

Examining the Effects of Humanization and Racial Identity on
Judgments of Incivility and Justice

by

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A thesis submitted to
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Masters of Science in Applied Psychology
with specialization in Industrial/Organizational Psychology

August, 2017. Halifax, Nova Scotia

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Date: August 22nd, 2017

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Acknowledgements

To keep it short and sweet — thank you to all my wonderful friends and family (including my perfect puppy, Obi) for supporting me through the past two years. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Camilla Holmvall, for her support and contribution to this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my internal committee (Dr. Jim Cameron and Dr. Debra Gilin Oore), as well as my external examiner (Dr. Dana Kabat-Farr) for their helpful insight and feedback.

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Abstract

This study examined the effects of target race, humanization and racial identity on ratings of incivility and justice of uncivil workplace interactions, by drawing on social identity, self-categorization, dehumanization, and selective incivility theories. One hundred and one undergraduate White participants were analyzed. I manipulated the target's race within-subjects (Chinese vs. White) and humanization of targets between subjects. I expected participants would judge incivility against the White (ingroup) target as more uncivil and less just compared to the Chinese (outgroup) target, while humanization of the Chinese target would counter this effect for Whites with high racial identity strength. I found a significant effect of target race on justice and fairness, where mistreatment against the Chinese target was rated as less just/fair. Judgments of incivility were moderated by ingroup ties, and manipulated variables such as counterbalancing order and scenario content of the vignettes. Limitations and implications of the study are discussed, as well as future research directions.

August 22nd, 2017

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Social interactions are a prominent part of any workplace environment.

Employees interact with their coworkers, managers, supervisors, and in some jobs, clients or customers. As a result, it is not uncommon for employees to experience negative interactions in the workplace. One type of negative interaction is characterized by incivility, which refers to “low intensity deviant acts with ambiguous intent to harm the target” (Andersson & Pearson, 1999, p. 457). Incivility is by its nature subtle and covert, and as a result, it often goes undetected and unpunished in the workplace (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Cortina, 2008).

Selective incivility is a form of workplace incivility that targets individuals from specific groups, such as women and persons of color (Cortina, 2008). The selective incivility model is primarily based on social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1982), which is premised on the idea that mental categories and stereotypes about certain groups can manifest as prejudice in social settings where these groups interact, such as in the workplace (Cortina, 2008; Cortina, Kabat-Farr, Leskinen, Huerta, & Magley, 2013). While the behaviours constituting selective incivility are the same as general incivility, the “selective” nature implies that minority groups and women are more frequent targets of uncivil behaviour compared to the dominant group in that context. Experts suggest that selective incivility is rooted in some type of minority bias, but these biases are exhibited covertly, and often unconsciously (Cortina, 2008). Indeed, as opposed to the more overt discrimination of the past, modern discrimination tends to manifest in more subtle and unconscious forms, such as via incivility (Cortina, Lonsway, Magley, Freeman,

Collinsworth, Hunter, & Fitzgerald, 2002). While studies on selective incivility are scarce, the existing research suggests that individuals of minority groups, such as racial minorities and women, are more likely to be targets of incivility than others (Cortina, 2008).

Although incivility is a growing field of research, to date there has been little focus on incivility towards racial minorities. Moreover, existing selective incivility research has primarily relied on self-report accounts of experienced incivility (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina et al., 2013), which only sheds light on people's perceptions of being targets of incivility. This focus on *experienced* incivility, while imperative, leaves a gap in the literature regarding the role of others in the selective incivility equation, such as the instigators and the observers.

The current study will address one of these gaps in the literature by examining observers' judgments of incivility toward racial ingroup and outgroup members, via having individuals evaluate a series of potentially uncivil interactions between a supervisor and an employee. The study draws upon the selective incivility model (Cortina, 2008) to examine whether the racial group of a target of incivility influences witnesses' evaluations of (a) the degree to which a behaviour is perceived as uncivil, and (b) the degree to which the behaviour towards the target is seen as justified and fair. By having individuals evaluate instances of incivility toward minority group members, we can gain insight into whether unconscious biases against certain racial outgroups can influence judgments of whether an "ambiguous event" is not only uncivil, but whether the actions of the perpetrator are seen as justified.

There is a paucity of literature in industrial/organizational psychology investigating observer evaluations of workplace incivility; and even less research exists on how implicit biases, stereotypes, and outgroup categorizations may contribute to evaluations of uncivil situations. One potential implication of this research is that the degree of social identification with the target can influence the extent to which the observer believes a violation of norms has taken place (Andersson & Pearson, 1999), which may then affect the degree to which uncivil behaviour is addressed in that environment (Montgomery, Kane, & Vance, 2004). Additionally, this study will take an integrative approach by examining the role of two additional variables in predicting evaluations of incivility: humanization and racial identity strength.

Social Identity and Self-Categorization

As noted earlier, the foundational underpinnings of the selective incivility model (Cortina et al., 2002; Cortina, 2008) come from two predominant theories in social psychology: social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1982) and self-categorization theory (Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994). In spite of the progress that has been made in recent years, intergroup discrimination still exists in the workplace (Cortina et al., 2002). The majority of social identity and self-categorization theory research has focused on discrimination against women, visible minorities, and religious groups (for a summary of research findings see Cortina, 2008). According to social psychologist Susan Fiske (2002), bias against individuals or groups of people can manifest as emotional prejudices, mental stereotypes, and cognitive discrimination. Underlying this bias is a two-part socio-cognitive process of *categorization* and *self-enhancement* (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Self-categorization theory suggests that individuals use unconscious cognitive processes

to create mental “boundaries”, by placing people into mental categories based on salient cues such as age, race, and gender, among others (Turner et al., 1994). Categorization leads to the development of stereotypes, a cognitive mechanism designed to make generalized predictions about people from our mental categories (Turner et al., 1994). These stereotypes are then retrieved when we come across an individual from a respective mental category. The second step, self-enhancement, assumes that individuals have a need create a positive self-concept. As a result, self-enhancement ensures that intergroup comparisons favour one’s ingroup through positive stereotypes, and derogate the relevant outgroup through negative stereotypes (Hogg et al., 1995).

Social identity theory also posits that individuals define themselves, in part, according to the belongingness they feel with a particular group. Human beings tend to instinctively seek out individuals or groups who are similar to them, creating a sense familiarity and comfort (Fiske, 2002). This belongingness and familiarity creates an “us versus them” mindset of group identification (Ashforth & Mael, 1989), by which ingroups and outgroups are formed. When this dichotomy is created, the “them”, or the outgroup, is seen as homogenous, and often generalizations are made about that group based on their salient behaviours and characteristics (Quattrone & Jones, 1988). This “us versus them” mentality of group identification can result in ingroup favoritism, which includes loyalty to the ingroup, high ingroup cohesion, pride in the ingroup, and an adherence to the ingroup’s norms, beliefs, and values (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Tajfel, 1974, 1982).

According to the stereotype content model, an extension of social identity theory, two stereotype dimensions form our perceptions and categorizations of outgroups:

warmth and competence (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2008; Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2006).

Warmth refers to traits such as friendliness, helpfulness, and morality. It is determined by how compatible an outgroup's goals and beliefs are with those of the ingroup (Cuddy et al., 2008; Kervyn, Fiske, & Yzerbyt, 2015). Competence, on the other hand, is characterized by traits such as intelligence and skill (Fiske et al., 2006). This dimension is determined by the ingroup's perception of the outgroup's status; that is, if they are economically or financially successful, or if they are educated (Cuddy et al., 2008; Fiske et al., 2006). Groups that are high on warmth and low on competence pose low ingroup threat (e.g., the elderly). These groups are seen as harmless, non-competitive, and are primarily characterized by benevolent stereotypes (Cuddy et al., 2008). These groups trigger a "paternalistic prejudice", resulting in sympathetic attitudes toward that group (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

In contrast, groups that are low on warmth and high on competence pose high ingroup threat, as they trigger an "envious prejudice" and result in envious and jealous attitudes toward that outgroup (Fiske et al., 2002). These groups are perceived to be competition to the dominant ingroup, and are commonly characterized by negative stereotypes (e.g., antisocial, rude, unfriendly; Cuddy et al., 2008). In the West, an example of such a group is Asians, specifically the Chinese and the Japanese (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006). Asian immigrants are perceived as having high competence (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005), as they are perceived to be skilled, educated and wealthy. This aligns with findings showing that "rich people" are rated as high in competence and low in warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006). In a number of studies, Asians have been consistently rated as low in

warmth by White American samples. They are seen as lacking the type of sociability and friendliness seen as norms in American culture (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Lin et al., 2005). As a result, the outgroup chosen for this study is Asians (specifically Chinese), while the ingroup chosen is Whites.

Although the current study used a White Canadian sample, it is likely that the stereotypes held about Asians are similar in Canada and the United States. I chose to study Chinese as the minority group because Asians are the most visible minority group (by population) in Canada, and China is the second-largest country from which Canadian immigrants originate (Statistics Canada, 2011). Additionally, research with Canadian participants has found prejudicial attitudes and behaviours against Asians (Houshmand, Spanierman, & Tafarodi, 2014; Son Hing, Chung-Yan, Hamilton, & Zanna, 2008). For example, Houshmand et al. (2014) found that Asian university students reported experiencing high rates of racial microaggressions and stereotyping by Canadian students. One such stereotype was “ascription of intelligence”, which falls in line with the high competence stereotype content found by Fiske et al. (2002). A second reported microaggression was feeling “excluded and avoided”, which is consistent with the “unfriendliness” stereotype associated with low warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Houshmand et al., 2014).

According to the stereotype content model, social groups can also be perceived as being high in both warmth and competence, or low in both dimensions. Those high in warmth and competence are not perceived with a negative prejudice, but rather with admiration and fondness (Fiske et al., 2002). They are seen as warm and friendly, and not a threat or competition to one’s ingroup. This category always includes one’s ingroup,

such as one's friends, family, or other allies (Fiske et al., 2002). Groups low in both warmth and competence trigger a contemptuous prejudice, eliciting attitudes of contempt, anger, and resentment. This includes groups such as welfare recipients, the homeless, or the poor (Fiske et al., 2002).

Group identification and ingroup favoritism can result in biased intergroup comparisons where perceptions of the outgroup can often be negative, due to the need for self-enhancement. Depending on the perceived warmth and competence of an outgroup, intergroup behaviour has the potential to become competitive and discriminatory (Hogg et al., 1995). Furthermore, individuals are motivated to maintain ingroup-outgroup comparisons that favour themselves and their ingroup (Hogg et al., 1995), especially if the outgroup is perceived as a high threat. Therefore, according to social identity theory, group identification and its consequences (ingroup favoritism, the need for group-enhancement and self-enhancement) are the underlying processes that govern the discriminatory attitudes and prejudicial behaviour towards outgroups (Hogg et al., 1995).

The Selective Incivility Model

The selective incivility model was developed in order to specifically address negative workplace interactions targeted at minority groups. Cortina (2008) argues that although incivility is ambiguous and may be attributed to other factors like personality or error, its effects are nonetheless stressful, and can "wear down" a person over time. As evidence for its potentially selective nature, Cortina et al.'s (2002) study with over 4,000 lawyers in the United States found that 75% of female lawyers reported experiencing incivility in the past five years at their job, including perceptions of unwanted sexual attention. In contrast, about half of the male lawyers surveyed reported experiencing

some form of incivility, suggesting that incivility may be more commonly directed toward minority group members. Additionally, they found that ethnic minorities reported more mistreatment overall than Whites (Cortina et al., 2002).

Broadly speaking, incivility between coworkers and/or supervisors has been linked to a multitude of negative outcomes including lower job satisfaction (Cortina, 2008), increased levels of job stress and emotional exhaustion, poorer mental health (Schilpzand, De Pater, & Erez, 2016), lower job commitment, and greater turnover intent (Laschinger, Leiter, Day, & Gilin, 2009). Much of the selective incivility research has shown that incivility against minority-group employees is harmful to their work experiences (Chiaburu & Harrison, 2008; Cortina, 2008; Cortina et al., 2002).

Perhaps one of the largest studies on selective incivility was conducted with participants from a variety of occupations, including law enforcement, a city government, and the U.S. military (Cortina et al., 2013). These participants completed an online survey that asked questions about their experiences of workplace incivility, as well as their turnover intentions. In line with the selective incivility model, women reported experiencing more incivility than men, and ethnic minorities reported experiencing more incivility than Whites. In turn, women and ethnic minorities reported the highest turnover intentions. Of particular interest was an interaction between gender and race where women of colour, specifically African American women, reported experiencing the most incivility compared to any other group in the study.

Unlike the overt discrimination of the past, today's "modern discrimination" occurs in more subtle forms, such as via selective incivility, and is triggered implicitly rather than explicitly (Cortina, 2008; Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). In social

psychology, a distinction is made between explicit and implicit attitudes. Explicit attitudes are deliberate and conscious (and may result in overt racism), whereas implicit attitudes are unconscious, spontaneous, automatic, and can occur without full cognitive awareness (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002). One important feature of implicit associations is that they can be activated in spite of whether the individual explicitly or overtly endorses these beliefs (Gawronski & Bodenhausen, 2006). With regards to selective incivility, implicit associations are the key mechanism by which perpetrators of selective incivility provide a non-prejudiced rationale for their behaviour (Cortina, 2008). Implicit and automatic associations between minority groups and negative stereotypes, coupled with an inherent preference for one's ingroup (Fiske et al., 2002), gives rise to subtle, discriminatory behaviors like incivility (Cortina, 2008).

Social psychology research also posits that modern discrimination can manifest itself in multiple forms, such as via *symbolic racism*, *modern racism*, and *aversive racism* (Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2012). These constructs all point towards a type of covert, subtle, and unconscious form of discrimination. Symbolic and modern racism are similar concepts, although symbolic racism is discussed specifically in context to anti-Black prejudice (Wood, 1994). Symbolic and modern racists endorse racist beliefs (e.g., "There are too many Asians receiving scholarships at Canadian universities"; Son Hing et al., 2008), but they rationalize these beliefs by attributing them to non-racial factors, such as the economy or objections to government assistance (Son Hing et al., 2008). Dovidio and Gaertner (2000) define aversive racism as "the racial attitudes of many whites who endorse egalitarian values, who regard themselves as non-prejudiced, but who discriminate in subtle, rationalizable ways" (p. 315). Racial bias in this case is expressed

in indirect ways that do not threaten the perpetrator's own egalitarian self-image. It allows people to rationalize the bias to factors other than race (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000). The primary difference between these three forms of racism are that symbolic and modern racists intend to maintain a non-prejudiced image, but they have conservative beliefs about society, while aversive racists truly believe that they hold low-prejudiced, open-minded, and liberal values (Son Hing et al., 2008). However, they all share the common attribute of subtlety in expression of discriminatory behaviour (as opposed to an overt expression of racism).

Cortina's (2002; 2008) theory of selective incivility is most closely related to the concept of aversive racism proposed by Dovidio and Gaertner (2000). Indeed, Kabat-Farr and Cortina (2012) agree that selective incivility and aversive racism share common features such as target degradation and norm violation, and that aversive racism could be an antecedent to actions of selective incivility. Moreover, perpetrators of selective incivility may rationalize their actions as due to reasons other than race, as is found with aversive racists (Son Hing et al., 2008). Perhaps what makes the two constructs distinct is the requirement that aversive racists *consciously* and *publicly* endorse egalitarian beliefs and condemn prejudiced and discriminatory ones, which is not a requirement for selective incivility (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Kabat-Farr & Cortina, 2012). However, Kabat-Farr and Cortina (2012) agree that both constructs are rooted in social identity theory, specifically stereotyping and categorization, and perhaps future research warrants greater integration of these constructs. In this study, selective incivility was examined independent of the constructs of symbolic racism, modern racism, and aversive racism.

Observing Incivility

Consistent with social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1982), the high frequency of incivility towards minority groups can be attributed to people's implicit associations made about those groups. The categorization of an individual as an outgroup member, coupled with how threatening they are perceived to be, may lead an ingroup member to perpetrate incivility in a subtle and discriminatory way (Cortina, 2008). However, the focus of selective incivility theory is to understand the actions of the perpetrator, and the feelings of the target – but how does this theory apply to observers of incivility?

