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Applicant Reactions to Organizations that Allow Religious Expression: The Role of Interviewer and Organizational Characteristics

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APPLICANT REACTIONS TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT ALLOW

RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION: THE ROLE OF INTERVIEWER AND

ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

PSYCHOLOGY

by

David A. Beane

2020

To: Dean Michael R. Heithaus
        College of Arts, Sciences and Education

This dissertation, written by David A. Beane, and entitled Applicant Reactions to Organizations that Allow Religious Expression: The Role of Interviewer and Organizational Characteristics, having been approved in respect to style and intellectual content, is referred to you for judgment.

We have read this dissertation and recommend that it be approved.

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Stefany Coxe

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Valentina Bruk-Lee

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Chockalingam Viswesvaran, Major Professor

Date of Defense: September 16, 2020

The dissertation of David A. Beane is approved.

_____
Dean Michael R. Heithaus
College of Arts, Sciences and Education

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Andrés G. Gil
Vice President for Research and Economic Development
and Dean of the University Graduate School

Florida International University, 2020

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to those who have lost their family and friends to COVID-19 and also to the healthcare and other essential workers that have kept us all going through this time.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

APPLICANT REACTIONS TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT ALLOW RELIGIOUS

EXPRESSION: THE ROLE OF INTERVIEWER AND ORGANIZATIONAL

CHARACTERISTICS

By

David A. Beane

Florida International University, 2020

Miami, Florida

Professor Chockalingam Viswesvaran, Major Professor

In the 21st century we desire to express who we are across all domains – including the

workplace. We now spend more time at work than we have in the past. Part of our desire

to express ourselves has included expressing our religion. However, while people desire

to express their religion, they simultaneously do not want to be impinged upon by other's

religious expression as numerous legal cases demonstrate (Malone, Hartman, & Payne,

1998). This is the basis for an ever-burgeoning conflict in the workplace for which HR

managers have no legal or philosophical framework to guide them. Research on this

subject has been scant with even the tenets of workplace religious expression remaining

unquantified. My dissertation has taken steps to quantify workplace religious expression

and delineate some of its boundaries, providing HR leaders with at least a light to show

the path to navigating this conundrum.

This dissertation consists of three studies which examine how potential applicants

view an organization when its representatives (i.e., job interviewer) express their religion.

Dependent variable in these studies was organizational attractiveness. Independent

variables include interviewer's race (Indian vs. Caucasian) and type of religious display

exhibited by interviewer (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion). I explore three additional

boundary conditions that could affect applicant reactions to religious displays including

organization type (Study 1) – secular organization vs. an organization that operates in

accordance with its leader's spiritual beliefs, interviewer's position (Study 2) – HR

manager vs. Department manager vs. Store manager, and amount of expected coworker

interaction (Study 3) – very little vs. high. Results show participants view organizations

less positively when an interviewer exhibits Christian displays. While organization type

did not impact this outcome, participants did react more negatively to Christian displays

with high coworker interaction or if the interviewer was a department manager. However,

these effects only held true with a white interviewer. These results suggest interviewer's

race and anticipated amount of coworker/leader interaction have a combined effect on

how applicants view an organization whose representatives display their religion.

Implications for research and future directions are discussed.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANOVA   Analysis of Variance

EEOC   US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

M   Mean

OA   Organizational Attractiveness

P-O Fit   Person-Organization Fit

SD   Standard Deviation

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In recent years ideological polarization has been refined with such a razor-sharp degree that it has become almost tribal – an us vs. them mentality. This polarization is seen no more clearly than in the current political climate. However, beyond the tumult of current politics, religion is a theological colossus whose influence plays out across every imaginable domain. Religion and spirituality are significant social-psychological phenomena that are inter-related with personality development and connected to people's cognitive, affective, and social processes (Hill, Pargament, Wood, McCullough, Swayers, Larson, & Zinnbauer, 2000). Further, recent research suggests that employees who are allowed to be spiritual at work experience greater satisfaction and have better job performance. (Joelle & Coelho, 2020; Milliman, Czaplewski, & Ferguson, 2003).

