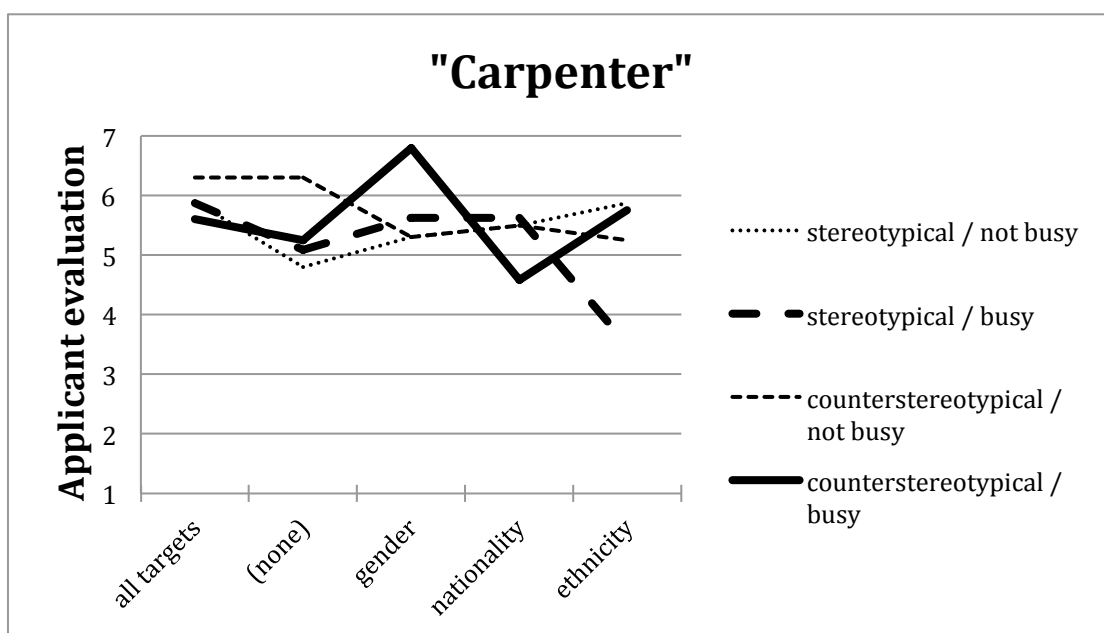


Figure 2. Carpenter job: Evaluation of medium-qualified applicant. Greater scores indicate better evaluation.

For the carpenter job, the averaged qualified applicant was either male (stereotypical condition) or female (counterstereotypical condition). ). Because we were interested in investigating the existence of gender bias, apart from indicating different gender in the first name, all applicant names were non-Sami Norwegian names for the carpenter job.

An analysis of variance was conducted with applicant evaluation as the dependent variable, and three between-subjects factors: applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions

(all targets vs. none (control group) vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). The analysis showed a significant three-way interaction,  $F(4, 73) = 3.72, p < .01$ . However, as can be seen in Figure 2, the pattern of means for evaluating a counterstereotypical applicant under conditions of cognitive load (thick, unbroken line) was not in line with the hypothesis of an ironic effect. When the instructions requested the participants to suppress all kinds of demography-related thoughts, the evaluation was the same as in the control group,  $p = .59$ . When the instructions specifically requested the participants to suppress gender-related thoughts, the applicant was rated significantly *better* (rather than worse) than in the control group,  $p < .03$  (pairwise comparisons).

In sum, whereas the expected three-way interaction was observed for the carpenter job, the pattern of means that led to this three-way interaction (its shape) did not show an ironic effect of suppression instructions. Thus, the results for the carpenter job did not support the hypothesis.