Research has found that witnessing incivility in the workplace can result in negative outcomes for the observer. These outcomes include reduced job satisfaction, well-being, perceptions of safety, and increased organizational withdrawal (Miner & Cortina, 2007, 2016). In studying the emotional outcomes of witnessing gender-based incivility, Miner and Eischeid (2012) found that participants reported stronger negative emotions (anger, fear, anxiety, and demoralization) when they witnessed incivility toward coworkers of their own gender compared to coworkers of the opposite gender. In other words, men felt less negativity when they witnessed incivility toward a woman, and vice versa.

Although there is little research to draw on in the realm of observed incivility, existing research suggests that, consistent with social identity (Tajfel, 1974) and selective incivility (Cortina, 2008) models, individuals have an unconscious preference towards their ingroups, and experience more negativity when their ingroup is a target of incivility. Indeed, incivility toward the opposite gender elicited less negative emotional reactions when compared to incivility against participants' own gender (Miner-Rubino & Cortina,

2007; Miner & Eischeid, 2012). While perceptions of observed incivility, to my knowledge, have not yet been studied with respect to racial groups either experimentally or via self-report, we can hypothesize that a similar pattern would arise with racial group membership.

Hypothesis 1a: Participants will have higher ratings of incivility when the target of incivility belongs to their racial ingroup (White) compared to their racial outgroup (Chinese).

The basis of this hypothesis is that individuals are more defensive about their ingroups than they are about outgroups. Ashforth and Mael (1989) posit that social identification involves being “psychologically intertwined” with one’s ingroup. One such example of this intertwining is a greater tendency to empathize with experiences of one’s ingroup. Often, this identification is not of a highly personal nature, and is often based on shared salient characteristics, such as race and sex (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). Montgomery (1997) found that race and sex are the two most likely physical characteristics used as identifiers by others, when there is scarce additional information provided.

Given the social psychology literature about intergroup relations, it is reasonable to suggest that observing incivility towards a racial ingroup versus outgroup member can result in biased perceptions about their mistreatment, and that these perceptions would be influenced by the target’s race (Montgomery et al., 2004). Since social identification is characterized by ingroup favoritism and self-enhancement (Hogg et al., 1995), observers to incivility may use the target’s race to develop biased perceptions about the mistreatment. Witnessing incivility against someone with similar characteristics (such as

racial similarity) might lead the observer to perceive the interaction as more disrespectful and undeserved (Miller, 2001), compared to witnessing incivility against someone who is racially dissimilar to the observer.

In the current study, I propose that White observers may be less likely to feel sympathy for Chinese targets of incivility for two primary reasons. First, the racial identity of a Chinese individual would be a highly salient characteristic given that this study is conducted in a society that is predominantly racially White (Nova Scotia) (Statistics Canada, 2011). Second, as discussed earlier, the racial group “Chinese” has been consistently rated as being highly competent, but lacking warmth (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006). Although high competence on its own might be a positive characterization, its combination with low warmth elicits feelings of envy (Fiske et al., 2002). The high competence of Chinese immigrants is viewed as a threat to the dominant group, while low warmth is viewed in conjunction with negative stereotypes, such as unfriendliness and rudeness (Cuddy et al., 2008). While it is important to keep in mind that these conclusions about Chinese immigrants have been obtained from American samples, I argue that these perceptions might persist in a similar way in Canada due to evidence of similar prejudicial attitudes and microaggressions against Asians found in Canadian samples (Houshmand et al., 2014; Son Hing et al., 2008).

Finally, it is important to discuss the consequences of witnessing incivility towards a racial outgroup compared to one’s racial ingroup. Specifically, the target’s race can have a differential impact on how incivility, specifically when it is selective, is handled in the workplace. Using social identity theory as the framework, Montgomery et al. (2004) found that witnesses who shared the same race and sex with a target of

incivility were more likely to assess the behaviour as inappropriate than observers who did not share the same race or sex as the target. These findings are important as they highlight the notion that norms of respect may not necessarily be shared amongst people of one organization. Perhaps norms of respect, particularly when assessing disrespect, are influenced by salient characteristics of the target (e.g., race), and the degree to which the observer identifies with these characteristics. These assessments, then, have the potential to influence the subsequent behaviour of incivility witnesses or observers. Specifically, identifying observer differences in appraisals of uncivil events can help researchers to understand why incivility might go unaddressed or unnoticed in organizations. For example, if White males are less likely to view an event as uncivil when the target is an African-American woman (Montgomery et al., 2004), they might be less likely to offer support to her or to intervene in future incidents.

In addition to measuring observers' perceptions of incivility, the current study also measures the degree to which the incivility is perceived as just or fair toward the target. We included a measure of interpersonal justice (as an indirect measure; Colquitt, 2001) as well as a direct measure of justice (asking specifically how fair the treatment is toward the target; Colquitt & Shaw, 2005). In organizations, interpersonal justice (Bies & Moag, 1986; Greenberg, 1993) refers to the degree to which employees are treated with politeness and respect (Colquitt, Conlon, Wesson, Porter, & Ng, 2001). In their model of workplace incivility, Andersson and Pearson (1999) distinguish between incivility and interactional justice (fair interpersonal treatment which includes interpersonal justice; Colquitt et al., 2001). Negative affective reactions to incivility are proposed to arise when the uncivil event is perceived as unjust. The response to this violation of justice is to

potentially retaliate further with more negative affect (Andersson & Pearson, 1999) or behaviour. Therefore, incivility and interpersonal justice are both important constructs to consider, as appraisals of justice (or a lack thereof) contribute to reactions to uncivil behaviours.

According to Miller (2001), mistreatment is not always seen as unfair. Specifically, perceptions of mistreatment often depend on whether the target is seen as deserving of the mistreatment (Miller, 2001). Disrespect which is perceived as “deserved” may lead an individual to deem that such conduct is fair or appropriate, while disrespect that is not perceived as “deserved” is deemed inappropriate and less fair (Miller, 2001). These concepts are important for understanding racial group dynamics, because an individual might perceive someone from their racial ingroup as being less deserving of mistreatment, whereas mistreatment against an outgroup might be seen as more fair. Due to affective differences in how individuals feel about ingroup versus outgroup members (Cameron, 2004), outgroup targets might be perceived as being more deserving of disrespect, leading to the hypothesis below:

Hypothesis 1b: Participants will evaluate an uncivil event as less fair (lower ratings of fairness) when the target of incivility belongs to their racial ingroup (White) compared to their racial outgroup (Chinese).

Dehumanization Theory

Although no link with incivility has been established in the literature to date, other forms of discrimination have been associated with the concept of *dehumanization*, where an outgroup may be attributed fewer human-like qualities, thus making hostility against that group easier (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). The process of *humanization*, then, may

serve to counter our “natural” social categorization processes. “Humanness” is attributed to others based on two dimensions: *human nature* and *human uniqueness*. Human uniqueness attributes serve to distinguish humans from other animals, and includes attributes such as civility, morality, higher cognitive abilities, and other socially learned behaviours (Bastian & Haslam, 2011; Bastian et al., 2011). Human nature attributes are seen as being the core or fundamental features of humans, and include characteristics such as emotionality and warmth (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). When people are denied human uniqueness attributes, they are compared to animals. The target individual or group is seen as immature, irrational, childish, or regressive (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). When people are denied human nature attributes, they are compared to objects or machines. The target individual or group is viewed as being cold, lacking emotion, harsh, or rigid (Bastian & Haslam, 2011).

Dehumanization research has found that stereotypes play a role in evaluations of outgroups (Bastian & Haslam, 2011), and that stereotypes can affect the degree to which a relevant outgroup is humanized (Loughnan & Haslam, 2007). Outgroups are often attributed fewer humanness qualities of human nature and human uniqueness compared to oneself (Haslam, Bain, Douge, Lee, & Bastian, 2005), and to one’s ingroup (Bastian et al., 2011; Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla, 2010; Leyens, Paladino, Rodriguez-Torres, Vaes, Demoulin, Rodriguez-Perez, & Gaunt, 2000; Paladino & Vaes, 2009). Furthermore, Bastian et al. (2011) connected the concept of humanness with the stereotype content model by suggesting that human nature and human uniqueness are extensions of the warmth and competence dimensions. Human nature is an extension of the warmth dimension (emotionality, sociability, openness), while human uniqueness

extends the competence dimension (civility, intelligence, refinement). Like warmth and competence, varying levels of human nature and human uniqueness can trigger differential group stereotypes (see Loughnan & Haslam, 2006).

Bastian, Denson, and Haslam (2013) examined the effects of offender dehumanization on retributive justice in American and Australian samples. The authors found that criminals who were rated as “less human” (i.e., lacking human nature and human uniqueness qualities) received stronger endorsements of retributive justice (i.e., punishment) compared to criminals who were rated as more human. Furthermore, stronger dehumanization resulted in more severe endorsements of retributive punishment such that more dehumanized criminals were seen as less “worthy” of receiving rehabilitation. In another study, Bastian et al. (2011) examined the association between perceptions of humanness and moral judgments about social groups. Once participants completed humanness ratings for each social group, they were asked to make moral judgments about whether people (e.g., Muslims, the homeless) should be blamed for immoral actions, or praised for moral actions. Social groups who were rated as “less human” received more blame for immoral actions, and less praise for moral actions. This research adds to the social identity literature, in that the dehumanization of outgroups is associated with negative outcomes, such as harsher punishments, more blame, and potentially greater perceptions of fairness when they are mistreated (Bastian et al., 2013).

There has been no established link between humanization (or dehumanization) and incivility. Existing humanization research can be applied to judgments of incivility to the extent that social groups that are dehumanized, or possess low “humanness” are more prone to more negative, harsher judgments. For example, Bastian et al.’s (2011)

humanness ratings show that Australian Aboriginals were rated as having average human nature attributes and low human uniqueness attributes, and thus were perceived as “less human” than Christians, who were rated highly on both dimensions. These ratings affected the degree to which individuals from these groups were blamed or praised for their actions. Therefore, if “less human” social groups are given more retributive punishment (Bastian et al., 2013), or more blame for their actions (Bastian et al., 2011), then it is possible that similar patterns would persist when assessing the degree of incivility or injustice committed toward a “less human” outgroup, as they may be seen as more deserving of disrespect or punishment, consistent with my earlier hypotheses.

Moreover, if the two humanness dimensions are extensions of the warmth and competence dimensions in the stereotype content model (Bastian et al., 2011), then we can postulate that attributions of humanness can affect people’s perceptions of treatment towards outgroup members. In the current study, attributing greater human nature (warmth) attributes to a Chinese target might result in more sympathy toward them by a White observer, because by possessing high levels of both humanness dimensions, the Chinese individual becomes more similar to the observer’s racial ingroup. In other words, humanizing a racial outgroup target results in judgments about their mistreatment to be similar to the judgments of the racial ingroup target. Put differently, since one’s own ingroup is seen as high on both warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002), attributing warmth to a cold, competent outgroup member might serve to humanize them, thus making the person resemble the observer’s ingroup. This perceived similarity, then, might lead the White observer to perceive the Chinese target as being more mistreated

(higher ratings of incivility) and less deserving of the incivility (lower perceptions of justice) compared with when the Chinese target is not humanized.

Hypothesis 2: A humanization * target race interaction is expected, such that:

Hypothesis 2a: Humanizing the outgroup (Chinese) target of mistreatment will result in higher ratings of incivility compared to when the outgroup target is not humanized, whereas humanization will have minimal impact on incivility ratings for the mistreated ingroup (White) target (as the ingroup target is inherently high in humanized qualities).

Hypothesis 2b: Humanizing the outgroup (Chinese) target of mistreatment will result in lower ratings of justice compared to when the outgroup target is not humanized, whereas humanization will have minimal impact on justice ratings for the mistreated ingroup (White) target.

Racial Identity Strength

Social identity theory proposes that human beings have multiple identities, or selves, that fall into existing social categories. Examples of such social categories could be one's favorite sports team (e.g., a Blue Jays supporter), one's university (e.g., a Harvard University student), or a broader category such as nationality (e.g., a Canadian) or race (e.g., Chinese) (Hogg et al., 1995). If a specific social identity, such as race, becomes a central aspect of one's identity, that group identification can affect the person's self-perceptions and behaviours towards individuals that are not a part of that particular racial group (Hogg et al., 1995).

In accordance with the social identity perspective, Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith (1997) posit that race can be a large part of people's identities, as it is

a salient characteristic that plays a role in so many aspects of social life. Sellers et al. (1997) proposed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI), a four-dimensional model of racial identity for African Americans. The four dimensions of racial identity are: *saliency*, *centrality*, *ideology*, and *regard*. Saliency and centrality refer to the degree of significance of one's race to one's self-image, while ideology and regard refer to the affective component of belonging to a particular racial community. Using these four dimensions as subscales, Sellers et al. (1997) developed the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), where the items from the four factors reflect the author's definitions specific to the African American identity.

Cameron's (2004) scale of social identity draws on the work of Sellers et al. (1997), but he proposes a three-factor model: *centrality*, *ingroup affect*, and *ingroup ties*. For this study, Cameron's (2004) three-factor measure was chosen over Sellers et al.'s (1997) model because the factors are not rooted in any particular race; rather, the items in the measure can be modified to reflect any social identity. Additionally, the three dimensions reflect universal components for any strong social identity, not just race. For example, Cameron (2004) tested his model with three group identities: university, gender, and nationality.

The current study is primarily focused on the dimension of racial centrality; that is, the degree to which an individual emphasizes their race as part of their overall self-concept and identity (Sellers, Chavous, & Cooke, 1998; Sellers et al., 1997). This concept differs from racial saliency, which is the extent to which one's race is important in a specific situation or event at a particular time. Although human beings identify with multiple social groups, they are not all equally significant (Cameron, 2004). The more

central a person's race is to their identity, the higher up it is in the "hierarchy" of their social identities (Sellers et al., 1997). The centrality of a particular social identity is said to remain stable over time (Cameron, 2004; Sellers et al., 1997). From a social identity theory perspective, a central social identity is more cognitively accessible, or comes to mind more quickly, compared to less central identities (Cameron, 2004).

Centrality was chosen as the focal measure of racial identity strength because it is the *cognitive* aspect of social identity. Racial centrality is governed by self-categorizations and one's self-concept, which is also the focus of self-categorization theory (Cameron, 2004; Turner et al., 1994). Researchers propose that centrality is defined by (a) the frequency with which a particular social identity comes to mind, and (b) the importance of that identity in defining one's self-concept (Cameron, 2004). This ties into the cognitive processes of categorization and self-enhancement proposed by self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1994), whereby categorization is the cognitive mechanism by which stereotypes about the self (and others) are created, and self-enhancement is the desire to create a positive self-concept through one's social identifications (Hogg et al., 1995).

Unlike the centrality dimension, ingroup affect and ingroup ties reflect more affective, as opposed to cognitive, mechanisms of social identity. Ingroup affect is the evaluative facet of social identity, where one evaluates their ingroup more positively in comparison with other outgroups (Cameron, 2004). Ingroup ties reflects the emotional ties one feels with their group, such as their sense of belonging to the group or the bond they feel with other members of that group (Cameron, 2004). While centrality was the focus of this study, ingroup affect and ingroup ties were also measured and tested in place

of centrality, as they are also relevant dimensions to the hypotheses proposed in this study.

Based on the assertion by Sellers et al. (1997), if race is a central social category in one's hierarchy of identities, judgments of incivility and justice would differ based on the race of the mistreated target. If race is central to one's identity, then perceiving mistreatment of someone from a racial outgroup might result in less sympathy towards that target and thus lower ratings of incivility and higher ratings of justice. If race is not important to an individual's self-concept, judgments of incivility and justice would not be expected to differ based on target race. This is because the "us versus them" mindset would not pertain to racial identity, so individuals would not be motivated to promote their racial ingroup and derogate their racial outgroup (Hogg et al., 1995).

Hypothesis 3: A 2-way interaction of racial identity strength by target race is expected, such that:

Hypothesis 3a: Individuals with a stronger racial identity will have lower ratings of incivility when the target of mistreatment is an outgroup (Chinese) member compared to when the target is an ingroup (White) member. Individuals with a weaker racial identity will have similar ratings of incivility for both ingroup and outgroup targets.

Hypothesis 3b: Individuals with a stronger racial identity will have higher ratings of justice when the target of mistreatment is an outgroup (Chinese) member compared to when the target is an ingroup (White) member. Individuals with a weaker racial identity will have similar ratings of justice for both ingroup and outgroup targets.