Many people define who they are by their religion (Gallup, 2013; PEW Internet Research, 2015). In the age of social media, personal identity has been thrust to forefront of our collective consciousness (Gangadharbatla, 2008; Gosling, Augustine, Vazire, Holtzman, & Gaddis, 2011) and refined by our ability to express exactly who we want to be in the eyes of the world at the click of a button. However, we now work on average, almost 50 hours a week - more hours than ever before. Lines between work and personal identities blur as work life seamlessly permeates our personal lives (Gallup, 2015). The blur between life and work is even more pronounced with an increasing prevalence of remote work brought about by the COVID-19 pandemic. People's burgeoning need to express their identity combined with a greater desire for being religious while spending more time at work (and with work coming into the home during the pandemic) has

yielded a greater desire for people to be able to express their religion in their place of work.

On one hand, people's desire to be religious across domains is on the rise (Harrington, Preziosi, & Gooden, 2001; PEW Internet Research, 2015). However, those who identify as Atheist, Agnostic, or no religion comprise an ever-increasing percentage of the population as well (Smith, 2012; PEW Internet Research, 2015). Just like those who consider themselves to be religious, the non-religious also have a desire to practice their (non)beliefs across domains. The results of these shifting demographics have played out as the US population has borne witness to a litany of newsworthy events stemming from the intersection of religion and the workplace. Such conflicts are more likely to manifest when the physical/spatial boundary between home and workplace is dissolved in remote work arrangements.

Hobby Lobby CEO, David Green and Chick-fil-A President/COO Dan Cathy both became objects of public attention when it became known their religious identity was part and parcel of their business practices (De Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Jeltsen, 2012; Markoe, 2013). In 2015, Indiana Governor, Mike Pence (the current Vice President of the United States), became the subject of public debate when he tried to enact Senate Bill 101 – The Religious Freedom Restoration Act (McClam, 2015). The drafters of this law stated its primary goal was to prohibit government coercion of business owners from having to engage in practices that are counter to their religious beliefs. Opponents of this law pointed out that it also potentially opened the door for businesses to legally discriminate against patrons on religious grounds. In the same year, further controversy arose when Kim Davis, chief deputy clerk of Rowan County in

Kentucky, believed she was exercising her right to freedom of religion/expression by refusing to recognize marriage licenses issued to gay couples because it conflicted with her religious beliefs (Hana, Payne, & Shoichet, 2015). Thus, the events that involve the expression of religion in places of work span a variety of industries, job types and job levels.

Religious related workplace conflict is increasing both in terms of frequency and coverage as the American public storms social media to express their opinions over such occurrences. In the case of Kim Davis, for example, opinions ranged from some calling her a hero for sticking to her religious beliefs to others demanding she be removed from office. Moreover, the range of responses varies even for those who share the same religion. The US is over 70% Christian and yet the responses to Christian centered events vary just as widely as they do for those which are not.

Further, in the last decade, the US has experienced an increase in millennial immigrants from non-Christian backgrounds (PEW Research Center, 2015). Millennials now comprise the largest part of the current US workforce, creating, by corollary, a more religiously diverse workforce (Atkinson, 2004; PEW Research, 2015). While Millennials are more religiously diverse than other generation groups, there is also evidence they are the least religious generation (PEW Reseach Center, 2016). The number of individuals who identify as religiously unaffiliated has increased from 17% in 2009 to 26% in 2019 (Pew Research Center, 2019). In aggregating 88 political surveys from 2014 to 2019, Pew Research Center found 40% of Millennials identified as religiously unaffiliated compared to 24% of Baby Boomers and less than 15% of the Silent Generation.

Moreover, there is evidence that as people age their religiosity also increases (Argue, Johnson, & White, 1999). In short, compared to younger individuals, older individuals place a greater emphasis on their religious identity and spend more time in service to their respective religious organizations. This fact is salient to the current workplace because while the number of Millennials in the workforce has increased with each passing year, there have also been increases in the number of employees 50 years and older (Society of Human Resources Management, 2016). The potential for conflict arises when considering that an aging workforce who tends to be religious shares their workspace with a younger generation who frequently identifies as non-religious.