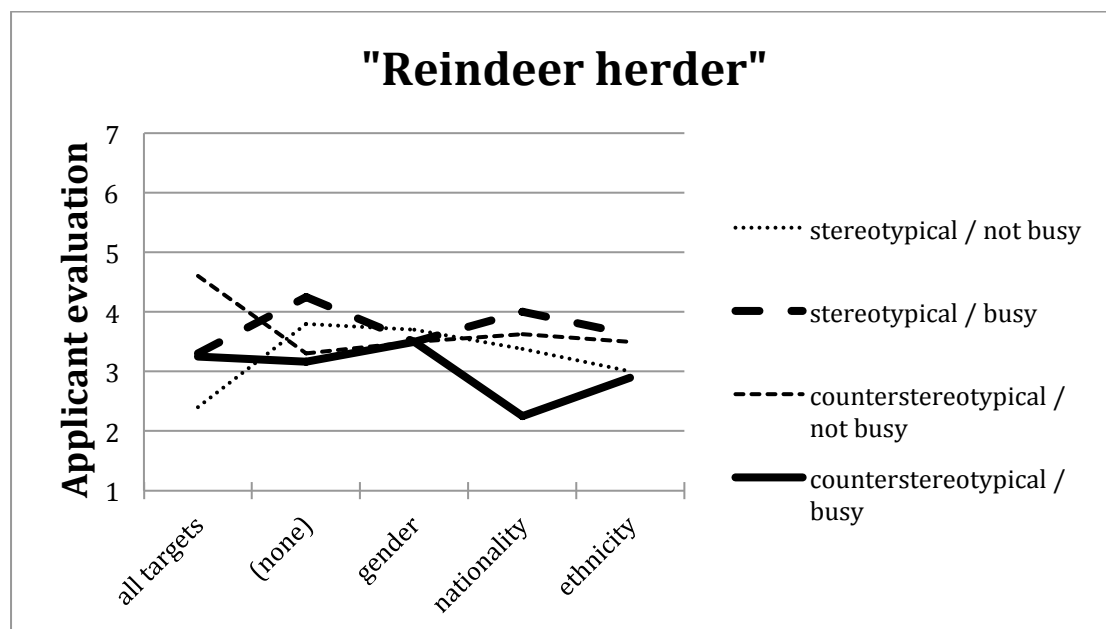


Figure 3. Reindeer herder job: Evaluation of medium-qualified applicant. Greater scores indicate better evaluation.



For the reindeer herder job, the averaged qualified applicant was either Sami (stereotypical condition) or non-Sami (counterstereotypical condition). Because we were interested in stereotypical thinking towards the Sami applicants, apart from indicating different ethnicity (Sami or Norwegian) in the family name, all applicant names were male names.

An analysis of variance was conducted with applicant evaluation as the dependent variable, and three between-subjects factors: applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions (all targets vs. none (control group) vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). The analysis did not show a significant three-way interaction,  $F(4, 73) = .73, p > .57$ . The pattern of means for evaluating a counterstereotypical applicant under conditions of cognitive load (see Figure 3, the thick, unbroken line) also did not support the hypothesis of an ironic effect. Whether the instructions asked to suppress all kinds of demography-related thoughts, or whether they asked to suppress specifically ethnicity-related thoughts, the evaluation was approximately the same as in the control group, both  $ps > .73$  (pairwise comparisons).

In sum, the results for the reindeer herder job did not support the hypothesis.

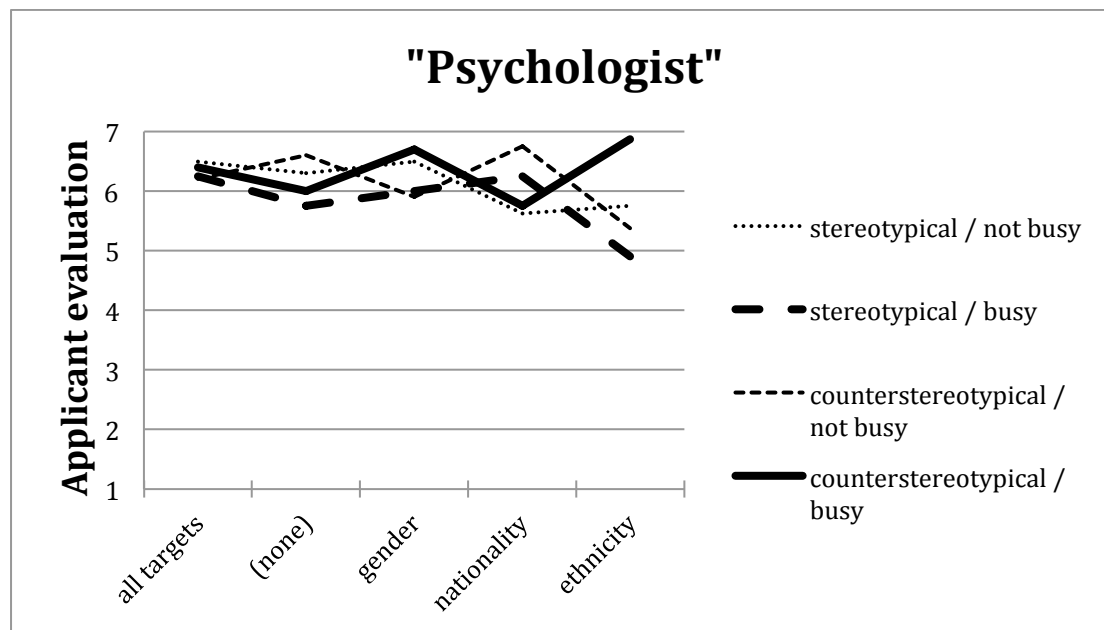


Figure 4. Psychologist job: Evaluation of medium-qualified applicant. Greater scores indicate better evaluation.

For the psychologist job, the averaged qualified applicant was either non-Sami (stereotypical condition) or Sami (counterstereotypical condition). Because we were interested in investigating stereotypical thinking towards the Sami applicants, apart from indicating different ethnicity (Sami or Norwegian) in the family name, all applicant names were female names.

An analysis of variance was conducted with applicant evaluation as the dependent variable, and three between-subjects factors: applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions (all targets vs. none (control group) vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). The analysis showed a significant three-way interaction,  $F(4, 73) = 3.75, p < .01$ . The pattern of means for evaluating a counterstereotypical applicant under conditions of cognitive load (see Figure 4, the thick, unbroken line) did however not support the hypothesis of an ironic effect. When the instructions asked to suppress all kinds of demography-related thoughts, the evaluation was approximately the same as in the control group,  $p > .45$ . When the instructions specifically asked to suppress ethnicity-related thoughts, the difference to control group ratings was into

the wrong direction, and almost reached marginal significance,  $p < .13$  (pairwise comparisons).