In integrating the humanization component, I further propose that the observer's racial identity strength will moderate the relationship between humanization and target

race on judgments of incivility and justice. It is possible that humanizing an outgroup target of mistreatment would “cancel out”, or mitigate the effect of a strong racial identity, such that individuals confronted with a humanized outgroup target will make more sympathetic judgments compared to when the outgroup target is not humanized. This is because humanization will blur the line between the observer’s racial ingroup and outgroup, as the humanizing information will make the Chinese target more relatable to the observer by being high in both human uniqueness and human nature qualities. This prediction is an extension of Bastian et al.’s (2011) findings, which show that the degree of “humanness” influences judgments of punishment, such that non-humanized groups are awarded harsher judgments, while humanized groups are judged with more sympathy.

Hypothesis 4: A three-way interaction of target race * humanization condition * racial identity strength is expected, such that:

Hypothesis 4a: In the non-humanized target condition, I expect a 2-way interaction between racial identity strength and target race as outlined in Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4b: In the humanized target condition, I expect no effect of target race nor racial identity strength. The humanization manipulation will mitigate the influence of racial identity strength and target race, such that participants will perceive the outgroup (Chinese) target as similar to their ingroup, thus resulting in similar ratings of incivility and justice for both targets, regardless of their race.

Summary of Purpose

Using an experimental design, this study examined judgments of incivility and justice from the perspective of observers, or witnesses, to uncivil behaviour. The primary research question was whether uncivil behaviours are judged as more *uncivil* and less *just*

when they are perpetrated against a racial ingroup member (White) as opposed to a racial outgroup member (Chinese). Furthermore, I considered two potential variables that may moderate judgments of incivility and justice. First, I examined whether humanizing an outgroup target affects evaluations of the incivility that was perpetrated against them. Second, I examined the moderating role of the witness' strength of racial identity, measured by the dimensions of racial centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties (Cameron, 2004).

This study will contribute to research in social psychology, as well as industrial-organizational psychology. Not only does it examine the underlying, implicit processes of subtle discrimination, it does so in the context of a common workplace phenomenon: incivility. The findings of this study may incorporate race into the existing literature on observed incivility, by examining how the race of the observer, perpetrator, and target of incivility impact the observer's judgment of that mistreatment. Finally, the integration of dehumanization theory (Bastian & Haslam, 2011) and racial identity strength (Cameron, 2004) will serve to deepen our current insight on intergroup perceptions, attitudes, and behaviours with respect to race.

Method

Design and Participants

Design overview. The current on-line study was a combination of a self-report survey (Time 1) and a 2 (between-subjects; humanization condition) X 2 (within-subjects; target race) experimental design (Time 2). The Time 1 survey included demographic questions (participants' race), and measured Cameron's (2004) three dimensions of social identity (cognitive centrality, ingroup affect, ingroup ties), which

were adapted in this study to reflect racial identity. The link to the Time 2 component of the study was sent to participants approximately 5-7 days after the completion of the Time 1 survey.

In the Time 2 experiment, the between-subjects factor was humanization condition; participants were randomly assigned to view vignettes with either (a) humanized targets (humanized via high warmth traits; Fiske et al., 2002) or (b) non-humanized targets. The within-subjects factor was target race; participants evaluated two experimental vignettes, each depicting an interaction between a White supervisor, and either a White employee (target) or a Chinese employee (target). Within each humanization condition (the between-subjects factor), the order in which participants viewed each target was counterbalanced (White target followed by Chinese target, or vice versa). The content of the scenarios were also balanced across the two target races (Scenario 1 with the Chinese target and Scenario 2 with the White target, or vice versa). The three outcomes variables (incivility, interpersonal justice, fairness) were measured after each vignette in the Time 2 experiment.

Participants. Participants were recruited using two methods, and all were self-selected undergraduate students from a university in Nova Scotia, Canada. The majority of participants ($N = 308$) were recruited via the university's on-line bonus (SONA) system; others ($N = 14$) were recruited via flyers posted around the university campus and in-person classroom announcements. Participants recruited via the second method were told to contact the researcher via email if they wished to participate. There were no characteristic restrictions placed on who could participate in the study; however, the main analyses for the thesis centered on participants who self-identified as White in the Time 1

survey. As incentives, SONA participants were eligible to receive course credit for completing the study. Each phase of the study was worth .25 credit points. Non-SONA participants were eligible to receive a \$20 e-gift card to a coffee shop through a random draw. The draw was conducted for every 10 participants, or 20 entries (due to the two-phase nature of this study). All responses were kept confidential during data collection, reporting, and storage.

A total of 322 individuals (Female = 254; $M_{\text{age}} = 21.24$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.23$) participated in the study, with 216 participants completing both phases. Two hundred and five participants were recruited via the SONA system (Female = 167, $M_{\text{age}} = 21.40$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.81$), while 11 participants were obtained from flyers and in-class recruitment (Female = 5, $M_{\text{age}} = 21.73$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.01$). Participants who did not identify as “White” or “Caucasian” were not included in the analyses, as the study only sought to analyze those who identified as racially White. I also removed those from the analysis who took a short amount of time to complete the study (under four minutes for Time 1 and under eight minutes for Time 2)¹, and who did not correctly answer the manipulation check for identifying the target’s race (“What racial or ethnic group do you believe [target name] belongs to?”). Finally, three participants were excluded from the final sample due to researcher error in an early stage of data collection. This resulted in a final sample of 101 White participants (Female = 86; $M_{\text{age}} = 21.57$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.90$); 98 were recruited through SONA (Female = 84; $M_{\text{age}} = 21.57$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.97$) and three were recruited through flyers or in-class announcements (Female = 2, $M_{\text{age}} = 21.67$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 1.53$). Most participants

¹ This was determined by examining the patterns of frequency bar charts showing how long participants took to complete each phase of the survey. A natural break in the time to complete was used to identify and exclude those who were speeders in the survey.

reported being either currently employed part-time ($N = 51$) or being currently unemployed, but as having been employed in the past ($N = 35$). Most participants were majors in Psychology ($N = 52$), followed by Criminology ($N = 14$).

Procedure

The study was advertised as a two-phase on-line study on “workplace interpersonal interactions”. The on-line surveys were created and hosted using Qualtrics. Time 1 was a self-report questionnaire, and Time 2 was an online experiment during which participants were required to make judgments about a series of hypothetical workplace interactions.

The Time 1 self-report survey began with a consent form, which included a description of the study’s purpose, a guarantee of confidentiality, and information regarding course credits or random draws as an incentive. Consent was understood by virtue of clicking “I agree” to move on to the next page in the online survey. The Time 1 survey consisted of seven sections. Participants first answered the demographic questionnaire, which asked about their age, year of study, nationality, racial identity, field of study (their major), gender, and history of work experience. They were then asked to answer a series of Likert-style questions for the measures described below (see “Materials”), including Cameron’s (2004) three dimensions of racial identity (centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties) that were used as predictors in the analysis. Once all sections were completed and participants reached the final page, they were informed that they would be emailed a link to the Time 2 survey within 5-7 days.

Time 2 was an online experiment in which participants read four vignettes depicting situations of supervisor-employee civility and incivility. As noted earlier,

humanization of the scenario's targets (humanized vs. not humanized) was manipulated between-subjects, while target race (White vs. Chinese target) was manipulated within-subjects. Within each humanization condition, participants read vignettes of employees who were part of their racial ingroup (White) and their racial outgroup (Chinese)². For each vignette, participants were asked to judge (a) the degree to which the supervisor is perceived to be uncivil toward the employee, (b) the degree to which the supervisor's behaviour toward the target was fair/justified, and (c) some additional exploratory items: perceived competence of the target and likelihood offering support to the target.

To ensure the effectiveness of the warmth (humanization) manipulation, participants were also asked three questions related to how likeable, warm, and nice they perceived the targets in the vignettes to be. To check the target race manipulation, participants were asked to identify the race of the target in an open-ended question after each vignette.

The two vignettes of interest were presented second and third, although their order was counterbalanced, while the order and content of the filler vignettes (presented first and last) remained constant for all participants. The scenario content in the two vignettes of interest was varied (balanced for each target) to prevent a particular scenario from being confounded with the target's race. Through the online survey platform (Qualtrics), participants were thus randomly allocated to one of eight conditions: humanized or non-humanized targets, target order (White target followed by Chinese target or vice-versa), and scenario content (Scenario 1 with Chinese target/Scenario 2 with White target, or Scenario 2 with Chinese target/Scenario 1 with White target). The

² The within-subjects manipulation; only White participants' responses were analyzed for the thesis.

target's race was made evident in each vignette through their name (e.g., Jiao Lee/Meghan Smith) and where they immigrated or moved from (e.g., Shanghai, China/Hamilton, Ontario). All supervisors were White (supervisor race was indicated via their name only), as the goal was to examine incivility from a majority ingroup toward a minority outgroup. The names for the targets and supervisors were chosen based on their degree of identification with a certain race. Specifically, common Caucasian names were chosen for all supervisors and White targets, while common Chinese names were chosen for the Chinese targets³.

The study was matched on gender (gender was gleaned from the Time 1 survey), such that female participants received vignettes with only female supervisors (Mary Thomas/Kim Johnson) and subordinates (Jiao Lee/Meghan Smith), while male participants received vignettes with only male supervisors (John Thomas/James Johnson) and subordinates (Yong Lee/Matthew Smith). Since the goal was to examine intergroup dynamics with regards to race, participants were matched on gender so that they always evaluated their gender ingroup. As a result, separate Time 2 surveys were created for male and female participants⁴.

Participants exposed to the humanized targets condition received vignettes that were reflective of high warmth (or high human nature) traits (as developed by Bastian et al., 2011 & Fiske et al., 2002), while participants in the non-humanized target condition

³ Names for Chinese targets were obtained from the article "Top 50 Most Common Chinese Names" in the blog "China Whisper" by Peter Wang (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.chinawhisper.com>. Last names for White targets were retrieved from a blog, <https://www.mongabay.com>, while first names for White targets were based on my knowledge for common Caucasian first names.

⁴ It was decided that participants who identified as "other" in the gender question in the Time 1 survey would be randomly sent a male or female version of the Time 2 survey. However, no participant selected the "other" gender option.

received vignettes that did not contain any humanizing traits or information. Examples of high warmth traits used in the vignettes included adjectives such as “open-minded”, “sociable”, “friendly”, and “approachable”. A sample sentence added to one of the humanized vignettes was “Jiao’s/Meghan’s friends describe her as a very friendly and approachable person, who is always willing to help others in need”.

After completing the vignette task, participants were directed to complete additional Likert-style questions on elderly stereotypes used as a cover scale (6 items; Marcus, Fritzche, Huy, & Reeves, 2016) and a modern racism towards Asians scale (9 items; AMRS; Son Hing et al., 2008). Once participants completed this section, they were directed to an online feedback letter. This feedback letter included a description of the study’s purpose and an outline of the main research questions of interest. Contact information for the researcher, the faculty supervisor and the university’s ethics office was provided, as well as information on how to contact the university’s counseling services in case the study brought about adverse thoughts or feelings.

Measures and Materials⁵

Demographics: Race (Time 1). Participants were asked to identify the racial group that they most closely identify with from a series of options (“Please select the racial group you *most closely* identify with”). They were also given the opportunity to list another racial group in the “other” option, or to list multiple racial groups that they equally identified with. The list of racial groups was adapted from Statistics Canada’s 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), which listed a detailed breakdown of 264

⁵ Only measures relevant to the thesis analyses are discussed in-depth. There were additional scales in both phases of the study that were either added to mask the true purpose of the study, or for future exploratory purposes.

different races and ethnicities in Canada. The options used in this study were broad geographic combinations of the options provided by the NHS. The option used to identify White participants was “White or European (Caucasian)”. See Appendix A for demographic questions.

Racial identity strength (Time 1). Participants completed the three subscales from Cameron’s (2004) three-factor model of social identity, which was adapted for this study to reflect race. The three factors were cognitive centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties. All items were rated on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). This measure has been adapted to reflect racial identity in previous research, such as in Gilin Oore, Gagnon, and Bourgeois (2013).

Racial centrality. The primary sub-scale of interest for racial identity strength was cognitive centrality, which consists of four items. An example item is “Overall, being a member of my racial group has very little to do with how I feel about myself” (internal consistency reliability range = .67 to .78; Cameron, 2004).

Ingroup affect and ingroup ties. Participants also answered the four questions for the ingroup affect subscale (“In general, I’m glad to be a member of my racial group”; internal consistency reliability range = .77 to .82; Cameron, 2004) and the ingroup ties subscale (“I have a lot in common with other members of my racial group”; internal consistency reliability range = .76 to .84; Cameron, 2004). Although centrality was the focal measure of racial identity in this study, analyses were also conducted with the ingroup affect and ingroup ties dimensions in place of cognitive centrality.

Additional scales (Time 1). In addition to the demographic questions and scales described above, the Time 1 survey included a number of extra scales. This was done for

two reasons: to mask the true measures of interest, and to conduct additional exploratory analyses for future research (not presented in the thesis). The scales included the 16-item Individualism and Collectivism Scale by Triandis and Gelfand (1998), an adaptation of Cameron's (2004) three-factor model of social identity reflecting university identity, Lennox and Wolfe's (1984) Ability to Modify Self-Presentation subscale from their Revised Self-Monitoring Scale, Davis' (1980) measures of empathic concern and perspective-taking, and Beugré's (2012) 18-item deontic justice scale.

Vignettes (Time 2). Each participant read four vignettes depicting interactions between a supervisor and a subordinate (see Appendix B for the vignettes). The second filler vignette (presented last to all participants) depicted a civil situation, while the first filler vignette and the two experimental vignettes depicted uncivil situations. The uncivil behaviours used in the scenarios were developed using items from Cortina et al.'s (2013) workplace incivility questionnaire. The three uncivil vignettes were selected from six original vignettes based on independent ratings of incivility by three graduate psychology students. Vignettes that were rated as similarly uncivil were used for the study.

I constructed the vignettes in a way that reflected realistic situations, where the employee, due to their actions and behaviours, could be perceived as partially to blame for the treatment they received from the supervisor. I believed it would have been unrealistic for the supervisor to mistreat the target without any prompt from the employee; thus, the vignettes depict the employee as having behaved in a manner that some participants may have considered as deserving of incivility. For example, in one of the experimental vignettes, the target oversleeps and is late to a team meeting, which causes the supervisor to behave uncivilly toward them (by ignoring them in the team

meeting). Finally, all vignettes were approximately the same length, and vignettes in the humanization condition all featured the humanized component (via the addition of one sentence) after the first paragraph.

Outcome measures (Time 2). There were two primary outcomes of interest, incivility and justice/fairness (see Appendix C for outcome measures and manipulation checks created for this study). The outcome questions were presented to participants after each vignette.

Incivility. First, participants were asked to rate the degree to which each vignette was uncivil in terms of how the target was treated. Five items were developed to measure incivility in this study based on Andersson and Pearson's (1999) article on workplace incivility. An example item is "The supervisor's behaviour toward [target name] was inappropriate", and was rated from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Since this scale was developed for this study, the internal consistency reliability can be found in the Results section.

Justice/Fairness. Second, participants were asked to rate how fair the treatment of the supervisor was toward their subordinate for each vignette through a series of indirect (i.e., interpersonal justice) items and a direct justice item (Colquitt & Shaw, 2005). The interpersonal justice items were adapted from the interpersonal justice subscale from Colquitt's (2001) measure of organizational justice (internal consistency reliability = .79). The subscale consisted of four items; each rated from 1 (to a very small extent) to 5 (to a very large extent). An example of an adapted item is "To what extent did the supervisor treat [target name] with dignity?" The direct justice item was "To what

extent did the supervisor treat [target name] fairly?” Past research has used the term “fair” to directly measure justice (Colquitt & Shaw, 2005; Jordan & Turner, 2008).

Warmth (Humanization) Manipulation Check. At the end of each vignette, participants were asked three questions to assess whether the manipulation of warmth was successful. The items were “In your opinion, how likeable/warm/nice is [target name]?” The three warmth adjectives were obtained from the adjectives outlined in the stereotype content model by Fiske et al. (2002).