Beyond the workforce age differences, recent events surrounding the Covid-19 pandemic have also impacted the work environment. The shelter in place policy adopted by countries all over the world has resulted in an exponential increase in remote working, further blurring the line between home and work life. Coworkers now find themselves meeting with one another virtually from their homes. Researchers have shown individuals consider their religion when managing their self-identity in front of their coworkers (Ragins, 2008; Lyons, Wessel, Ghumman, Ryan, & Kim, 2014). People choose how much of their religious self they show at work depending on the culture of their workplace (Ragins, 2008). Typically, employees can choose to completely hide their identity, evade discussion of their identity, or disclose their identity outright to their coworkers. Their choice, again, depends on the environment and culture of the workplace. However, the shelter in place era means that in many cases the workplace is now a person's home and they are inviting others into that domain virtually, which raises the question of whether the same rules apply in the virtual workspace as in the physical

workspace. Is an employee expected to take down religious symbols in their own home to avoid offending others? My dissertation becomes all the more salient as remote working increases.

There is clear evidence that people feel strongly about religion when it is expressed in the workplace, particularly when it involves someone who directly represents that organization. Combined with a growing diverse workforce (many of whom identify as non-religious) as well as sudden changes to the nature of the workplace itself how individuals will respond to an occurrence of religious expression from one of their coworkers (potential or otherwise) becomes an important question. The need for research on workplace religious expression is further accentuated when considering the increasing number of religious discrimination cases that have been filed since the turn of the new century that cut across multiple religions, cultures and types of organizations.

The EEOC and the Rise of Religion in the Workplace

Title VII outlined the creation of the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). One of the EEOC's primary functions is to receive, investigate, and arbitrate employee discrimination claims and if necessary, file legal action on behalf of employees who have been discriminated against. The EEOC has handled religious claims since its inception in 1964 though it was not until the turn of the 21st century that the number of religion-based discrimination claims filed each year began to steadily rise (Ghumman, et al., 2013). Increased numbers of discrimination claims was the result of a confluence of geo-political change and a mass ideological shift toward religion catalyzed perhaps by the events of 9/11. Other existential threats like Pandemics with no known cures and wars—in fact any situation that creates anxiety and uncertainty-- are likely to

accentuate these ideological shifts in favor of religion. The number of religious

discrimination cases filed with the EEOC nearly doubled from 2001 to 2002 and many of

those claims were filed by Muslim employees. Over time the growing number of

religious discrimination claims began to include individuals from multiple religions.

Religion has gained increasing importance among US citizens over the last 20

years (Gallup, 2013). Simultaneously, levels of religious diversity in the American

workforce have increased as has diversity within religious groups (PEW Internet

Research, 2008). At the turn of the century people began to return to religion in the US

and across the world (Cash & Gray, 2000; King & Holmes, 2014). In part, people's

return to religion was caused by the changing nature of the workplace itself.

Organizations had to adjust to an integrated global market where changes occurred with

greater frequency and urgency. Information is also available far more quickly than in

times past. Thus, organizations can react rapidly to changes in their environment. In

many organizations, employees began to experience sudden new job role responsibilities

on a semi-regular basis, sudden movement into entirely different job roles or even being

laid off from corporate downsizing. Change has become the constant of the day and thus,

the modern American worker began to feel a sense of uncertainty. In the face of that job

uncertainty more people found comfort in religion (Hicks, 2003).