In sum, whereas the expected three-way interaction was observed for the psychologist job, its shape did not show an ironic effect of suppression instructions. Thus, the results for the psychologist job did not support the hypothesis.

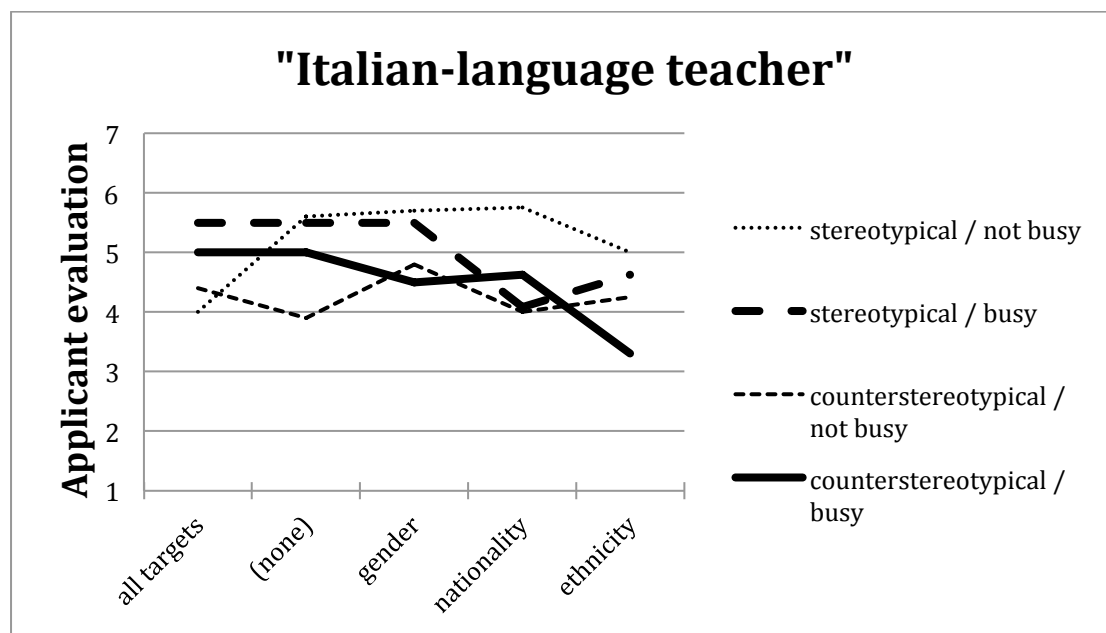


Figure 5. Italian-language teacher job: Evaluation of medium-qualified applicant. Greater scores indicate better evaluation.

For the Italian-language teacher job, the averaged qualified applicant was either Italian (stereotypical condition) or Norwegian (counterstereotypical condition). Apart from indicating different national background in the first and family name (Italian or Norwegian), all applicant names were female names.

An analysis of variance was conducted with applicant evaluation as the dependent variable, and three between-subjects factors: applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions (all targets vs. none (control group) vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). The analysis

showed a marginally significant three-way interaction,  $F(4, 73) = 2.03, p = .099$ . The pattern of means for evaluating a counterstereotypical applicant under conditions of cognitive load (see Figure 5, the thick, unbroken line) did not provide support the hypothesis of an ironic effect. Whether the instructions asked to suppress all kinds of demography-related thoughts, or whether they asked to suppress specifically nationality-related thoughts, the evaluation was approximately the same as in the control group, both  $ps > .55$  (pairwise comparisons).

In sum, whereas a marginally significant three-way interaction was observed for the Italian-language teacher job, its shape did not show an ironic effect of suppression instructions. Thus, the results for the Italian-language teacher job did not support the hypothesis.