Race Manipulation Check. The second manipulation check was for target race; participants were asked “What racial or ethnic group do you believe the employee (subordinate) belongs to?” Since target race was a within-subjects manipulation, those who incorrectly answered either one or both target race questions were excluded from the analysis. We also asked questions regarding the race of the supervisor, and the gender of the supervisor and target. However, because those variables were not manipulated in the study, we did not exclude participants from the analysis based on responses to those questions.

Additional measures. Additional outcome measures were included for exploratory purposes including: the perceived competence of the target (“How competent do you feel [target name] is at performing his/her job?”) and likelihood of offering support (“If you were a witness to this scenario, how likely is it that you would offer support to [target name]?”) Finally, the Asian Modern Racism Scale (AMRS) by Son Hing et al. (2008) was presented to participants at the end of the Time 2 survey.

Results

Data Preparation and Statistical Software

Data preparation and analyses were conducted on two programs: IBM SPSS Statistics, version 24 (IBM SPSS Statistics for Apple, 2016) and the R language (R Core Team, 2017). Initial data preparation such as assumption checks, scale calculations, reliabilities and descriptive statistics were calculated using SPSS, while the primary hypothesis testing was conducted in the R language.

The sample size in the analyses reflects self-identified White participants that were retained after a series of exclusion criteria (see Methods for the detailed exclusion process). Out of participants who completed both phases of the study, 146 participants were retained after accounting for participant race, completion time, and researcher error, after which 45 participants were excluded for incorrectly answering either or both target race manipulation checks for the experimental vignettes⁶. Thus, the final sample size was 101 (Females = 86).

Assumption Checks

Before running analyses to evaluate my hypotheses, I tested the assumptions of normality, linearity, and multicollinearity. Univariate normality was checked through histograms, skewness, and kurtosis, while multivariate normality and linearity were checked through a normal probability plot of the standardized residual values by the

⁶ To assess selection bias in participants who returned to complete Time 2, I compared the average scores of the three dimensions of racial identity between White participants who only participated in Time 1 versus those who participated in both study phases. Independent samples t-tests found that individuals who did not participate in Time 2 had significantly higher centrality ($N = 76$; $M = 2.52$) compared to those who participated in both phases ($N = 157$; $M = 2.28$), $t(231) = 2.47$, $p = .014$. Given that both averages for centrality are below the midpoint of the scale (1-5 scale), I do not believe selection bias had a large impact on the results in this study.

standardized predicted values (Field, 2016). Multicollinearity was checked through the zero-order correlations between variables ($r < .80$) as well as Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) values (Field, 2016) (values close to 1 indicate low multicollinearity). All these assumptions were met. Univariate outliers were assessed through z-scores ($z > \pm 3.29$; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), while multivariate outliers were assessed through Mahalanobis distance (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). One univariate outlier was detected on an outcome variable. This participant was not removed, as I was primarily concerned about the influence of multivariate outliers in my analysis. To assess the impact of the univariate outlier, I also ran the primary analysis without their data to help determine their retention or removal (Cousineau & Chartier, 2010; Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010). The results were not impacted by their removal; thus, this participant's data was retained. The Mahalanobis distance values showed no multivariate outliers in the sample ($p > .001$). The assumption of independent observations was violated as the data was nested, hence the data was analyzed through hierarchical linear modeling (HLM).

Descriptive Statistics and Reliabilities

Reliabilities. Most internal consistency reliabilities (Cronbach's alphas) were above the recommended value of .70 (Cortina, 1993). Two reliability estimates for my predictor variables—centrality (.68) and ingroup ties (.50)—however, were lower than desired. However, these reliabilities were retained for the analysis as these scales are established and validated. Furthermore, the internal consistency reliability for the centrality subscale fell within the range of reliabilities found in Cameron's (2004) initial studies.

With respect to my outcome measures, the reliability for the interpersonal justice scale was .74 (Chinese target) and .73 (White target). However, examination of the item “To what extent did the supervisor refrain from improper remarks or comments toward [target name]?” indicated that it was potentially problematic. This item showed differential mean ratings depending on the scenario content of the vignettes. Specifically, one vignette (labeled as “Scenario 2” in Appendix B) involved the supervisor interrupting and speaking over the employee (target), which participants might view as improper remarks, while the other vignette (“Scenario 1” in Appendix B) involved the supervisor ignoring the employee (i.e., no comments were made). According to Colquitt and Shaw (2005), justice items may be tailored to fit the context of the research. Therefore, I removed this item because it did not equally apply across both of my experimental vignettes. Across both scenario content pairings (i.e., “A1” and “A2”)⁷ average scores for this question were significantly lower for Scenario 2 (where the supervisor interrupted and spoke over the employee) compared to the means for Scenario 1 (where the supervisor ignored the employee).⁸ Second, the reliability analysis showed that removing this item from the scale increased its internal consistency reliability to .89 (White target) and .88 (Chinese target). Therefore, all analyses were conducted with the 3-item version of this scale.

⁷ Scenario content: “A1” - Scenario 1 with Asian target and Scenario 2 with White target. “A2” - Scenario 2 with Asian target and Scenario 1 with White target.

⁸ Means and standard deviations for the removed item versus the three retained items are shown in Appendix D. HLM analysis confirmed the differential ratings for this item based on scenario content. A target race*scenario content interaction showed that targets associated with Scenario 1 (supervisor ignores the target) received significantly higher ratings on this item compared to targets associated with Scenario 2 (supervisor interrupts and speaks over the target). This effect occurred for both target races across both scenario content pairings, “A1” and “A2”.

Descriptive statistics. Table 1 shows the means, standard deviations and intercorrelations for all continuous predictors, the humanization (warmth) manipulation check, and the three outcome variables used in the hypothesis testing analyses. An unusual negative trend was detected between centrality and ingroup affect, although it was weak and not significant ($r = -.072, p > .05, N = 101$). A similar trend was found in one of Cameron's (2004) studies ($r = -.07, p > .05$), although the significant correlations between these two dimensions ranged from .32 to .50 in Cameron's research.

Tables 2 and 3 show the descriptive statistics (means and standard deviations) for incivility and the justice measures, respectively, split by humanization condition and target race. Finally, Table 4 shows the descriptive statistics for the (humanization) warmth manipulation check split by humanization condition. The bolded values represent the grand means and standard deviations for the outcome variable regardless of target race. For all outcomes variables, the pattern was such that mistreatment toward Chinese targets (the outgroup) was, on average, rated as more uncivil and less just/fair compared to mistreatment toward the White target (the ingroup).

Data Analysis Strategy and Preliminary Data Analysis

The hypotheses, as well as checks on the success of the humanization manipulation, were tested through the hierarchical linear modeling (HLM) procedure using R language, as two observations were nested within participants (there were separate ratings for the White target and the Chinese target). The goal of this HLM procedure was to account for two observations per participant (i.e., the random intercept), while recognizing there would be different results for each participant on the dependent variable based on target race (i.e., the random slope) (Woltman et al., 2012).

Variables that remained consistent within participants were Level 2 variables. This included humanization condition (humanized or non-humanized targets), racial identity strength (centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties⁹), counterbalancing order of target race, and scenario content. Variables that changed across observations for each participant were the Level 1 variables. The only predictor at Level 1 was target race (White target or Chinese target)¹⁰. As per the requirements of an HLM analysis, the dependent variables were measured at Level 1 (Woltman et al., 2012). Finally, all continuous predictors were grand mean centered for the HLM analysis. Because the goal of the hypotheses was to examine cross-level interactions (i.e., target race by various Level 2 variables), all the hierarchical models varied the slope for target race to account for differential results (slopes) within participants based on target race.

The effect size value used throughout the HLM analysis is a pseudo R^2 value developed by Nakagawa and Schielzeth (2013). This measure of effect size was specifically developed for linear mixed models such as HLM. This effect size calculation provided two pseudo R^2 values: the marginal R^2 (representing the variance explained by the fixed effects only) and the conditional R^2 (representing the variance explained by both the fixed and random effects). For the purposes of this study, the conditional R^2 is reported for each hierarchical model, as the goal was to examine the effects of the fixed

⁹ The Asian Modern Racism Scale was also tested in place of the racial identity strength measures. Given that the racial outgroup was Asian, I expected that individuals high in Asian modern racism would exhibit the same patterns for incivility and justice as those high in centrality, as high Asian prejudice could indicate high racial identification. This pattern was not found; however, Asian modern racism predicted interpersonal justice ($p = .047$), such that higher Asian modern racism was associated with higher justice ratings. This analysis can be found in Appendix E.

¹⁰ Humanization condition coded as 0 = non-humanized target, 1 = Humanized target. Target race was coded as 0 = White target, 1 = Asian Target.

effects (humanization condition, racial identity strength) as well as the random effects (differential responses within participants based on target race; the random slope).

A check on the random assignment of racial identity strength (all three components) to condition was tested through an ANOVA in SPSS, as the Level 2 racial identity strength variables (centrality, ingroup affect, ingroup ties) were treated as dependent variables and could not be tested through HLM (dependent variables in HLM must be measured at Level 1; Woltman, Feldstain, MacKay, & Rocchi, 2012).

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics and Intercorrelations between Continuous Predictors, Manipulation Checks, and Outcomes

Measure	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Correlations										
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
1. Centrality	2.24	.69	(.68)										
2. Ingroup affect	3.76	.61		-.072 (.81)									
3. Ingroup ties	3.32	.54			.276* (.50)								
4. Incivility (W)	4.86	1.41				-.129 (.94)							
5. Incivility (C)	5.17	1.18					.163 (.91)						
6. Interpersonal justice (W)	1.90	.74						-.005 (.89)					
7. Interpersonal justice (C)	1.63	.68							.035 (.88)				
8. Direct justice (W)	2.48	1.00								.092 (.88)			
9. Direct justice (C)	2.17	.84									-.079 (.88)		
10. Warmth (W)	3.46	.73										-.571** (.88)	
11. Warmth (C)	3.55	.78											-.268** (.88)

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$. *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation. Cronbach's alphas (α) are presented in parentheses on the diagonal. *N* = 101. (W) = White target; (C) = Chinese target. The direct justice measure does not have a reliability value as it is a single-item measure. Incivility was rated on a 7-point scale, while the other measures were rated on a 5-point scale.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Incivility, by Target Race and Humanization Condition

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Humanized target	47	5.04	1.17
White		4.95	1.31
Chinese		5.13	1.03
Non-humanized target	54	5.00	1.41
White		4.79	1.51
Chinese		5.21	1.30

Note. *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation. *N* = 101. Incivility was measured on a 7-point scale.

Table 3

Descriptive Statistics for Indirect and Direct Measures of Justice, by Target Race and Humanization Condition

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Indirect measure (interpersonal justice)			
Humanized target	47	1.84	.70
White		1.96	.78
Chinese		1.72	.59
Non-humanized target	54	1.70	.74
White		1.85	.71
Chinese		1.56	.75
Direct measure (fairness)			
Humanized target	47	2.31	.84
White		2.47	.95
Chinese		2.15	.69
Non-humanized target	54	2.34	1.01
White		2.49	1.05
Chinese		2.19	.95

Note. *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation. *N* = 101. Justice was measured on a 5-point scale.

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics for Humanization Manipulation-Check Scale (Warmth), by Target Race and Humanization Condition

Variable	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Humanized target	47	3.81	.60
White		3.76	.58
Chinese		3.84	.63
Non-humanized target	54	3.24	.78
White		3.19	.74
Chinese		3.30	.82

Note. *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation. *N* = 101. Warmth was measured on a 5-point scale.

Humanization manipulation check. In order to check if the humanization manipulation was successful in producing different levels of target warmth, it was tested as an outcome in its own hierarchical linear model. I was particularly interested in the main effect of target race and humanization condition, and the target race * humanization condition interaction. The model also included counterbalancing order and scenario content, and higher-order interactions were examined with these variables included. Results showed that humanization condition significantly predicted warmth ratings, such that humanized targets were rated as significantly warmer than the non-humanized targets ($B = .58, p < .001$). This confirmed that the humanization manipulation was successful as a function of the condition (humanized vs. non-humanized targets). Target race did not significantly predict warmth ratings nor were any other interactions significant. The results are presented in Table 5.

Table 5

HLM Table for Effectiveness of Warmth (Humanization) Manipulation by Target Race and Humanization Condition

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	3.46	.07***	3.15	.13***	3.15	.19***
Target race	.10	.06	.10	.07	.15	.18
Humanization			.58	.13***	.47	.30
Counterbalancing order			.08	.12	.28	.25
Scenario content			-.01	.13	-.23	.29
Target race*Humanization					.05	.29
Target race*Counterbalancing order					-.33	.24
Humanization*Counterbalancing order					-.24	.40
Target race*Scenario content					.18	.28
Humanization*Scenario content					.42	.41
Counterbalancing order*Scenario content					-.11	.38
Target race*Humanization*Counterbalancing order						
Target race*Humanization*Scenario content					-.35	.40
Target race*Counterbalancing order*Scenario content					.26	.37
Humanization*Counterbalancing order*Scenario content					.15	.55
Target race*Humanization*Counterbalancing order*Scenario content					-.16	.54
Pseudo R^2		.870		.882		.887

Note. *** $p < .001$. $N = 101$.

Random assignment check. In order to check whether the random assignment of racial identity strength to condition was successful, three ANOVAs were conducted for each dimension of racial identity strength (centrality, ingroup affect, ingroup ties) as outcomes, predicted by the three manipulated variables (counterbalance order¹¹, scenario content¹², and humanization condition). Results are presented in Table 6. I tested the three-way interaction between counterbalancing order * scenario content * humanization condition for each racial identity outcome, as that would evaluate the success of random assignment of racial identity strength across the manipulated variables. The analysis only found a significant main effect of humanization condition on centrality, $F(1,93) = 7.02, p = .009$, such that individuals in the humanized target condition ($M = 2.41$) were higher in racial centrality compared to individuals in the non-humanized target condition ($M = 2.08$).

¹¹ Counterbalancing order: “Asian/White” coded as 0; “White/Asian” coded as 1.

¹² Scenario content: “A1” (Scenario 1 with Asian target/Scenario 2 with White target) coded as 0; “A2” (Scenario 2 with Asian target/Scenario 1 with White target) coded as 1.

Table 6

Analysis of Variance Probing the Random Assignment of Racial Identity Strength across Humanization Condition, Counterbalancing Order, and Scenario Content

Source	Centrality			Ingroup affect			Ingroup ties		
	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>
Counterbalance order	.47	1	1.02	.27	1	.69	.48	1	1.64
Scenario content	.05	1	.11	.03	1	.06	.09	1	.30
Humanization	3.20	1	7.02**	.44	1	1.14	.55	1	1.90
Counterbalance order*Scenario content	1.61	1	3.53	.70	1	1.83	.06	1	.20
Counterbalance order*Humanization	.09	1	.21	.17	1	.45	.10	1	.36
Scenario content*Humanization	.00	1	.01	.17	1	.44	.50	1	1.71
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Humanization	.00	1	.01	.02	1	.04	.63	1	2.18
Error	42.45	93		35.72	93		28.99	93	

Note. ** $p < .01$. $N = 101$.

Covariates. Prior to testing the hypotheses, a series of interactions were tested to see if the Level 2 variables, counterbalancing order and scenario content could be included in the HLM analysis as covariates (Yzerbyt, Muller, & Judd, 2004). These interactions were examined in hierarchical models separate from the models that tested the hypotheses.

Two, three, and four-way interactions were tested with target race and humanization condition for each outcome variable. The four-way interaction and all

lower-order interactions and main effects involving scenario content and counterbalance order were not significant for the direct and indirect measures of justice. For the outcome variable of incivility, one two-way interaction (scenario content * target race; $B = 1.44, p = .0447$) and one three-way interaction (counterbalance order * target race * humanization condition; $B = -2.24, p = .0226$) were significant. Additionally, a second three-way interaction (scenario content * target race * humanization condition) was approaching significance ($B = -1.94, p = .0553$), and as a result this interaction was interpreted over the corresponding two-way interaction. The interaction models for each outcome variable are presented in Tables 7, 8, and 9 respectively.