The modern American employee also spends more time at work than ever before

(Gallup, 2015). The average American work week for full-time employees is now 47

hours. For some, their time is spread across multiple jobs – which of course does not

include commute time between jobs (Gallup, 2015). People cannot simply switch off

their identity because they are at work (Alidadi, 2010). With so many hours spent away

from home, workers have a desire to express their identity at their job (Byron &

Lawrence, 2015) which becomes salient when the physical/spatial barrier between work

and home is obliterated by remote work arrangements. Religion provides a sense of

comfort and added certainty in the face of an uncertain work environment. People also

want to find a deep meaning in their religion which occupies such a substantial portion of

their lives (Dean, Safranski, & Lee, 2014). Many religions require that practitioners wear

specific garments or pray at specific times of the day. Such needs can conflict with

organizational rules concerning dress code and break times. Indeed, the majority of

claims regarding religion filed with the EEOC have been for lack of accommodation for

dress and scheduling needs (Schaeffer & Mattis, 2012).

   Organizations now face a religiously diverse workforce with an increased need to

express their spirituality at work because of simultaneous increases in numbers of

immigrants from non-Christian countries and decreases in number of immigrants from

traditionally Christian countries (Atkinson, 2000; Borstoff & Arlington, 2011, PEW

Internet Research, 2015). In addition to being religiously diverse, the 21st century

workforce is also more educated on their workplace religious civil rights compared to the

workforce of the last century (Atkinson, 2000). Yet there still remains much legal

ambiguity in terms of what qualifies as religious discrimination and when organizations

can refuse accommodation (Ghumman, et al., 2013). As a result of such legal ambiguity

many organizations either lack a clear accommodation policy or they do not

communicate that accommodation policy clearly to their employees (Borstoff &

Arlington, 2010; Ghumman, et al., 2013). Additionally, there is a lack of understanding

among employers and employees alike as to what constitutes a religious need or belief (Dean et al., 2014).

Whether a religious belief is held by millions across the world, a few hundred in one country or by one individual, it is still viewed as valid by the law. A religious belief may be determined by a religious institution, but a religious belief can also exist in the mind of the individual (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Compliance Manual, 2008). The courts have ruled that an individual is the sole interpreter of his or her religion. So long as an individual honestly holds their belief it is valid and therefore eligible for accommodation without explanation on the part of the employee so long as the employee is consistent in the assertion of their belief or religious practice (Epperson, 1996; Wolf, Friedman & Sutherland, 1988; United States v. Ballard, 322 U.S. 78 (1944)).

However, many people view religious commitment as a contract of sorts that an individual willingly enters (Hicks, 2003). As a corollary one can theoretically exit that religious commitment whenever they wish, a line of thinking which could extend to the idea that people also choose which religious tenets they follow. The law does not allow employers to work under such an assumption. For example, one of the most frequently requested religious accommodations involves an employee's work schedule (Ghumman et al., 2013). For those of the Jewish faith Saturday is the Sabbath and all activity must stop in reverence to the Sabbath starting at sundown on Friday. For Catholics Sunday is a religiously mandated day of rest. It is not uncommon for practicing Catholics and Jews to require these days off. For many organizations, Friday, Saturday and Sunday are peak business times when "all hands are required on deck." Requests for taking time off on these busy days while others have to work might be perceived as false – something that is

not necessary but requested because that person "just doesn't like to work." However, supervisors who refuse such a scheduling request under that assumption can soon find themselves in a religious discrimination case.

To complicate matters further, HR managers also need to balance between accommodating employee religious expression while also not offending other employees. The issue here is two-fold. First, there have been cases where an employee's religious expression created a hostile work environment for his or her coworkers. For example, there is the case of Charita D Chalmers v Tulon Company of Richmond (1996). Ms. Chalmers wrote letters to her supervisors and coworkers informing them that they needed to repent for their sinful acts or face eternal judgment. Her coworkers felt her behavior created a hostile work environment and the court agreed when they upheld Ms. Chalmers termination by the organization on these grounds.

On the other hand, there are instances where for some the mere expression of another's religion is offensive (Berg, 1998). Clearly a Muslim employee's need for a prayer break or a Jewish employee's need to wear a yarmulke is hardly the same thing as an employee writing accusatory letters to their coworkers. However, the line gets a little fuzzy when considering the social component of both religion and the workplace (Etherington, 2019; Hicks, 2003). Consider, for example, one employee asking coworkers to see a movie vs. inviting coworkers to a prayer meeting.