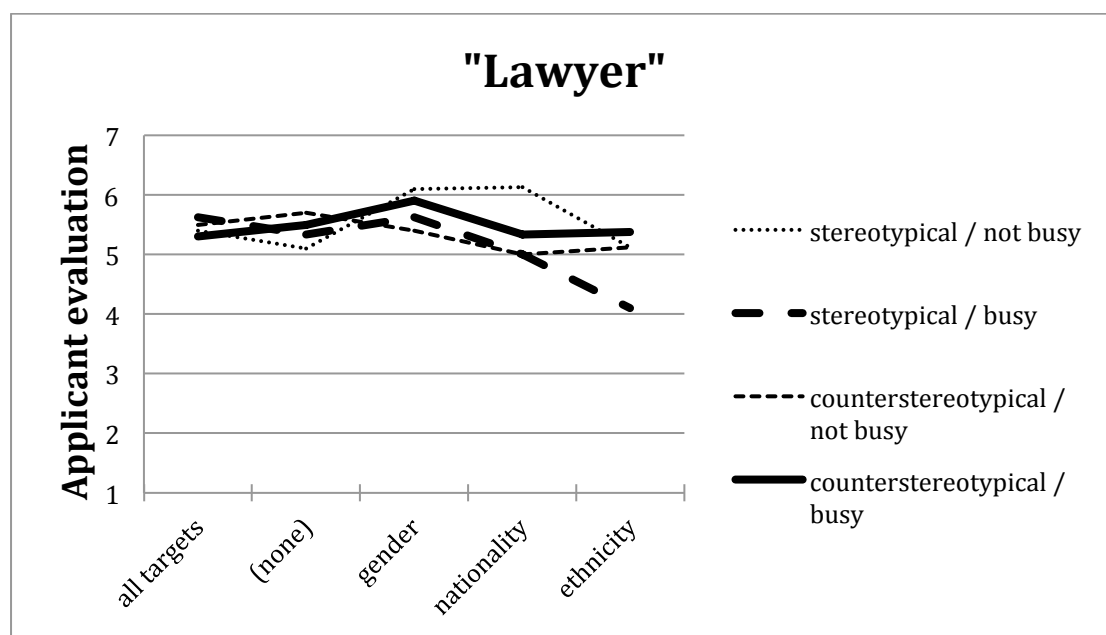


Figure 6. Lawyer job: Evaluation of medium-qualified applicant. Greater scores indicate better evaluation.

For the lawyer job, the averaged qualified applicant was either non-Sami (stereotypical condition) or Sami (counterstereotypical condition). Because we were interested in stereotypical thinking towards the Sami applicants, apart from indicating

different ethnicity (Sami or Norwegian) in the family name, all applicant names were female names.

An analysis of variance was conducted with applicant evaluation as the dependent variable, and three between-subjects factors: applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions (all targets vs. none [control group] vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). The analysis did not show a significant three-way interaction,  $F(4, 73) = 1.70, p > .15$ . The pattern of means for evaluating a counterstereotypical applicant under conditions of cognitive load (see Figure 4, the thick, unbroken line) did also not support the hypothesis of an ironic effect. Whether the instructions asked to suppress all kinds of demography-related thoughts, or whether they asked to suppress specifically ethnicity-related thoughts, the evaluation was approximately the same as in the control group, both  $ps > .69$  (pairwise comparisons).

In sum, the results for the lawyer job did not support the hypothesis.

**Summary of Experimental Conditions and Applicant's Evaluation:** The results yielded from the analysis of variance (ANOVA) using all six jobs test demonstrated that the predicted three-way interaction was absent. There was however a significant four-way interaction. Separate analyses for each job sometimes showed the expected three-way interaction for a job; however, its shape (the pattern of means) was never the correct one. Therefore the hypothesis must be rejected.

## Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the ironic effects initiated by suppression instruction often conveyed in diversity training programs. More specifically we were interested in detecting possible drawbacks of suppression as a diversity training strategy. The

ironic process theory suggests that suppression might have unintended negative consequences under certain circumstances. Many organizations offer their employees diversity training which aims to provide the employees with strategies to diminish stereotypical thinking both in the work place and the applicant selection process. One of the strategies the diversity training programs is suppression. More specifically the employees are instructed to suppress stereotypical thinking when they encounter members of stereotyped groups in the work place or during applicant selection process (hiring decision). However there is empirical evidence supporting the dangers associated with stereotyping during the selection process in organizational context (Kulik et al., 2000).

In line with previous research (Kulik et al., 2000) we predicted to see a three-way interaction between applicant stereotypicality (stereotypical vs. counterstereotypical), cognitive busyness (not busy vs. busy), and suppression instructions (all targets vs. none (control group) vs. gender vs. nationality vs. ethnicity). However our predictions were not supported,  $F(4, 73) = 1.97, p < .11$ . This finding is not consistent with Wegner's (1994) ironic process theory. Ironic process theory suggests that when the participants try to suppress specific demographic (ethnic, gender, nationality) thoughts while experiencing cognitive load (memory task), the operating process lacks the sufficient cognitive capacity to locate thoughts not related to the stereotypical thoughts. Thus because suppression in itself requires much cognitive effort the task becomes even more difficult if the participants are preoccupied with another task simultaneously. As a result the monitoring process (searches for the specific demographics thoughts) transcends the operating process and increases the availability of the specific demographic thoughts that the participants are attempting to suppress and induces the ironic effect. However the results yielded from the current study failed to demonstrate the ironic effects, as there was no significant difference in the participant's ratings in the conditions. Again, these findings are not consistent with ironic

process theory (Wegner, 1994), and not with prior empirical results (Kulik et al., 2000). The cognitively busy participants who were instructed to suppress specific demographics thoughts should have experienced a larger proportion of the specific demographic related thoughts and evaluated the stereotypical groups less favorably than the participants in the other conditions.

Next the data was analyzed separately for each of the six jobs to investigate if the participants demonstrated stereotypical thinking towards the applicants in any of the presented professions. The findings from the jobwise analyses revealed that: for some professions there was a significant or marginally significant three-way interaction, but the pattern of means behind this three-way interaction never had the expected shape. The current experiment included a manipulation check where the participants reported the effort they invested in the memory task and rated effectiveness of the distraction task. The participants reported that they did invest very little effort to the cognitive busyness manipulation task (memorize as many applicants names as possible) thus suggesting that the cognitive busyness manipulation was unsuccessful. This again could insinuate why the participants demonstrated no stereotypical thinking during the evaluation. Earlier research (Kulik et al., 2000) reported that the participants were preoccupied with the given task during evaluation (indicating a successful cognitive busyness manipulation).