Table 7

Model Probing Interactions with Categorical Covariates, Target Race, and Humanization Condition, for Predicting Incivility

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	4.86	.14***	4.84	.22***	5.02	.39** *
Target race	.31	.17	.31	.17	-.22	.45
Counterbalance order			.06	.20	.13	.52
Scenario content			-.04	.20	-.46	.61
Humanization			.03	.20	-.52	.63
Counterbalance order*Scenario content					-.36	.79
Counterbalance order*Target race					.34	.60
Scenario content*Target race					1.44	.71*
Counterbalance order*Humanization					.99	.83
Scenario content*Humanization					.63	.86
Target race*Humanization					1.16	.73
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Target race					-.74	.91
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Humanization					-.42	1.16
Counterbalance order*Target race*Humanization					-2.24	.97*
Scenario content*Target race*Humanization					-1.94	.99
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Target race*Humanization					2.52	1.34
Pseudo R^2		.799		.802		.817

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 8

Model Probing Interactions with Categorical Covariates, Target Race, and Humanization Condition, for Predicting Interpersonal Justice

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	1.90	.07***	1.93	.12***	1.92	.21***
Target race	-.26	.09*	-.26	.09*	-.36	.24
Counterbalance order			-.11	.11	-.28	.28
Scenario content			-.07	.11	.11	.32
Humanization			.13	.11	.24	.34
Counterbalance order*Scenario content					.13	.42
Counterbalance order*Target race					.38	.32
Scenario content*Target race					-.12	.37
Counterbalance order*Humanization					-.22	.44
Scenario content*Humanization					-.18	.46
Target race*Humanization					.03	.38
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Target race					-.34	.48
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Humanization					.16	.61
Counterbalance order*Target race*Humanization					.29	.51
Scenario content*Target race*Humanization					-.02	.52
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Target race*Humanization					-.23	.70
Pseudo R^2		.815		.820		.829

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 9

Model Probing Interactions with Categorical Covariates, Target Race, and Humanization Condition, for Predicting Fairness

Variable	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	2.48	.10***	2.62	.16***	2.54	.28***
Target race	-.31	.12*	-.31	.12*	.00	.34
Counterbalance order			-.25	.14	-.07	.38
Scenario content			.05	.14	.13	.44
Humanization			-.06	.14	.09	.46
Counterbalance order*Scenario content					-.25	.58
Counterbalance order*Target race					-.59	.45
Scenario content*Target race					-.56	.53
Counterbalance order*Humanization					-.38	.61
Scenario content*Humanization					-.13	.63
Target race*Humanization					-.63	.55
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Target race					1.06	.69
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Humanization					.48	.85
Counterbalance order*Target race*Humanization					1.21	.72
Scenario content*Target race*Humanization					.93	.75
Counterbalance order*Scenario content*Target race*Humanization					-1.93	1.00
Pseudo R^2	.801		.803		.809	

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Simple slopes analyses were conducted to probe the two higher-order 3-way interactions. Significance was determined by comparing 95% confidence intervals between the simple slopes, where slopes that did not overlap at all were considered significant at the .05 level. Based on the recommendation by Cumming and Finch (2005), confidence intervals that overlapped up to one-half were also considered significant at the .05 level. Confidence intervals that overlapped completely, or by more than half, were not considered significant.

The first interaction was counterbalance order * target race * humanization condition. The simple slopes plot of this interaction for predicted values of incivility can be seen in Figure 1, while the predicted values (\hat{Y}) and confidence intervals for each slope is presented in Table 10. In the “Asian/White” order, there was a significant main effect of target race for both non-humanized and humanized targets, but there was no significant main effect of humanization in predicting incivility. In the “White/Asian” order, there was a significant main effect of target race for non-humanized targets, but not for humanized targets. There was also a significant main effect of humanization for White targets in the “White/Asian” order, but not for Chinese targets. Finally, incivility ratings were higher for humanized White targets when they were evaluated first (“White/Asian”) compared to when they were evaluated second (“Asian/White”).

Table 10

Predicted Values and Confidence Intervals for the Three-Way Interaction of Counterbalance Order, Target Race, and Humanization Condition, for Predicting Incivility

	<i>N</i>	\hat{Y} White target	CI _{.95} White target	\hat{Y} Chinese target	CI _{.95} Chinese target
Counterbalance order (A-W)					
Non-humanized target	22	4.78 (.29)	4.19 - 5.36 ^a	5.30 (.25)	4.82 - 5.79 ^{af}
Humanized target	24	4.59 (.29)	4.02 - 5.16 ^{be}	5.28 (.24)	4.80 - 5.76 ^b
Counterbalance order (W-A)					
Non-humanized target	32	4.71 (.24)	4.25 - 5.19 ^{cdf}	5.21 (.20)	4.81 - 5.60 ^c
Humanized target	23	5.31 (.28)	4.75 - 5.86 ^{de}	5.02 (.24)	4.56 - 5.48

Note. *N* = cell sizes. Total *N* = 101. "A-W" = Asian-White; "W-A" White-Asian.

Standard errors are in parentheses. \hat{Y} = predicted incivility score. Confidence intervals that share a subscript are significantly different at $p < .05$, determined by less than 50 percent overlap.

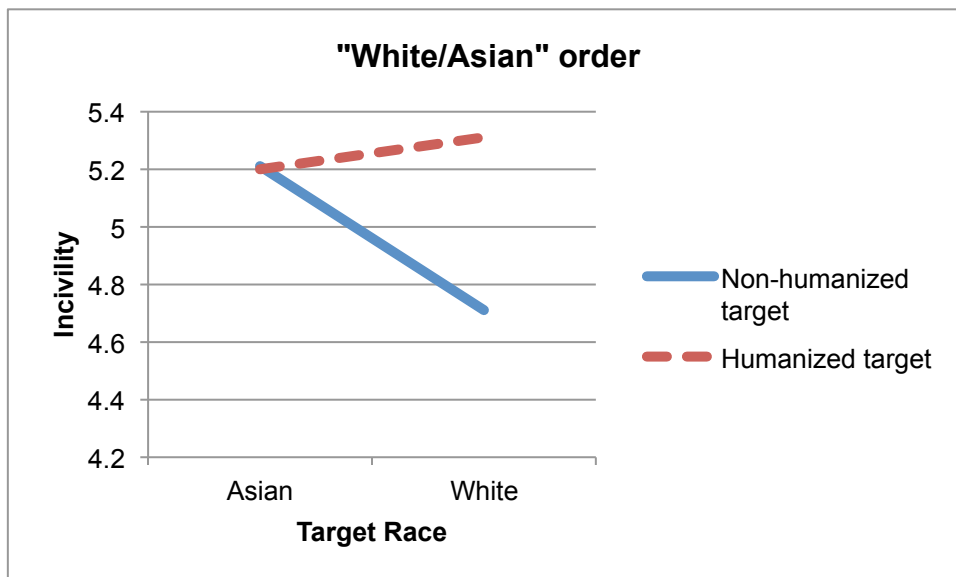
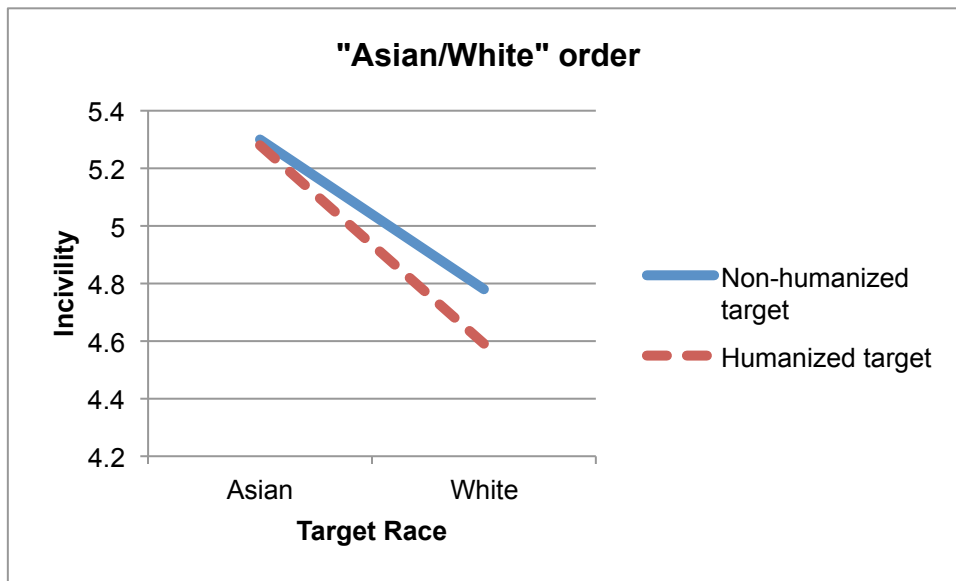


Figure 1. Simple slopes plot for humanization condition, target race, and counterbalancing order interaction, for predicting incivility.

The second three-way interaction was scenario content * target race * humanization condition. The simple slopes plot of this interaction for predicted values of incivility is presented in Figure 2, while the predicted values (\hat{Y}) and confidence intervals

for each slope is presented in Table 11. For scenario content “A2” (Asian target evaluated in Scenario 2; White target in Scenario 1), there was a significant effect of target race for non-humanized targets, such that non-humanized Asian targets received higher incivility ratings. For scenario content “A1” (Asian target evaluated in Scenario 1; White target in Scenario 2), there was no significant effect of humanization or target race on ratings of incivility. However, incivility ratings were significantly higher for non-humanized White targets when they were evaluated in Scenario 2 compared to when they were evaluated in Scenario 1, indicating that perhaps White targets were seen as more to blame when they were evaluated with the content of the first scenario (see Appendix B for scenarios).

Table 11

Predicted Values and Confidence Intervals for the Three-Way Interaction of Scenario Content, Target Race, and Humanization Condition, for Predicting Incivility

	<i>N</i>	\hat{Y} White target	CI _{.95} White target	\hat{Y} Chinese target	CI _{.95} Chinese target
Scenario content (A1)					
Non-humanized target	30	5.08 (.25)	4.60 - 5.57 ^a	5.05 (.21)	4.65 - 5.46
Humanized target	19	5.11 (.31)	4.49 - 5.72	5.03 (.26)	4.51 - 5.54
Scenario content (A2)					
Non-humanized target	24	4.43 (.28)	3.88 - 4.98 ^{ab}	5.43 (.23)	4.97 - 5.90 ^b
Humanized target	28	4.86 (.26)	4.34 - 5.38	5.25 (.22)	4.81 - 5.68

Note. *N* = cell sizes. Total *N* = 101. “A1” Scenario 1 with Asian target; “A2” Scenario 2 with Asian target. \hat{Y} = predicted incivility score. Standard errors are in parentheses. Confidence intervals that share a subscript are significantly different at $p < .05$, determined by less than 50 percent overlap.

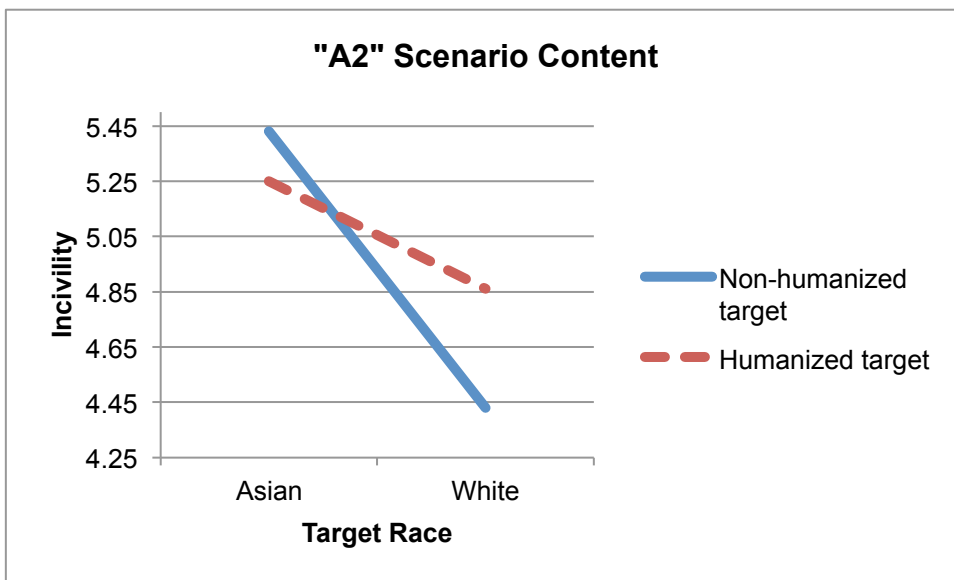
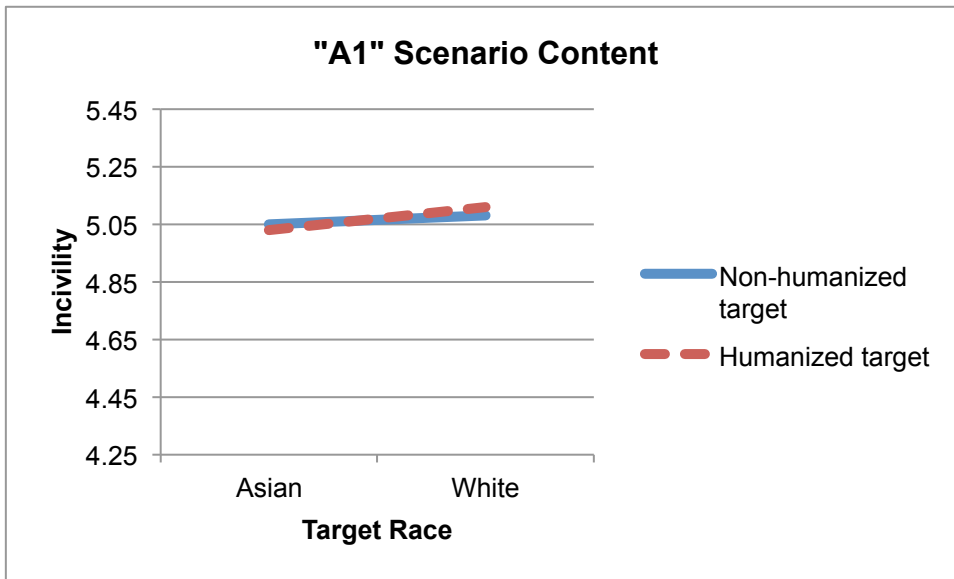


Figure 2. Simple slopes plot for humanization condition, target race, and scenario content interaction, for predicting incivility.

Due to the significant higher-order interactions (and non-significance of their main effects) counterbalance order and scenario content were entirely excluded as covariates for the hypothesis tests. The hypothesized patterns predicted for incivility, such as the predicted main effect of target race (Hypothesis 1) and the two-way target

race * humanization condition interaction (Hypothesis 2) were influenced by counterbalancing order and scenario content, and these study variables were taken into consideration when interpreting any patterns found with incivility. Counterbalance order and scenario content, however, did not impact justice and fairness ratings.

Hypothesis Tests

Incivility. The intercept-only model, or the null model, was tested before adding any predictors to examine variability between participants (Woltman et al., 2012). The intra-class correlation for this model indicated that 14.9% of the variability in incivility was attributable to between-participant variance rather than within-participant variance. Hierarchical models for the hypothesis tests predicting incivility can be found in Tables 13, 14, and 15 where Tables 14 and 15 replace racial centrality with ingroup affect and ingroup ties in order to examine the hypotheses with all three dimensions of racial identity strength.

Hypothesis 1a (Model 1) predicted that participants would have higher ratings of incivility when the target belonged to their racial ingroup (White) versus their racial outgroup (Chinese). Results did not show a significant effect of target race ($B = .31, p = .0681$), but it indicated a trend such that mistreatment against the Chinese target was rated as more uncivil compared with mistreatment against the White target. This pattern was contrary to what I hypothesized as I expected higher ratings of incivility for the ingroup (vs. outgroup) target. Model 2 added the main effect of humanization condition ($B = .03, p = .8900$) and racial identity strength ($B = -.02, p = .8668$), both Level 2 predictors. Neither of these main effects were significant.

The influence of counterbalancing order and scenario content on target race is important to discuss, as these variables tempered the effect of target race and humanization. In terms of counterbalancing order (see Table 10), the effect of target race held in the humanized target condition in the “Asian/White” order but not in the “White/Asian” order. In the “Asian/White” order, the humanized Chinese target received higher incivility ratings compared to the White target, indicating a stronger effect of target race for the Chinese target when they were evaluated first. Humanized White targets received higher incivility ratings in the “White/Asian” order (when they were evaluated first) compared to the “Asian/White” order (when they were evaluated second). Finally, there was a main effect of target race for non-humanized targets for both counterbalancing orders, such that the Chinese target received higher ratings of incivility than the White target. Although it was in the opposite direction, in the “White/Asian” order, humanization led to an increase in incivility ratings for White targets, such that they became closer to the ratings for the Chinese target. However, this was contrary to my prediction in Hypothesis 2, as I predicted that humanization would increase incivility ratings for the outgroup (Chinese) target.