Such situations have social repercussions in addition to any legal consequences. Coworker relationships are the backbone of work life at any organization (Fiske, 1992). It should come as no surprise that these relationships are also the greatest source of workplace conflict (Spector, 1998; Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). Self-identity threat is just

one of many types of social conflict that can arise in an organization but one with particular salience to religion at work (Riaz & Juniad, 2010; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). Consider a situation where a Muslim employee is not able to take time for daily prayer in an organization that closes down for Easter and Christmas. The appearance that an organization favors one religion over others may cause that employee to experience self-identity threat which can elicit a variety of negative responses (Petriglieri, 2011) including anxiety, anger and frustration all of which can affect job engagement and satisfaction (Spector, 1998).

Gebert, Boerner, Kearnery, and King Jr. (2014) proposed three ways in which a person expressing their religion can lead to relational conflict. First, there is categorization by others. When someone expresses their religion publicly what was a hidden personal attribute is now a surface attribute known to all. That individual now becomes associated with whatever traits others associate with that religious identity. Moreover, that individual may now be categorized with others who have the same religious identity which can in turn lead to in-group-out-group antagonism.

Secondly, when someone has a known religious identity their actions can be interpreted differently. Someone professing their religious faith may be viewed as trying to evangelize those around them simply by expressing their faith. Last, the act of one person expressing their religious identity can be perceived by another person as a threat to their own social identity. Gebert et al. (2014) proposed that such a reaction is more likely to be elicited from a member of minority religion such as Islam (in the US) who is exposed to an expression of religious faith from someone in a majority religion such as Christianity.

The issue of accommodation vs. offense highlights a need for a clear legal framework around workplace religious expression. The United States Congress has attempted to pass the Workplace Religious Freedom Act several times since 1999 (Borstoff, 2011). Years later, Congress is still debating what framework that should be. At the same time, the European Union has attempted to pass EU Directive 2000/78 which was meant to protect employee workplace rights such as access to promotions or training, and various working conditions including pay and dismissal on the basis of the employee's religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation (Vickers, 2010). In general, the European union has had difficulty quantifying religious rights as well as accommodation in the wake of an ever-growing Muslim population arising from mass immigrations starting at the end of the Cold War (Soper & Fetzer, 2003). Great Britain passed the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations in 2003 which were later replaced by the Equality Act in 2010 (legislation.gov.uk, 2015). The French Labour Union took the position of a religion neutral workplace which precludes legal claims regarding religion (Frégosi & Kosulu, 2013). Multiple nations addressing this same problem simultaneously demonstrates a clearly a global issue.

In lieu of a specific legal framework, organizations may need to develop a philosophical framework of their own that addresses the "fairness" of their HR policies to all stakeholders. Beane and Viswesvaran (2019) proposed one possible framework for organizations which loosely follows Hunter and Schmidt's (1977) three ethical philosophies for employing personnel selection tests (unqualified individualism, qualified individualism, and quota systems). In line with their philosophy, organizations could

adopt one of four general philosophies: unqualified expression, qualified expression, proportional expressions, null/zero expressions.

In an *unqualified expression* framework, organizations would allow free expressions of religious displays. Organizations employing this framework would not entertain any complaints arising from a coworker's religious expression whether from emotional distress, or from physical/material harm. With a *qualified expression* philosophy, HR leaders would determine which religious expressions are acceptable in work settings and communicate that list to employees. However, policy surrounding religious expression would be in a state of constant flux with HR managers navigating an ongoing series of debates over what displays, and expressions are acceptable and to whom.

Proportional expressions would employ a "fairness" where displays from one religion on one day is counterbalanced with displays from another religion another day. The primary challenge with such an approach is attempting to incorporate over 4000 religions and spiritual traditions into such a rotation. With a *null/zero expressions* framework, organizations would disallow all religious expression. However, such policy lacks feasibility when delineating between religious accommodations required by the EEOC and everyday social expressions which are not. Also, with current pandemic work policies many employees are compelled to work from home. Organizations following a null/zero expressions framework might find themselves overstepping their bounds when it comes to telling how employees decorate their own homes.