**Summary and conclusions** In the current study the participants did not demonstrate an ironic effect most likely because they were not distracted enough by the memory task. However the existence of previous empirical studies has repeatedly showed undesired ironic effects of thought suppression. Therefore the practitioners in the diversity training programs should be advised with the dangers associated with thought suppression while experiencing cognitive load. Thus if the individual undergoing diversity training is mentally preoccupied during the selection process, suppressing stereotypical thoughts simultaneously may lead to negative effects (Kulik et al., 2000). Furthermore, the paragraph where the suppression

instructions were presented in the current study is a text used to encourage equality by a large University in Northern Norway (the same as the participants are studying at). Although the current study did not demonstrate any ironic effects using that paragraph, it did not demonstrate many beneficial effects either. Because no tests was conducted to investigate the paragraph`s effect in the current study, it would be interesting for future research to explore various suppression instructions and in addition look into the effectiveness of paragraphs used by large organization to promote equality.

**Strengths** Although the findings from the current experiment did not align with the predictions the study nevertheless had some mention worthy strengths. First, the participants in the main study included a relevant sample, business student who are likely to become employers and possibly make hiring decisions. Second, the cognitive load used in the experiment was also relevant in that the memory task (remember as many applicants names as possible). The memory task looked very appropriate (at least before running the study) as it was intended to keep the applicant`s gender and ethnicity in the participants mind. It was therefore expected that the cognitive load in the current experiment would strengthen the results more then the distraction tasks used in previous studies (“keep an eight-digit number in mind” (Gilbert & Hixon, 1991) or “imagine yourself in that interview” (Kulik et al., 2000)).

And third, collecting answers for the six different professions from each participant compensated for the low number of participants per condition. Thus indicating that the power to detect an effect (so one exists) appears sufficiently large.

**Limitations** The findings of the present study should be viewed with consideration as they are obtained from self-report data from questionnaires. Furthermore the aim of this study



was to assess the effectiveness of suppression being practiced as a diversity training strategy and not diversity training generally. Implications due to the sample should be noted. This research relied on student participants ( $n=93$ ) that might not have the substantial experience in the labor market. The participants in the main study lack of sufficient experience and knowledge regarding hiring decisions might have influenced the effort they invested in the task. Furthermore the participants could lack a motivation for following the instructions because they are not held responsible for their evaluations in an experiment and there are also no consequences for inaccurate decision making in an experiment. Professional raters on the other hand may be more motivated to follow instructions because of their responsibilities and the fact that they will most likely be held accountable for any decision (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990). It is nevertheless not granted that professional raters possess sustain the necessary qualifications to make hiring decisions as a result of limited necessary training (Rynes & Boudreau, 1986) and some studies even suggest the difference between professional raters and student raters are limited (McGovern, Jones & Morris 1979). It would have been interesting to have the participants rating on the effort they invested in the suppression instructions. Earlier research sample has consisted of undergraduate students from business administration courses as well (Kulik et al., 2000) perhaps another sample consisting of employees from real organizations with relevant training in hiring decision could result in different outcomes.

Next, implications due to the design and manipulations should be noted. The participants were presented with female and male Norwegian, Italian and Sami applicants. The Italian and Norwegian applicants were presented with their first -and family name. The Sami applicants on the other hand were presented with a Sami surname where the first name could have been applied to a Norwegian applicant. There is thus a probability that the participants have overlooked the Sami applicant's ethnicity if they did not read the applicants

name carefully. This may have influenced the evaluation ratings if the Sami applicants were evaluated as Norwegian applicants. For future research whenever the applicants are of different ethnic group it should be clarified by using a manipulation check for the applicants group membership whether they are presented by name, picture or video.

The study by Kulik and colleagues (2000) has been the main for the current research. Although their hypothesis was supported in their study and the findings from their study revealed the existence of an ironic effect; three important differences between this earlier work and the present paper should be noted. First, whereas in the present experiment part of the hypothesis and parts of the main study design originated from the Kulik and colleagues study (2000) the cognitive load manipulations were inspired by the Galinsky and Moskowitz study (2007). The present paper manipulated cognitive busyness by instructing the participants to memorize as many applicant names as possible, similar to the manipulations used by Galinsky and Moskowitz (2007). Second, in the Kulik and colleagues (2000) experiment suppression instructions were conveyed through brief training videotape, which is commonly used for organizational training (Kulik et al., 2000). The current experiment presented the suppression instructions in writings resembling a recommendation. Third, Kulik and colleagues (2000) applied “older” job applicants as the stereotypical group and the stereotypical target groups in the current experiment were the Female, Italian and Sami applicants. These differences could be the reason for the different outcomes.

Furthermore no support was yielded for the cognitive busyness manipulation in the present experiment. It would be interesting for future research to include a variety of cognitive manipulations and compare the effectiveness by requesting feedback from the participants. The findings from the ratings could imply which manipulations are the most effective.

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## Appendix A

### Questionnaire for Pilot Study 1.

Hei,

Nedenfor finner du en liste over diverse yrker. Din oppgave er å vurdere i hvilken grad disse yrkene er mer passende til de ulike gruppene. For eksempel, hvis du mener at profesjonen "jurist" passer bedre til kvinner, krysser du av på den høyeste verdien for kvinner. Det er ingen riktige eller feil svar. Vi er kun interessert i å få vite hvilke yrker du mener er mer passende til de forskjellige gruppene.

Tusen takk for din deltakelse!