In terms of scenario content (see Table 11), the main effect of target race held only for non-humanized targets in the “A2” pairing, such that Chinese targets received higher ratings of incivility compared to the White target. This pattern did not hold for humanized targets. Additionally, mistreatment against the non-humanized White target was rated as less uncivil when they were paired with the first scenario compared to the second scenario, perhaps indicating that the content of the first scenario placed more blame on the White target. There was no effect of target race in either condition

(humanized versus non-humanized target) when Chinese targets were evaluated with Scenario 1 (“A1” pairing). Finally, there was no main effect of target race for humanized targets for either scenario content pairing. Similar to counterbalancing order, the “A2” scenario pairing showed a pattern in line with my prediction in Hypothesis 2, albeit in the opposite direction from what I expected. Non-humanized Chinese targets received higher ratings of incivility when they were in the “A2” pairing compared to White targets. In the humanized target condition for this pairing, the effect of target race was diminished, such that there was no significant difference in incivility ratings between White and Chinese targets.

Model 3 tested a series of two-way and three-way interactions, including Hypothesis 2, which predicted a target race * humanization condition interaction and Hypothesis 3, which predicted a target race * centrality interaction. Neither Hypothesis 2 ($B = -.12, p = .7304$) nor Hypothesis 3 ($B = -.53, p = .1869$) was supported. However, as noted above, both counterbalancing order and scenario content saw a pattern in certain conditions in line with my target race * humanization interaction, although the patterns were contradictory to my expectation with regards to target race.

Hypothesis 4 predicted a three-way target race * humanization condition * racial identity strength interaction. This interaction was not significant ($B = .30, p = .5671$); therefore no simple slopes analysis was conducted to probe interactions predicted in Hypotheses 4.

Cameron’s (2004) other two dimensions of social identity (ingroup affect and ingroup ties) were also tested in place of centrality in Models 2 and 3. I first tested the models with ingroup affect (Table 14). The main effect of ingroup affect was not

significant ($B = -.21, p = .1828$). The two-way ingroup affect * target race interaction (Hypothesis 3) was not significant ($B = .03, p = .9433$), and the three-way interaction between ingroup affect * humanization condition * target race (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = -.23, p = .6860$).

I then tested the models with ingroup ties (Table 15). The main effect of ingroup ties was not significant ($B = -.13, p = .4731$). The two-way ingroup ties * target race interaction (Hypothesis 3) was not significant ($B = .59, p = .1299$), and the three-way interaction between ingroup ties * humanization condition * target race (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = -.61, p = .3722$). While not hypothesized, I found a significant two-way interaction between humanization condition and ingroup ties ($B = 1.32, p = .0190$).

The simple slopes analysis to probe this significant 2-way interaction, as plotted in Figure 3, found that participants high in ingroup ties (1 SD above the mean) had significantly higher ratings of incivility for humanized targets compared to non-humanized targets, indicating that humanization influenced incivility ratings for individuals who were high (vs. low) in ingroup ties. There was also a significant difference between non-humanized and humanized targets for participants with low ingroup ties (1 SD below the mean), such that incivility ratings for humanized targets, in this case, were lower compared to non-humanized targets. The predicted values (\hat{Y}) and confidence intervals for each slope can be seen in Table 12.

Table 12

Predicted Values and Confidence Intervals for the Two-Way Interaction of Humanization Condition and Ingroup Ties, for Predicting Incivility

Humanization Condition	\hat{Y}	Ingroup Ties (Low/High)	CI _{.95}
Non-humanized target	5.23 (.16)	2.78	4.90 - 5.55 ^{ac}
Humanized target	4.72 (.24)	2.78	4.25 - 5.19 ^{ad}
Non-humanized target	4.69 (.18)	3.86	4.33 - 5.06 ^{bc}
Humanized target	5.28 (.20)	3.86	4.89 - 5.68 ^{bd}

Note. Total $N = 101$. High/low ingroup ties values were chosen at 1 SD above and 1 SD below the mean ($M=3.32$; $SD=.54$). \hat{Y} = predicted incivility ratings. Standard errors are in parentheses. Confidence intervals that share a subscript are significantly different at $p < .05$, determined by less than 50 percent overlap.

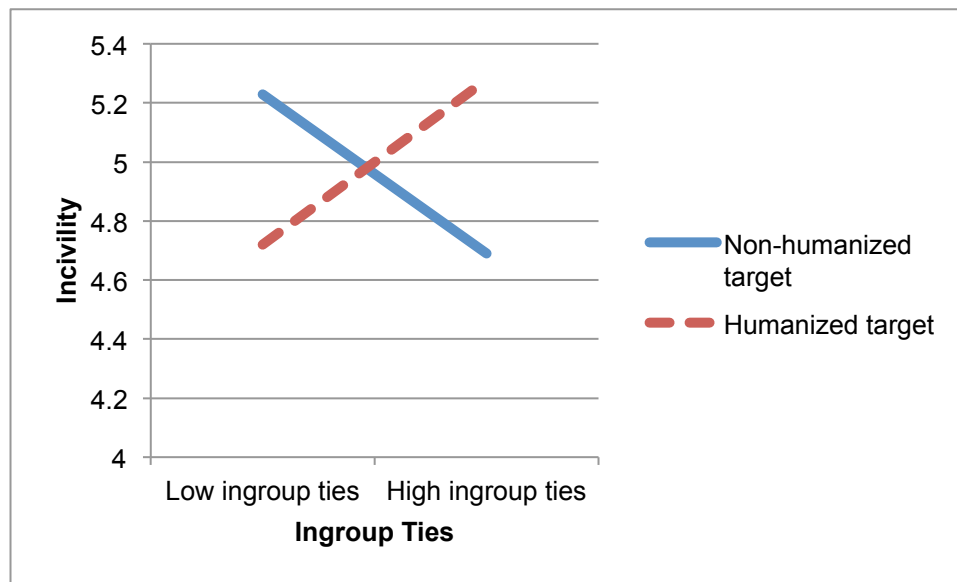


Figure 3. Simple slopes plot for humanization condition by ingroup ties interaction, for predicting incivility.

Table 13

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Incivility, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Centrality

Variable	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	5.02	.10***	4.86	.14***	4.85	.17***	4.80	.20**
Target race			.31	.17	.31	.17	.34	.24
Humanization					.03	.20	.11	.29
Centrality					-.02	.15	.09	.34
Target race*Humanization							-.12	.43
Target race*Centrality							-.53	.40
Humanization*Centrality							.16	.43
Target race*Humanization*Centrality							.30	.51
Pseudo R^2			.798		.799		.803	

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 14

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Incivility, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Ingroup Affect

Variable	Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	4.87	.17***	4.82	.19***
Target race	.31	.17	.42	.23
Humanization	-.01	.19	.14	.28
Ingroup affect	-.21	.16	-.50	.37
Target race*Humanization			-.26	.34
Target race*Ingroup affect			.03	.45
Humanization*Ingroup affect			.58	.48
Target race*Humanization*Ingroup affect			-.23	.57
Pseudo R^2	.800		.802	

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 15

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Incivility, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Ingroup Ties

Variable	Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	4.84	.17***	4.73	.19***
Target race	.31	.17	.47	.23*
Humanization	.04	.20	.18	.28
Ingroup ties	-.13	.18	-.79	.31*
Target race*Humanization			-.29	.34
Target race*Ingroup ties			.59	.38
Humanization*Ingroup ties			1.32	.55*
Target race* Humanization*Ingroup ties			-.61	.68
Pseudo R^2	.800		.808	

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Interpersonal Justice¹³. The intercept-only model was tested before predictors were added. The intra-class correlation indicated that 22.1% of the variability in interpersonal justice was attributable to between-participant variance rather than within-participant variance. Hierarchical models for interpersonal justice can be found in Tables 16, 17, and 18, where Tables 17 and 18 replace centrality with ingroup affect and ingroup ties.

Hypothesis 1 (Model 1) predicted that participants would have lower ratings of interpersonal justice when the target belonged to their racial ingroup (White) versus their racial outgroup (Chinese). Results showed a significant effect of target race ($B = -.26, p = .0029$), but, similar to incivility ratings, it was opposite to the hypothesized pattern. The supervisor's uncivil behaviour was perceived as less just when perpetrated toward the Chinese target versus the White target.

Model 2 tested the main effects of humanization condition ($B = .11, p = .3315$), and racial centrality ($B = .07, p = .3839$), neither of which were significant predictors of interpersonal justice. Model 3 tested a series of two-way and three-way interactions, including Hypothesis 2, which predicted a target race * humanization condition interaction, and Hypothesis 3, which predicted a target race * centrality interaction. Neither Hypothesis 2 ($B = -.00, p = .9884$) nor Hypothesis 3 ($B = -.07, p = .7366$) were significant. Hypothesis 4 predicted a three-way target race * humanization condition * centrality interaction, which was also not significant ($B = .40, p = .1315$). Therefore, no simple slopes analyses were conducted to probe the interaction predicted in Hypothesis 4.

¹³ The analysis was also tested with the original 4-item measure of interpersonal justice, containing the problematic justice item. Both analyses found the same pattern of results.

Cameron's (2004) ingroup affect and ingroup ties were tested in place of centrality in Models 2 and 3. I first tested the models with ingroup affect (Table 17). The main effect of ingroup affect was not significant ($B = .09, p = .3297$). The two-way ingroup affect * target race interaction (Hypothesis 3) was not significant ($B = -.07, p = .7581$), and the three-way interaction between ingroup affect * humanization condition * target race (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = .22, p = .4532$). I then tested the models with ingroup ties (Table 18). The main effect of ingroup ties was not significant ($B = .10, p = .3286$). The two-way ingroup ties * target race interaction (Hypothesis 3) was not significant ($B = -.17, p = .3883$), and the three-way interaction between ingroup ties * humanization condition * target race (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = .50, p = .1536$).

Table 16

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Interpersonal Justice, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Centrality

Variable	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	1.77	.06***	1.90	.07***	1.85	.09***	1.87	.10***
Target race			-.26	.09**	-.26	.09**	-.29	.12*
Humanization					.11	.11	.11	.15
Centrality					.07	.08	.17	.18
Target race*Humanization							-.00	.18
Target race*Centrality							-.07	.21
Humanization*Centrality							-.32	.23
Target race*							.40	.26
Humanization*Centrality								
Pseudo R^2				.815		.817		.821

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 17

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Interpersonal Justice, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Ingroup Affect

Variable	Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	1.83	.09***	1.84	.10***
Target race	-.26	.09**	-.28	.12*
Humanization	.15	.11	.12	.15
Ingroup affect	.09	.09	.10	.20
Target race*Humanization			.05	.18
Target race*Ingroup affect			-.07	.23
Humanization*Ingroup affect			-.08	.25
Target race* Humanization*Ingroup affect			.22	.30
Pseudo R^2		.817		.817

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 18

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Interpersonal Justice, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Ingroup Ties

Variable	Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	1.84	.09***	1.86	.10***
Target race	-.26	.09**	-.30	.12*
Humanization	.12	.11	.11	.15
Ingroup ties	.10	.10	.26	.17
Target race*Humanization			.03	.18
Target race*Ingroup ties			-.17	.20
Humanization*Ingroup ties			-.46	.30
Target race* Humanization*Ingroup ties			.50	.35
Pseudo R^2	.817		.820	

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Fairness. The hypotheses were also tested using a direct measure of justice as the outcome (“To what extent did [the supervisor] treat [target name] fairly?”). The intercept-only model was tested before predictors were added. The intra-class correlation indicated that 12.1% of the variability in fairness was attributable to between-participant variance rather than within-participant variance. The same patterns that were hypothesized for interpersonal justice were predicted for fairness.

As shown in Table 19, the main effect of target race (Model 1) was significant ($B = -.31$, $p = .0109$), such that the supervisor’s uncivil behaviour was perceived as less fair when perpetrated towards the Chinese target compared to the White target. Once again, this was contradictory to the hypothesized pattern, where I expected perceptions of fairness to be lower for the White (ingroup) target.

Model 2 tested the main effects of humanization condition ($B = -.03, p = .8094$) and racial centrality ($B = .01, p = .9116$), neither of which were significant predictors of fairness. Model 3 tested a series of interactions, including Hypotheses 2 and 3, which predicted a target race * humanization condition interaction, and a target race * centrality interaction. Hypothesis 2 was not supported ($B = -.18, p = .4670$), and neither was Hypothesis 3 ($B = .53, p = .0803$). The three-way target race * humanization condition * centrality interaction (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = -.11, p = .7676$).

I then tested ingroup affect and ingroup ties in place of centrality in Models 2 and 3. I first tested the models with ingroup affect (Table 20). The main effect of ingroup affect was not significant ($B = .13, p = .2406$). The two-way ingroup affect * target race interaction (Hypothesis 3) was not significant ($B = -.06, p = .8467$), and the three-way interaction between ingroup affect * humanization condition * target race (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = .13, p = .7522$). Finally, I tested the models with ingroup ties (Table 21). The main effect of ingroup ties was not significant ($B = .15, p = .2382$). The two-way ingroup ties * target race interaction (Hypothesis 3) was not significant ($B = -.33, p = .2340$), and the three-way interaction between ingroup affect * humanization condition * target race (Hypothesis 4) was also not significant ($B = .72, p = .1448$).

Table 19

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Fairness, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Centrality

Variable	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	2.32	.07***	2.48	.10***	2.50	.12***	2.43	.15***
Target race			-.31	.12*	-.31	.12*	-.21	.17
Humanization					-.03	.14	.08	.21
Centrality					.01	.10	-.29	.26
Target race*Humanization							-.18	.24
Target race*Centrality							.53	.30
Humanization*Centrality							.03	.32
Target race*							-.11	.37
Humanization*Centrality								
Pseudo R^2				.801		.804		.810

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 20

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Fairness, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Ingroup Affect

Variable	Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	2.49	.12***	2.48	.14***
Target race	-.31	.12*	-.30	.17
Humanization	-.01	.14	-.00	.20
Ingroup affect	.13	.11	.15	.27
Target race*Humanization			-.01	.25
Target race*Ingroup affect			-.06	.32
Humanization*Ingroup affect			-.01	.35
Target race*Humanization*Ingroup affect			.13	.41
Pseudo R^2		.802		.802

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 21

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Fairness, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Ingroup Ties

Variable	Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	2.51	.12***	2.53	.14***
Target race	-.31	.12*	-.34	.17*
Humanization	-.05	.14	-.04	.20
Ingroup ties	.15	.13	.44	.23
Target race*Humanization			-.01	.24
Target race*Ingroup ties			-.33	.28
Humanization*Ingroup ties			-.69	.40
Target race*Humanization*Ingroup ties			.72	.49
Pseudo R^2	.802		.807	

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$

Discussion

This study sought to integrate the social psychology and industrial/organizational psychology literatures on social identity and self-categorization (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1994), dehumanization (Bastian & Haslam, 2011), and incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Cortina, 2008). Specifically, I examined whether potentially uncivil behaviours would be judged as more uncivil and less fair when perpetrated against a racial ingroup member (White) versus a racial outgroup member (Asian, specifically Chinese). Furthermore, I examined whether these judgments were impacted by participants' racial identity strength (measured by centrality, ingroup affect and ingroup ties; Cameron, 2004), and humanization of the target (manipulated by high warmth traits; Bastian & Haslam, 2011; Fiske et al., 2002). The broader goals of this study were to

examine the underlying processes of subtle discrimination in an experimental setting, and to broaden the literature on the role of the observer in uncivil situations.

In testing Hypothesis 1, I found that target race was related to both measures of justice (direct and indirect), but not in the direction I expected. Specifically, I found that mistreatment toward the Chinese target (the outgroup) was rated as less just/fair compared to mistreatment toward the White target (the ingroup). These results were contrary to the patterns put forth by social identity and self-categorization theories, which state that individuals seek out groups with individuals that are similar to themselves, and often use salient cues like race to develop these group memberships (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This ingroup identification subsequently leads the individual to favour their ingroup and derogate their outgroup. Thus, one would expect that an individual will be more inclined to sympathize with their ingroup when they are mistreated (and thus judge such treatment as more uncivil and less fair) compared to when an outgroup member is mistreated (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Fiske, 2002; Hogg et al., 1995; Miner & Eischeid, 2012). There are a number of reasons that may explain the obtained effect for target race, which are discussed below. The main effect of target race was trending towards significance in predicting incivility ratings, also in the opposite direction; however, it was significant when tempered by counterbalance order and scenario content, which I address in more detail below.