Organizations need clear HR policies, both legal and philosophical, governing religious accommodation. Such policies should be guided by clear ethical frameworks

that balance conflicting rights, and some recent work has attempted to outline such frameworks (cf. Beane & Viswesvaran, 2019). I summarize some of them in the next chapter. Employees need to be aware not only of their individual rights of expression but also what constitutes legally protected workplace religious expression in general (under the current law) vs. what constitutes offensive or potentially hostile behavior. However, creating diversity training with such an expansive and dynamic topic is no easy task. It is for that and the numerous reasons mentioned above that research on workplace religious expression is not only necessary but vital.

Purpose of My Dissertation

There has been very little research in terms of determining what people view as acceptable vs. unacceptable religious displays. Specific legislation on that issue is still being debated on the Senate floor. In the meantime, it has been the purview of whatever religious discrimination case that makes it to a court docket to outline the boundaries of not just acceptable workplace religious expression but also what constitutes acceptable responses to such expression. It therefore falls to human resource practitioners to help delineate the boundaries of workplace religious expression which makes my dissertation research all the more important. For many people, religion has been a topic they are not comfortable discussing with employers and coworkers (Lips-Wiersma & Mills, 2002). In fact, researchers have found only 22 percent of American workers feel they can reveal their religious beliefs to their coworkers and supervisors (Tanenbaum, 2013).

In the proposed dissertation, I want to help take the first steps in identifying acceptable workplace religious expression by examining how individuals view an organization when its direct representatives engage in religious display. Research

supports that many leaders rely on their religious values when making important business

decisions (Fernando & Jackson, 2006; Paterson, Specht, & Duchon, 2013). Recent events

have shown that people react more strongly when organization leaders are the ones

expressing their religion (De Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Jeltsen, 2012; Markoe,

2013). Thus, my primary research objective is to explore how people react to an

organization whose representatives engage in religious expression compared to one

whose representatives do not. Further, I want to delineate the impact/consequences of that

reaction. To do that I will use organizational attractiveness to measure peoples' reaction

to workplace religious display. Lower organizational attractiveness would be an indicator

of a negative reaction to such a display. Further I want to delineate the boundaries of that

reaction. Specifically, I explore in my dissertation what role the type of organization,

position of the person displaying religion, etc., have on the reactions of the applicants.

People have a wide range of reactions to CEO's who express their religious

beliefs. These reactions have also carried over to the organization itself; this is a further

reason why I have chosen organizational attractiveness as a measure of reaction to

workplace religious display. In everyday life, however, the chances of meeting an

organization's CEO are very small. Therefore, a study with scenarios involving a CEO

would lack mundane realism. However, a CEO is hardly the only leader in an

organization. Research supports that interviewer behavior can influence an applicant's

perceptions of an organization at earlier stages of recruitment (Uggerslev, Fassina, &

Kraichy, 2012; Chapman, Uggerslev, Carroll, Piasentin & Jones, 2005; Carless & Imber,

2007; Rynes, Bretz & Gerhart, 1991). In a recruitment interview scenario, the interviewer

is the sole representative of the organization and has a referential power in the eyes of a

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prospective employee. Information tends to be limited at the early stages of recruitment and the applicant looks to the interviewer to attain that information about the organization and the job (Larsen & Phillips, 2002; Spence, 1973). Interviewer characteristics are among the information an applicant absorbs to fill in those gaps (Rynes et al., 1991; Spence, 1973).

Applicants view an interviewer's behavior as a preview of working life in that organization particularly at early stages of the interview process (Rynes et al., 1991). At those early interview stages an applicant has very little in the way of context for the verbal and non-verbal information she or he takes in during that interview. As stated above, lack of context allows for a wide range of information interpretation (Carson & Zmud, 1999; Rice, 1992; Trevino, 1990) which falls in line with signaling theory (Greening & Turban, 2000; Rynes, 1991). Signaling theory posits that when people have little information about an organization, they interpret whatever information they get as a preview of working life with that organization (Greening & Turban, 2000; Rynes, 1991).