<b>Yrke:</b>	
Sekretær :	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Snekker:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Italiensk språklærer:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Reindriftsutøver:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Taxisjåfør:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Arkitekt :	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Lege:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Lærer:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Forfatter:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Jurist:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Psykolog:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Skuespiller:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Zoolog:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk
Grafisk designer:	Kvinner 3 2 1 1 2 3 Menn Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Same Norsk 3 2 1 1 2 3 Italiensk

Er du: Kvinne  Mann

Er du: Student  Ikke student

Din alder:  år.

## Appendix B

### Questionnaire for Pilot Study 2.

Hei,

Nedenfor finner du en liste over diverse yrker og forskjellige søkere med ulike kvalifikasjoner. Din oppgave er å vurdere i hvilken grad disse søkerne er kvalifiserte til de ulike yrkene.

Det er ingen riktige eller feil svar. Vi er kun interessert i hvilken grad du mener hver søker er kvalifisert til de forskjellige yrkene.

Tusen takk for din deltakelse!

*Først les hele listen av ni søkere til jobben. Deretter vurder hver enkelt søker.*

<b>Søker no.</b>	<b>Jobb: Sekretær</b>	<b>0 = lite kvalifisert 7 = høyt kvalifisert</b>
1	Har en Bachelor i kommunikasjon og økonomi og utført flere datakurs men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5
2	Har en Bachelor i kommunikasjon og økonomi og en Bachelor i regnskap, har i tillegg jobbet i som sekretær i 3 år.	0 1 2 3 4 5
3	Har en Bachelor i kommunikasjon og økonomi men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5
4	Har en Bachelor i kommunikasjon og økonomi og utført flere datakurs men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5
5	Har en Bachelor i kommunikasjon og økonomi i tillegg til 5 års jobberfaring som sekretær i et firma.	0 1 2 3 4 5
6	Har en master i kommunikasjon og økonomi og 7 år med jobberfaring i et firma i tillegg til flere utførte datakurs.	0 1 2 3 4 5
7	Har ingen jobberfaring men utført et WORD kurs	0 1 2 3 4 5
8	6)Har en Master i kommunikasjon og økonomi men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5
9	Har en master i kommunikasjon og økonomi og årsstudium i regnskap i tillegg til 3 års jobberfaring og utført flere datakurs.	0 1 2 3 4 5



*Først les hele listen av ni søkere til jobben. Deretter vurder hver enkelt søker.*

<b>Søker no.</b>	<b>Jobb: Snekker</b>	<b>0 = lite kvalifisert 7 = høyt kvalifisert</b>
1	Fortsatt en elev på vgd men har en del jobberfaring fra et snekkerfirma.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
2	Har jobbet som snekker i syv år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
3	Nylig utført praksis fra vgd men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
4	Jobbet som snekker i over syv år og er nylig blitt forfremmet til direktør i et byggefirma.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
5	Fortsatt en vgd elev og ikke ferdig med praksis.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
6	Jobbet som snekker i tre år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
7	Jobbet som snekker i ni år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8	Har jobbet som snekker i syv år og har vikariert for direktøren i ett byggefirma.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
9	Jobbet som snekker i tre år og vikariert for direktøren i et byggefirma.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6

*Først les hele listen av ni søkere til jobben. Deretter vurder hver enkelt søker.*

<b>Søke no.</b>	<b>Jobb: Reindriftfører</b>	<b>0 = lite kvalifisert 7 = høyt kvalifisert</b>
1	Nylig avsluttet videregående og hatt to års praksis på bondegård.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
2	Avsluttet to år med reinsdriftsfag på videregående og veldig interessert i reinsdrift.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
3	Utdannet veterinær og spesialisert på rein.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
4	Utdannet veterinær og vært i arbeid i tre år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
5	Nylig avsluttet videregående men veldig interessert i rein.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
6	Nylig avsluttet videregående og har erfaring med sauegjeting.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
7	Nylig utdannet veterinær men har ingen spesifikk erfaring med rein.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8	Avsluttet tre år på videregående med reinsdriftsfag og har erfaring med rein.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
9	Jobbet som sauegjeter i to år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6

*Først les hele listen av ni søkere til jobben. Deretter vurder hver enkelt søker.*

<b>Søker no.</b>	<b>Jobb: Psykolog</b>	<b>0 = lite kvalifisert 7 = høyt kvalifisert</b>
1	Nylig utdannet psykolog med praksis på psykiatrisk avdeling.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2	Jobbet som psykolog i fem år og fullført stipendiat	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3	Jobbet som psykolog i fem år og nylig fullført stipendiat mens jeg har forelest i psykologi på UiT.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4	Jobbet som psykolog i fem år og fullført utdanningen med toppkarakterer og fullført to doktoravhandlinger.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5	Nylig utdannet psykolog med praksis på eldreheim.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6	Jobbet som psykolog i syv år og fullført utdanningen med toppkarakterer og fullført en doktoravhandling.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7	Jobbet som psykolog i syv år og fullført to doktoravhandlinger.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8	Jobbet som psykolog i to år..	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9	Utdannet som psykolog og hatt praksis på eldreheim og i tillegg nylig fullført tre år som stipendiat.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

*Først les hele listen av ni søkere til jobben. Deretter vurder hver enkelt søker.*