There are a number of possibilities as to why the effect of target race was contradictory to my hypothesis. First, the participants in my study were undergraduate students predominantly in Psychology who attend a university with a high population of international students. Therefore, although the sample used for my analyses was entirely

Caucasian (White), the participants might be a part of a more liberal cohort compared to the general population, may be less prejudiced, and may be less likely to form group identities based on race (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010; Kawakami, Dion, & Dovidio, 1998). This is evident from the relatively low scale average obtained for racial centrality in my study ($M = 2.24$; rated on 1-5 scale). The young, educated, liberal characteristics of the current sample may not hold the same stereotype content for Asians (low warmth/high competence) as a different population might. Indeed, Fiske et al. (2002) used both student and nonstudent samples in determining the stereotype content (warmth and competence levels) of various minority social groups, including for Asians. Although the stereotype content for Asians (low warmth/high competence) was stable across student and nonstudent samples, the student sample rated Asians as warmer than the nonstudent sample did, although this difference was not formally tested by the authors.

Other studies examining anti-Asian prejudice that have used undergraduate samples, have been consistent with Fiske et al.'s (2002) stereotype content for Asians (Lin et al., 2005; Park, Martinez, Cobb, Park, & Wong, 2015), indicating that undergraduate samples may not differ from other samples. While these studies used American undergraduate samples, Son Hing et al. (2008) and Houshmand et al. (2014) both found negative stereotypes about Asians to exist within Canadian undergraduate samples. Further research can expand on the work by Son Hing et al. (2008) and Houshmand et al. (2014) by studying stereotype content and comparing student and nonstudent samples in a Canadian context. This will help to determine whether the

cold/competent stereotype content for Asians holds with a more diverse Canadian sample.

Second, participants may have been driven by social desirability to respond to the questions in this study in a more “likeable” manner. Both phases of the study contained questions that asked participants about either their own racial identity (Time 1), or to identify the race of the individuals in each vignette (Time 2). Research has shown that studies involving socially sensitive subjects such as race or sexual orientation are particularly susceptible to social desirability bias (Krumpal, 2013). The social desirability phenomenon refers to incorrectly reporting an attitude or behaviour if it contradicts current sociocultural norms (Krumpal, 2013; Tourangeau, Smith, & Rasinski, 1997). The desire to maintain a positive self-presentation can result in more socially acceptable answers to sensitive topics, like race. It is possible that participants guessed the intention of the study from an early stage, which subsequently altered their responses to be more socially desirable.

As an attempt to counter potential demand characteristics, I added a number of additional items in both phases of the study to help mask the race-related questions and my study’s true intention. For example, questions about university identity were included in Time 1, while questions about identifying the target’s (and supervisor’s) gender were asked after each vignette in Time 2. The study was also broadly advertised as “investigating interpersonal workplace interactions” throughout the data collection phase, and the consent form did not specify that race was the primary variable of interest. However, due to their sensitive nature, the race-related questions might have been more likely to stand out from the other questions, and participants may have suspected that the

study's focus was in fact on race. As a result, respondents may have judged the Chinese target in a more socially acceptable manner, and made harsher judgments about their racial ingroup (the White target).

A third possible reason for the opposite effect of target race is the lack of perceived threat between the ingroup and outgroup in the experimental task. Research shows that when a threat is introduced to an intergroup interaction, ingroup members engage in more discriminatory behaviours against outgroup members (Branscombe & Wann, 1994). This is because a perceived threat causes ingroup members to become more cohesive, which is expressed through stronger ingroup identification and more outgroup derogation (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Kenworthy, Barden, Diamond & del Carmen, 2011). In this study, the content of the vignettes did not include an explicit element of competition or threat, and therefore participants may not have felt the envious prejudice as expected by the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002). Perhaps participants would have exhibited stronger ingroup identification if the vignettes depicted a situation of competition between the White and the Chinese target, for example, a vignette that depicted two coworkers (one White, one Chinese) competing against one another on a task or project to earn a reward (e.g., a promotion).

Finally, as an exploratory analysis, I considered whether the perceived competence of each target played a role in determining justice and fairness ratings. Due to the "high competence" stereotype content for Asians (Fiske et al., 2002), it may have been the case that the Chinese target was perceived as less deserving of mistreatment because they were seen as more competent in their job. Perceived competence was assessed through the question, "How competent do you feel [target name] is at

performing his/her job?” The analysis found that Chinese targets were rated as more competent at their jobs, and that humanized targets (i.e., targets that were high in warmth traits) were also rated as more competent. It may be the case that competent targets are viewed as less deserving of mistreatment compared to targets that are perceived as less competent. Research by Heuer, Blumenthal, Douglas, and Weinblatt (1999) showed that the relationship between respectful treatment and fairness can be influenced by one’s perception of deservingness. In this case, perhaps participants viewed more competent targets as less deserving of mistreatment, thus rating their mistreatment as less fair. Specifically with regards to target race, my analysis showed that mistreatment toward the Chinese target was associated with lower ratings of justice and fairness compared to White targets. This result could, in part, be attributed to the notion that Chinese targets were perceived as inherently more competent at their jobs, and therefore were perceived as less deserving of mistreatment. This finding was not expected and should be interpreted with caution, but highlights an interesting avenue for future research.

With respect to Hypothesis 2, although the hypothesized interaction between target race and humanization was not significant, the analysis found that with the incivility outcome specifically, this relationship was tempered by counterbalancing order and the scenario content pairings. Neither humanization, nor the three racial identity strength variables were significant predictors of justice and fairness. I expected that humanization would have minimal impact on the ingroup target, as they would be inherently humanized by virtue of being the ingroup, but this was not the case for incivility ratings. With regards to counterbalancing order, I found humanized White targets received higher incivility ratings when they were evaluated first compared to

second, although this pattern did not exist for non-humanized White targets. I predicted that humanization would not influence the ratings for the ingroup target; however, I did find this effect when the ingroup (White) target was evaluated before the outgroup (Chinese) target. This pattern may have been a combination of order effects, as well as higher racial centrality for participants in the humanized target condition, as seen from the random assignment check (see Table 6).

In terms of scenario content, the primary difference existed with non-humanized White targets, who received lower ratings of incivility when they were paired with Scenario 1 over Scenario 2. It seemed that the content of the first scenario (which involved the participant over-sleeping and then being late to a meeting) was associated with more blame when the target was White as opposed to Chinese. This could speak to Fiske et al.'s (2002, 2006) stereotype content model, which states that a person's ingroup is expected to be high on both warmth and competence. By this notion, then, perhaps the behaviour depicted in Scenario 1 was perceived as a lapse in competence by the White employee, which may have been perceived as a violation of ingroup norms, thus serving to justify the subsequent incivility. Even though the Chinese target's stereotype content inherently includes high competence (Fiske et al., 2002), the violation of norms may not have had the same impact on participants' ratings for the Chinese target, as they were the outgroup.

With regards to racial identity strength, I found that participants' strength of ingroup ties affected incivility ratings based on humanization condition, although this interaction was not hypothesized. Specifically, participants who were high in ingroup ties rated mistreatment towards humanized targets as more uncivil compared to non-

humanized targets. On the other hand, participants low in ingroup ties had higher incivility ratings for non-humanized targets than for humanized targets. This pattern was inconsistent with my predictions for racial identity and the influence of humanization, as I expected individuals low in racial identity strength not to be impacted by the humanization manipulation. Given the findings with counterbalancing order and scenario content and their influence on humanization, as well as higher racial centrality for participants in the humanized target condition, this finding should be interpreted with caution.

Since humanization did not impact ratings of justice and fairness, it is worth noting that the lack of findings for humanization is likely not due to a failed manipulation of the construct. Consistent with Bastian and Haslam's theory (2011), humanization did significantly predict warmth ratings, indicating that describing individuals using warmth characteristics (e.g., kind, friendly) subsequently resulted in higher ratings of warmth for those targets. Therefore, while the humanization manipulation itself was successful in increasing perceived warmth of the targets, it did not have the expected effects of influencing ratings of incivility, justice and fairness based on target race.

Theoretical and Practical Implications

The findings of this study should be of interest to researchers in social psychology and industrial/organizational psychology alike. One implication of this research is that individuals may not always be motivated to derogate a racial outgroup member, particularly if race is not central in defining one's social identity. In a workplace context, these findings would imply that an observer to incivility may believe that a greater

violation of norms has taken place if the target is a racial minority, which may then result in greater support by the observer to the target of mistreatment.

In my exploratory analysis of competence ratings, I also found that Chinese targets were rated as more competent at their job than the White (ingroup) target. This observation may relate to my finding that mistreatment against Chinese targets was perceived as less just and less fair compared to mistreatment against White targets. This has implications for Fiske et al.'s (2002, 2006) stereotype content model, specifically for those outgroups that possess the "high competence" stereotype content. According to Fiske et al. (2006), competence refers to high intelligence and skill, especially in one's job. The Chinese target, already possessing the stereotype content for high competence, may have been rated as less deserving of workplace mistreatment because they are inherently perceived as being highly competent at their work, and in the case of this study, more competent than the White target.

While social desirability may have been a factor influencing my results, these findings may be rooted in the inherent characteristics of the sample itself. Specifically, the opposite effect of target race in predicting justice and fairness, and under some circumstances in predicting incivility, might indicate a cultural or generational shift toward less identification with race. This can be seen by the low average obtained for centrality ($M = 2.24$; 1 to 5 scale) as well as the sample characteristics consisting largely of millennials ($M_{\text{age}} = 21.57$). This may be an indication that being White is not a social identity which young, educated Canadians hold high in their hierarchy of social identifications (Sellers et al., 1994). Future research could use a variety of Canadian samples (e.g., student, nonstudent, different racial and ethnic groups) to see what social

identities Canadians identify with, and to gauge where race lies in Canadians' hierarchy of identities.

More broadly speaking, the conceptualization of "White identity" in a North American context may have also contributed to the low overall racial centrality found in the current study. In their review article, McDermott and Samson (2005) discuss that while minority groups may be confronted by their race regularly, many Whites do not think about themselves as being "White", for a number of reasons. First, it may be that White individuals do not identify as such due to the diversity of the identity. Although the category of "White" is often perceived as a homogenous one (Kim & White, 2010), White individuals in Canada come from a variety of ethnic backgrounds (e.g., British Isles origins like English and Scottish, French origins; Statistics Canada, 2011). Due to the diversity of White ethnic origins, a "White" racial identity may not capture the variation within it (Kim & White, 2010), perhaps resulting in lower identification with a White racial identity.

Second, White individuals may avoid associating themselves with their race in order to avoid discomfort and guilt associated with Whiteness and its associated privileges (Phinney, 1996). For this reason, Whites may choose to identify with their ethnic background instead of their race, thus highlighting their ethnic heritage and downplaying the associations with White privilege (Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009; Waters 1990, as cited in Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009). Research also suggests that because Whites are the largest racial group in North America, including in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2011), they may be seen as the "default" and normative racial category (Brekhus, 1998; Knowles & Peng, 2005). Tying into the notion of White

privilege, the demographic dominance of the White identity may allow White individuals to be less conscious of their race, as they are not continually reminded of their racial membership in the way that visible racial minorities are (Grossman & Charmaraman, 2009; Morrison & Chung, 2011).

Another explanation that may speak to the contradictory effect of target race on ratings is participants' dissonance between their degree of racial centrality and their corresponding affect about their racial identification. As shown by the atypical negative (but non-significant) trend between centrality and ingroup affect (see Table 1), participants whose race was central to their self-image did not necessarily feel high positive affect about their racial group. This may indicate that these two constructs are independent of one another, such that high centrality does not necessarily imply high ingroup affect. As a result, it is possible that a subset of participants who strongly identified with being White (high centrality) were not happy about being a member of this racial group (low ingroup affect), and as a result their sympathy for the outgroup increased. Perhaps when reading a vignette depicting mistreatment toward a minority group, their ratings of incivility and justice were influenced by a lack of positive affect for their racial ingroup that translated into favouring the outgroup, and derogating their ingroup. This pattern is consistent with Cameron's (2004) assertion that while cognitive centrality about a social identity remains stable over time, ingroup affect is subject to fluctuation.

Indeed, Cameron (2004) suggests that ingroup affect is the emotional salience of one's social identity, which can either be positive or negative. In other words, an individual could either feel grateful or regretful about a particular social identity. On the

other hand, a major factor that defines cognitive centrality is the frequency that a particular social identity comes to mind. Perhaps in the current sample, participants were cognitively aware of their racial identity but did not necessarily feel proud of this identity, consistent with the independence found between those two constructs in the current study. Further analysis, with a larger sample size, could examine an interaction between centrality and ingroup affect in predicting ratings of incivility and justice.

Limitations

Sample characteristics. The current study used undergraduate students, primarily majoring in Psychology, which is a sample with largely homogenous characteristics (Henrich et al., 2010). The participants were young, educated students from a liberal undergraduate university that has a high international student population, which may have contributed to the opposite effect found for target race. As discussed earlier, the sample used in this analysis may not have held as strong of a “high competence, low warmth” stereotype content for Asians (Fiske et al., 2002). This was reflected in the analysis, where target race not did result in different warmth ratings between White or Chinese targets. According to the stereotype content model, one’s ingroup members are inherently high on both warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006). Social identity theory, however, would have expected participants to rate their ingroup (White targets) as inherently warmer compared to Asians (the Chinese target in this study), particularly in the non-humanized target condition (Fiske et al., 2002; Lee & Fiske, 2006; Tajfel, 1974), but this was not the case. These patterns are reflective of a sample that perhaps places low emphasis on race.

Undergraduate samples are among the least representative of the general population, which limits the external validity of this study's significant results (Henrich et al., 2010). Although Fiske et al. (2002) collected data from both sets of samples (students and nonstudents), they did not formally examine differences in stereotype content ratings between the samples. Developmental research posits that intergroup preferences develop from an early age (Dunham, Baron, and Banaji, 2008). For example, if a child from a dominant racial group (e.g., White) is raised in an environment with high social (and racial) hierarchies, the child may develop a preference for their racial group (Dunham et al., 2008). However, if these hierarchies are not made aware to children, greater exposure to racial diversity can result in the child having no racial preference (Dunham et al., 2008). A future study in this area could integrate developmental concepts of intergroup biases with social identity theory. Obtaining data from both student and nonstudent samples, and from different age cohorts could help indicate whether generational differences, or the impact of one's background, play a role in determining intergroup attitudes.

Social desirability. Despite taking measures to curb social desirability (e.g., ensuring confidentiality of responses, including distractor questions, including a 5-7 day gap between study phases), participants may have been motivated by social desirability to respond to questions in a more socially acceptable way, which may have affected the findings. This was a limitation as our hypothesized effects may have been masked by motivations of social desirability from the respondents.

Race manipulation check. In this study, a large group of participants ($N = 45$) were excluded from the analysis because they did not accurately identify the race of the

target in each vignette. A number of these participants indicated that they did not feel comfortable categorizing an individual into a particular racial or ethnic group based on the limited information provided in the vignettes (their name and hometown). One explanation for the large number of incorrect responses is that the target race manipulation in this study (names and hometowns) was not as clear as it could have been. Specifically, the names and hometowns perhaps were not salient enough for participants to focus on that information as indicators of race. Participants may have read through the vignettes quickly and, as a result, did not pay close attention to the target's name or hometown. A suggestion for strengthening the race manipulation would be to incorporate photos of targets in the vignette, thus providing a potentially more salient indicator of race as opposed to inferring race or ethnicity from a name or place.

In the study, the question asking about the target's race was also an open-ended one ("What racial or ethnic group do you believe the employee belongs to?"), where participants entered their answer into a text-box. This allowed participants to give answers without constraints from response options. One suggestion would be to provide a set of response options as opposed to leaving the question open-ended. There would be benefits and drawbacks to this. On one hand, having this question as open-ended (as in the current study) is more likely to inform the researcher about which participants paid attention to the race manipulation, and which participants did not. However, a forced response option method may result in more participants getting the question correct, thus resulting in higher participant retention.

Study design. In terms of the experimental design, the online format, coupled with the scenario-based approach may have caused the experiment to be less realistic and

involving compared to an in-person experiment, leading to low experimental realism (Aronson & Carlsmith, 1968). In a real-life workplace setting or an in-person experiment, an observer to incivility would be able to see the race of the target, and of the perpetrator and perhaps be more invested in, and impacted by, their interaction. However, in this study, the race of targets was only indicated through names and hometowns, which may not have made race fully salient to participants, especially if they were reading through the vignettes quickly or not paying attention to the content. For future research, an in-person experiment with confederates could increase the realism of this experiment and make race more salient to participants. Participants could be placed in a group setting and told to complete a task. There could be one confederate (either a racial ingroup or outgroup member to the participant) and a White researcher (who would be in charge of the study), who during the process, could be uncivil to the confederate. Such a situation might provide a better test of my hypotheses.

Counterbalancing order and scenario content. From the analysis, it was clear that counterbalancing order and scenario content impacted participants' perceptions of incivility, but not their judgments of justice and fairness. One solution for future research would be to modify this study to be a purely between-subjects design, where participants would only be exposed to one target race, who is either part of their ingroup or their outgroup. Because participants would only be exposed to one vignette, experimental manipulations such as counterbalancing order and scenario content would no longer have the potential to influence participants' judgments, making interpretation of the findings less challenging. A between-subjects manipulation of target race could also reduce social

desirability, as participants would only be exposed to one target race and might be less likely to guess at the purpose of the study.

Internal consistency reliability. Finally, it is important to mention that two of the racial identity strength predictors, centrality ($\alpha = .68$) and ingroup ties ($\alpha = .50$), had internal consistency reliabilities (measured by Cronbach's alpha) that were lower than desired ($< .70$; Cortina, 1993). Cronbach's alpha values may be influenced by number of items and is not necessarily stable across time or studies (Cortina, 1993). The reliability coefficient for centrality was slightly under $.70$; however, this reliability was not as problematic as it fell within the range of reliability for this scale in Cameron's (2004) initial studies. However, the low reliability for ingroup ties in this study may indicate weak relationships between the items comprising that scale. It is unlikely that this is an indicator of multidimensionality, as Cameron's studies found the reliability range for ingroup ties to be between $.76$ and $.84$ when developing this scale. Nevertheless, this low reliability increased the degree of error present in the analysis, and may have affected the results.

Future Research Directions

The theory drawn on for this study was integrative, as it combined three social psychology theories: social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974), self-categorization theory (Turner et al., 1994), and dehumanization theory (Bastian & Haslam, 2011) with the literature on incivility (Andersson & Pearson, 1999; Cortina, 2008). To date, little research has attempted to integrate these concepts, particularly in an experimental context. Future studies should address the limitations highlighted in this thesis, such as sample characteristics, the target race manipulation, and the study design.

In terms of theoretical improvements, it may be beneficial to integrate the concept of aversive racism into studies of selective incivility. Because social desirability often makes it difficult for studies to distinguish between aversive racists and truly non-prejudiced people (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004; Son Hing et al., 2008), a future study can include a measure of aversive racism to help interpret research findings. Aversive racists are particularly subject to giving socially desirable responses to sensitive questions, as these individuals are determined to maintain a liberal, egalitarian, and non-prejudiced self-concept (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000, 2004; Son Hing et al., 2008). Research on aversive racism has found a pattern similar to what was found in this study, where aversive racists have been shown to respond more favourably towards Black individuals (the racial outgroup) than to White individuals (their racial ingroup) as a way of maintaining a non-prejudiced self-image (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2004).

The effect of social desirability may have been strong in this particular study due to its focus on race. If researchers seek to reduce effects of social desirability bias within participants, another approach to differentiating between social desirability and aversive racism could be to implement the “bogus-pipeline” approach (Jones & Sigall, 1971). To accommodate this approach, the study would include an in-person component before the online portion. The bogus-pipeline approach is where participants are given a fake lie detector test and are asked a series of questions regarding their views on a series of sensitive subjects, including race (Carver, Glass, & Katz, 1978). This step would replace the Time 1 survey in finding out participants’ race and their degree of racial identity strength. Instead, racial identity strength would be measured in-person, where the researcher would ask participants each question while they are connected to the “lie

detector”. Participants would be given the range of response options, and would be asked to say their selected option aloud after each question is asked. The demographic questions could be a paper-and-pencil survey, or an in-person online survey, given to participants before the fake lie detector test is administered in order to help curb effects of social desirability. After this step, participants would partake in the second phase of the online experiment. While this method may require additional resources on the part of the researchers, the bogus pipeline approach has been shown to reduce social desirability on questions involving racial attitudes (Carver et al., 1978; Plant, Devine, & Brazy, 2003), as well as other sensitive behaviours like illicit drug use (Tourangeau et al., 1997).

Finally, the most logical area of future research would be to expand this study to examine the phenomenon of selective incivility with regards to other racial groups, or other minority groups in general. Fiske et al.’s (2002) research shows different stereotype content ratings (warmth and competence ratings) for a number of minority groups, such as the elderly, the wealthy, religious minorities, and the poor, to name a few. Given the current sociopolitical climate in the West, it may be beneficial to study selective incivility and humanization in the context of religious groups. A similar experiment could also be conducted to add to the growing literature on gender-based incivility (e.g., Cortina et al., 2002; Miner & Cortina, 2016). Researchers can also build on the influence of perceived competence. The results of my exploratory analysis indicated that perhaps targets that are perceived as highly competent at their job might be seen as less deserving of mistreatment. Researchers can examine whether the perceived competence of a target of mistreatment might mediate the effect of target race on judgments of incivility, justice, and fairness.

Conclusion

The current study attempted to incorporate distinct areas of research—the selective incivility model (Cortina, 2008), social identity theory and self-categorization theory (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 2004), and dehumanization theory (Bastian & Haslam, 2011)—in an experimental setting. The findings of this study largely contradicted my expected patterns, as I found that the outgroup target was treated with more sympathy (lower justice and fairness ratings) compared to the ingroup target when they were mistreated by a supervisor. This effect may have been a result of a number of factors, such as social desirability bias, aversive racism, competence judgments, the sample's characteristics, and the study's design. In an organizational context, the findings of this study have implications for observers to incivility, such that an observer may believe that a greater violation of norms has taken place if the target is a racial minority, or if the target is seen as highly competent at their job. Future research can expand this study by examining judgments of incivility and fairness in reference to other minority groups, such as women, religious groups, or other marginalized racial groups.

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Appendix A

Demographic Questions from Time 1 Survey

What is your age _____ (please enter whole numbers, e.g., 19)

How do you self-identify: Male Female Other (please specify if you would like)

What is your nationality? _____

Please select the racial group you *most closely* identify with:

- White or European (Caucasian)
- Black, Afro-Caribbean, or African-Canadian
- Latino or Hispanic
- East Asian or Southeast Asian
- South Asian
- Middle Eastern
- First Nations or Indigenous
- Other _____
- If you equally identify with more than one race, please specify the groups here

What is your year of study?

What is your major?

Are you currently employed? Please select one option below.

- Yes, I am currently employed full-time
- Yes, I am currently employed part-time
- No, I am currently not employed
- No, I am currently not employed but I have been in the past

- Other: _____.

Appendix B

Time 2 Vignettes Presented to Participants

Note: There were identical male versions of the vignettes, where the target names were either Yong Lee/Matthew Smith for Vignettes 1 & 2, Timothy Burke (Vignette 3), and Wei Zhang (Vignette 4). Typical Caucasian male first names were used for the supervisors (John/James – Vignettes 1 & 2, Mark – Vignette 3, Alexander – Vignette 4) with last names being the same as the female supervisors. Humanization information is presented in Italics and was manipulated between subjects.

Vignette 1 (Chinese/White Female – Experimental vignette; “Scenario 1”)

Jiao Lee/Meghan Smith works as a junior project manager for a property management company in Toronto. She had emigrated from **Hunan Province, China**/moved from **Hamilton, Ontario** six years ago, and had worked part-time at another organization until she got her current job three years ago.

Jiao’s/Meghan’s friends describe her as a very friendly and approachable person, who is always willing to help others in need.

At work, **Jiao’s/Meghan’s** supervisor Mary Thomas, who is the senior project manager, asked **Jiao/Meghan** and the rest of the team to brainstorm ideas for an upcoming apartment complex they were planning to develop in the city. All team members were to submit their ideas one day before the team meeting, which was in five days. Additionally, Mary requested that **Jiao/Meghan** develop a projected budget for the upcoming project, as she was familiar with the task from having done it for previous projects.

On the day of the meeting, **Jiao/Meghan** overslept and was 20 minutes late for the team meeting as she had been up late the night before completing the budget report. She had also forgotten to send in her brainstormed ideas. When **Jiao/Meghan** made it to the meeting, she took a seat in the front of the room and brought out her brainstorming notes and her budget report. However, **Jiao's/Meghan's** supervisor Mary did not call on her to share her ideas, even though the ideas of every other team member were discussed at length. After the meeting, Mary did not ask **Jiao/Meghan** for the budget report, and left the meeting without saying a word to her.

Vignette 2 (Chinese/White Female – Experimental vignette; “Scenario 2”)

Jiao Lee/Meghan Smith works as a salesperson at a large furniture company in Ottawa. She had immigrated to Canada from **Beijing, China**/moved from **Vancouver, British Columbia** eight years ago. She has worked at her current job for almost seven years.

***Jiao/Meghan** is described by her friends and family as being open-minded and sociable, and as a result, gets along with everyone she meets.*

One day at work, **Jiao/Meghan** received a call from one of her top clients. The client asked **Jiao/Meghan** if they could receive a 20 percent discount on their latest order of furniture. The client demanded a quick response from **Jiao/Meghan**, and was threatening to go to a competitor if they did not agree to the discount. Without consulting her supervisor, Kim Johnson, **Jiao/Meghan** agreed to give her client the discount. **Jiao/Meghan** did this despite having been warned in the past not to give discounts before consulting her supervisor, but she decided to do it anyway to make sure she kept the client. Later that day, Kim found out about the discount through another employee, and was not happy.

Kim demanded an explanation as to why **Jiao/Meghan** would do this, despite being warned not to in the past. While **Jiao/Meghan** was trying to explain herself, Kim repeatedly interrupted her and spoke over her. She paid little attention to **Jiao's/Meghan's** opinion on the matter, and was not accepting of any justification for giving their client the discount.

Vignette 3 (Female elderly incivility – Filler vignette)

Cynthia Burke, 67 years old, works as a columnist at a local news agency in Calgary. Cynthia had moved to Calgary from a small town in Labrador when she was only 19 years old. She has been working at the same news agency for 35 years, making her the oldest and the senior-most columnist there. Cynthia was primarily in charge of writing the “current events” section.

Cynthia’s family describes her as being a highly pleasant and kind-hearted individual, who puts the needs of her family and friends ahead of herself.

One day, Cynthia’s car broke down, and as a result, she had to walk to her office. As a result, Cynthia knew she would not be able to meet her deadline for her article. When Cynthia got to the office, she asked her supervisor, Emily Miller, for a one-day extension on the article. Emily, however, did not agree to the extension. She told Cynthia that she either wanted the article within the next hour, or she did not want it at all, and that they would print an article from another journalist instead. As Cynthia sat down at her desk, Emily gave Cynthia a look of anger and frustration, and she avoided speaking to Cynthia for the rest of the day.

Vignette 4 (Chinese female, civil – Filler vignette)

Lan Zhang works as a customer service agent at a call center for a large insurance company in Ottawa. She moved to Ottawa from the city of Hangzhou, China five years ago. After working a series of jobs in sales and customer service, Lan had joined the insurance company as a full-time employee three and a half years ago.

Lan's family describes her as a genuine and dependable individual, who is always willing to help a family member or friend in need.

In the past month, Lan's supervisor, Margaret Jones, had been receiving complaints that Lan was being impolite to customers on the phone. When asked about her actions, Lan had apologized to her supervisor and expressed that her behaviour was due to stress from a personal issue. However, two days later, Margaret had noticed that Lan was still continuing to be impolite to customers over the phone. When approached the second time, Margaret asked Lan into her private office. She began the conversation by informing Lan that she was a very good employee, and that she could see that Lan was under stress, as she was not usually known to be impolite to customers. Margaret indicated that she hoped that Lan could work on her conduct when interacting with customers and gave her a few strategies that might help. Margaret also informed Lan of support resources she could access through work, such as a counselor, which might help with her personal stress.

Appendix C

Time 2 Measures and Manipulation Checks Created for this Study

Outcome: Incivility

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Strongly disagree	Moderately disagree	Slightly disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Moderately agree	Strongly agree

The supervisor's behaviour toward [target name] was inappropriate.

The supervisor's behaviour toward [target name] was rude.

The supervisor's behaviour toward [target name] was discourteous.

The supervisor's behaviour toward [target name] was uncivil.

The supervisor displayed a lack of regard for [target name].

[target name]?

Outcome: Fairness (Direct Measure of Justice)

1	2	3	4	5
To a very small extent	To a small extent	To a moderate extent	To a large extent	To a very large extent

To what extent did the supervisor treat [target name] fairly?

Manipulation Check – Warmth

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all	Somewhat	Moderately	Very	Extremely

In your opinion, how likeable is [target name]?

In your opinion, how warm is [target name]?

In your opinion, how nice is [target name]?

Manipulation Check – Target Race

What racial or ethnic group do you believe the employee (subordinate) belongs to?

Appendix D

Descriptive Statistics for Retained and Removed Interpersonal Justice Items

Table 22

Descriptive Statistics for Retained Interpersonal Justice Items versus Removed Item

Scenario content	<i>N</i>	Chinese target		White target	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
“A1”	49	<i>Scenario 1</i>		<i>Scenario 2</i>	
Retained items		1.74	.80	1.81	.70
Removed item		3.82	1.30	2.33	1.07
“A2”	52	<i>Scenario 2</i>		<i>Scenario 1</i>	
Retained items		1.53	.53	1.98	.77
Removed item		2.29	1.02	3.81	1.16

Note. *N* = 101. *M* = mean; *SD* = standard deviation. Retained items are the first three items shown under “Interpersonal Justice” in Appendix C, while the fourth item was removed. Scenario 1: no comments made by the supervisor toward the target; Scenario 2: comments made by the supervisor toward the target.

Appendix E

Hierarchical models conducting hypothesis tests with the Asian Modern Racism Scale.

Table 23

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Incivility, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Asian Modern Racism

Variable	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	5.05	.10***	4.86	.14***	4.84	.17***	4.74	.20***
Target race			.31	.17	.31	.17	.44	.24
Humanization					.04	.20	.20	.29
Asian modern racism					-.00	.11	.21	.23
Target race*Humanization							-.27	.35
Target race*Asian modern racism							-.21	.28
Humanization*Asian modern racism							-.26	.31
Target race*Humanization*Asian modern racism							.16	.37

Note. *** $p < .001$. $N = 101$.

Table 24

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Interpersonal Justice, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Asian Modern Racism

Variable	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	1.75	.06***	1.90	.07***	1.84	.09***	1.86	.10***
Target race			-.26	.09**	-.27	.09**	-.30	.12*
Humanization					.16	.11	.12	.15
Asian modern racism					.12	.06*	.04	.12
Target race*Humanization							.06	.18
Target race*Asian modern racism							.10	.14
Humanization*Asian modern racism							.11	.16
Target race*Humanization*Asian modern racism							-.12	.19

Note. *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.

Table 25

HLM Table for Main Effects and Interactions for Predicting Fairness, from Target Race, Humanization Condition, and Asian Modern Racism

Variable	Null Model		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>
Intercept	2.29	.07***	2.48	.10***	2.50	.12***	2.52	.14***
Target race			-.31	.12*	-.31	.12*	-.33	.17
Humanization					-.03	.14	-.03	.20
Asian modern racism					.02	.08	-.19	.17
Target race*Humanization							.00	.25
Target race*Asian modern racism							.20	.20
Humanization*Asian modern racism							.32	.22
Target race*Humanization*Asian modern racism							-.30	.27

Note. *** $p < .001$; * $p < .05$. $N = 101$.