<b>Søker no.</b>	<b>Jobb: Italiensk Språkærer</b>	<b>0 = lite kvalifisert 7 = høyt kvalifisert</b>
1	Fullført Mastergrad i italiensk men har ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2	Nylig fullført bachelor i italiensk på UiT og undervist i noen seminarer det siste året.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3	Nylig utført videregående med fordypning i italiensk og et avsluttet språkkurs.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4	)Fullført Mastergrad i italiensk på universitetet i Roma men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5	Fordypning i italiensk på videregående og vært bosatt i Italia i tre år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6	Fullført Mastergrad i italiensk og årsstudium i pedagogikk men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7	Nylig utført et italiensk språkkurs men ingen arbeidserfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8	Bachelor i italiensk og vært bosatt i Italia i fem år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9	Nylig fullført Bachlor i italiensk på UiT men ingen arbeidserfaring	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

*Først les hele listen av ni søkere til jobben. Deretter vurder hver enkelt søker.*

<b>Søker no.</b>	<b>Jobb: Jurist</b>	<b>0 = lite kvalifisert 7 = høyt kvalifisert</b>
1	Nylig fullført Mastergrad i jus på UiT og undervist i noen jus seminarer.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
2	Mastergrad i jus fra Uit og årsstudium i Økonomi men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
3	Nylig fullført mastergrad i jus med toppkarakterer og undervist i flere seminarer.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
4	Jobbet som jurist i to år.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
5	Jobbet som juristi fem år og fast foreleser ved UiT.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
6	Nylig fullført Mastergrad i jus på UiT men ingen jobberfaring.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
7	Jobbet som jurist i to år og forelest ved UiT.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
8	Nylig fullført mastergrad i jus og jobbet som lærerassistent i tre år i studietiden.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6
9	Nylig fullført Mastergrad i jus på UiT med toppkarakter.	0 1 2 3 4 5 6

Er du:         Kvinne     Mann

Er du:         Student     Ikke student

Din alder:    \_\_\_\_\_ år.

## Appendix C

### One of the questionnaires from the main study.

Du blir nå bedt om å evaluere hvilke kandidater som er best skikket til spesifikke yrker.

#### Her er hva vi forventer fra deg:

Arbeidsplassen skal være en institusjon med en bevisst holdning til betydningen av urbefolkningen, kjønn, og nasjonaliteter og en institusjon, der kjønn-, urfolks- og nasjonalitetsperspektivet både i teori og praksis er en fullt ut integrert del av all virksomhet. Arbeidsplassen skal fremme en bedriftskultur og et arbeidsmiljø som inkluderer og ivaretar og verdsetter urfolk, begge kjønn og alle nasjonaliteter på lik linje. Arbeidsplassen skal utforme strategier som gir lik mulighet for urbefolkningen, begge kjønn og alle nasjonaliteter til å bidra med sine kunnskaper og erfaringer og utvikle sitt potensial. Institusjonen skal etablere rekrutteringsinsentiver som fremmer en god befolkningsfordeling i alle stillingskategorier.

**Dersom demografisk relaterte tanker dukker opp, vennligst fortreg dem.**

#### **VIKTIG:**

Når du er ferdig med å evaluere kandidatene vil det komme en hukommelsestest.

**Vennligst husk så mange kandidatnavn du klarer blant alle oppgitte yrker.**

**SEKRETÆR:**

*Trine Sørensen: Har ingen jobberfaring men utført et WORD kurs.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Per Kristiansen: Har en Master i kommunikasjon og økonomi men ingen jobberfaring.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Katrine Bakke: Har en master i kommunikasjon og økonomi og 7 år med jobberfaring i et firma i tillegg til flere utførte datakurs.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

**SNEKKER:**

*Ida Bakke: Fortsatt en vgd elev og ikke ferdig med praksis.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Marius Halvorsen: Jobbet som snekker i tre år.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Katrine Svensby: Har jobbet som snekker i syv år og har vikariert for direktøren i ett byggefirma.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

**REINDRIFTFØRER:**

*Andreas Sunna: Nylig avsluttet videregående og har erfaring med sauegjeting.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Kristoffer Andersen: Nylig utdannet veterinær men har ingen spesifikk erfaring med rein.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Magne Labba: Avsluttet tre år på videregående med reinsdriftsfag og har erfaring med rein.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

**PSYKOLOG:**

*Ingrid Huuva: Nylig utdannet psykolog med praksis på psykiatrisk avdeling.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Kristine Larsen: Jobbet som psykolog i fem år og fullført stipendiat.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Stine Vinka: Jobbet som psykolog i fem år og fullført utdanningen med toppkarakterer og fullført to doktoravhandlinger.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad



**ITALIENSK SPRÅKLÆRER:**

*Lucia Lombardi: Nylig utført et italiensk språkkurs men ingen arbeidserfaring.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Silje Antonsen: Fordypning i italiensk på videregående og vært bosatt i Italia i tre år.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Paola Rossi: Bachelor i italiensk og vært bosatt i Italia i fem år.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

**JURIST:**

*Ida Guvsam: Mastergrad i jus fra UiT og årsstudium i Økonomi men ingen jobberfaring.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Camilla Haugen: Nylig fullført Mastergrad i jus på UiT med toppkarakter.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

*Marte Utsi: Jobbet som jurist i fem år og fast foreleser ved UiT.*

Etter din mening, i hvilken grad er kandidaten kvalifisert til jobben?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

I hvilken grad forventer du at kandidaten vil gjøre denne jobben bra?

i liten grad 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 i høyt grad

**Hukommelsestest:**

1) Vennligst skriv navnet til de kandidatene du husker:

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2) I hvilken grad distraherete hukommelsestesten deg fra å konsentrere deg om evalueringen av kandidatene?

Ikke i det hele tatt 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Veldig

3) I hvilken grad anstrengte du deg for å huske flest navn?

Ikke i det hele tatt 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Veldig

Er du:  Kvinne  Mann

Er du:  Student  Ikke student

Din alder: \_\_\_\_\_ år

Regner du deg selv som samisk?  Ja  Nei  Delvis

Regner du deg selv som italiensk?  Ja  Nei  Delvis

Regner du selv som norsk?  Ja  Nei  Delvis

## Appendix D

### All five suppression instructions from questionnaires in main study.

#### 1. Instructions to suppress demographic related thoughts:

Du blir nå bedt om å evaluere hvilke kandidater som er best skikket til spesifikke yrker.

#### **Her er hva vi forventer fra deg:**

Arbeidsplassen skal være en institusjon med en bevisst holdning til betydningen av urbefolkningen, kjønn, og nasjonaliteter og en institusjon, der kjønn-, urfolks- og nasjonalitetsperspektivet både i teori og praksis er en fullt ut integrert del av all virksomhet. Arbeidsplassen skal fremme en bedriftskultur og et arbeidsmiljø som inkluderer og ivaretar og verdsetter urfolk, begge kjønn og alle nasjonaliteter på lik linje. Arbeidsplassen skal utforme strategier som gir lik mulighet for urbefolkningen, begge kjønn og alle nasjonaliteter til å bidra med sine kunnskaper og erfaringer og utvikle sitt potensial. Institusjonen skal etablere rekrutteringsinsentiver som fremmer en god befolkningsfordeling i alle stillingskategorier.

**Dersom demografisk relaterte tanker dukker opp, vennligst fortreg dem.**

## **2. Instructions to suppress gender related thoughts:**

Du blir nå bedt om å evaluere hvilke kandidater som er best skikket til spesifikke yrker.

### **Her er hva vi forventer fra deg:**

Arbeidsplassen skal være en institusjon med en bevisst holdning til betydningen av kjønn og en institusjon, der kjønnsperspektivet både i teori og praksis er en fullt ut integrert del av all virksomhet. Arbeidsplassen skal fremme en bedriftskultur og et arbeidsmiljø som inkluderer og ivaretar og verdsetter begge kjønn på lik linje. Arbeidsplassen skal utforme strategier som gir lik mulighet for begge kjønn til å bidra med sine kunnskaper og erfaringer og utvikle sitt potensial. Institusjonen skal etablere rekrutteringsinsentiver som fremmer en god befolkningsfordeling i alle stillingskategorier innenfor arbeidsplassen.

**Dersom kjønnsrelaterte tanker dukker opp, vennligst fortreg dem.**

### **3. Instructions to suppress ethnic related thoughts:**

Du blir nå bedt om å evaluere hvilke kandidater som er best skikket til spesifikke yrker.

#### **Her er hva vi forventer fra deg:**

Arbeidsplassen skal være en institusjon med en bevisst holdning til betydningen av urbefolkningen og en institusjon, der urfolksperspektivet både i teori og praksis er en fullt ut integrert del av all virksomhet. Arbeidsplassen skal fremme en bedriftskultur og et arbeidsmiljø som inkluderer og ivaretar og verdsetter både Sami og ikke-Sami på lik linje. Arbeidsplassen skal utforme strategier som gir lik mulighet for både Sami og ikke-Sami til å bidra med sine kunnskaper og erfaringer og utvikle sitt potensial. Institusjonen skal etablere rekrutteringsinsentiver som fremmer en god befolkningsfordeling i alle stillingskategorier.

**Dersom etnisk relaterte tanker dukker opp, vennligst fortreg dem.**

#### **4. Instructions to suppress nationality related thoughts:**

Du blir nå bedt om å evaluere hvilke kandidater som er best skikket til spesifikke yrker.

##### **Her er hva vi forventer fra deg:**

Arbeidsplassen skal være en institusjon med en bevisst holdning til betydningen av nasjonalitet og en institusjon, der nasjonalitetsperspektivet både i teori og praksis er en fullt ut integrert del av all virksomhet. Arbeidsplassen skal fremme en bedriftskultur og et arbeidsmiljø som inkluderer og ivaretar og verdsetter alle nasjonaliteter på lik linje. Arbeidsplassen skal utforme strategier som gir lik mulighet for alle nasjonaliteter til å bidra med sine kunnskaper og erfaringer og utvikle sitt potensial. Institusjonen skal etablere rekrutteringsinsentiver som fremmer en god befolkningsfordeling i alle stillingskategorier.

**Dersom nasjonalitetsrelaterte tanker dukker opp, vennligst fortreg dem.**

#### **5. Control group, no instruction to suppress at all:**

Du blir nå bedt om å evaluere hvilke kandidater som er best skikket til spesifikke yrker.