Applicants view a coworker's workspace as a representation of their personal identity (Byron & Lawrence, 2015). Therefore, displays seen in an interviewer's workspace could also be interpreted as a representation of the organization's identity. Organization symbols can influence an applicant's attraction to that organization (Rafaelli & Vilnai-Yavetz, 2004). A recruiter who has religious displays in his or her workspace could be signaling to the applicant that the organization is tolerant of religious display. On the other hand, it could also signal that the organization favors a particular religion (Hicks, 2003). An applicant could make that same interpretation even if the display is not personal (see the case of Darden Restaurants Inc. in Atkinson, 2004). For

example, some corporations have attempted to bring yoga and meditation into the workplace as a means of improving employee health (Brandt, 1998; Cash & Gray, 2000; Hicks, 2003). However, these activities are rooted in Eastern spiritual philosophies. So, what seems to be an employee benefit can be interpreted as an endorsement of those religious beliefs (Hicks, 2003).

In addition to religious displays exhibited by the interviewer, I will also be manipulating interviewer race. The reasons are multifold. First, part of my experimental manipulations in terms of religion will include an interviewer who displays Hindu religious symbols. Hinduism is one of the most widely recognized religions practiced in the US (Biernacki, 2010; PEW Research Center, 2015). However, most associate Hindu practices with the people of India (PEW Research Center, 2015). Therefore, it is necessary to manipulate interviewer race to include an Indian interviewer in order to ensure acceptance of the interviewer scenario. I will further elaborate on my manipulation of interviewer race in the next section.

There is also precedence in the literature for manipulating interviewer race. Researchers have found that interviewer race can indirectly impact an applicant's view of organization. Specifically, interviewer race has been found to influence an applicant's view of the interview processes and the interviewer themselves. In turn these can directly impact how the applicant views the organization. Ledvinka (1973) examined African American job seeker's reactions to their interviewer during a registration interview with an employment service. Interviewers were either African American or white. In his study Ledvinka found when African American applicants were asked to list the reason(s) for leaving their last job, they were more open with an African American interviewer

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compared to a white interviewer. African American job seekers gave more reasons for leaving their previous job and were more likely to give both extrinsic and intrinsic reasons for leaving their previous job with an African American interviewer.

Liden and Parsons (1986) examined the impact of applicant demographic characteristics (among other variables) on the interview process. The researchers used all white female interviewers in their study. Results showed that African American applicants viewed their interviewers as less competent compared to applicants of other races/ethnicities. The authors posited that presence of a white interviewer may have impacted perceptions of the fairness of the interview thus impacting perceptions of interviewer competence.

Given the literature reviewed so far, in my dissertation I will conduct three studies where the manipulation of interviewer religion and race will be held constant across the three studies. Each of the three studies is designed to test one moderating effect (e.g., type of organization). Below I describe the three studies and summarize the rationale for the moderator examined.

Dissertation Studies

My dissertation will consist of three studies based around the same 2X3 design where all participants will be exposed to the same variation in interviewer religion and race. Our sample will be college students in the US. Christianity is the most prevalent religion in the US (PEW Research Center, 2015). Therefore, I am using Christian displays because of their recognizability in a predominately Christian population.

However, Christian displays may also seem normal with a Christian sample (Ghumman and Jackson (2008). For some, Christian symbols might not even be noticed.

Therefore, it is necessary to have displays from another religion to serve as a point of comparison. Worldwide and in the US the most practiced religions are Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Shintoism (PEW Research, 2015). While Islam is the second largest religion practiced in the world (PEW Research, 2015), reactions to those displays may be conflated by the current political climate (the same may hold to some extent for Buddhism and Shintoism—e.g., the political rhetoric about jobs being outsourced to China during the 2016 elections, a rhetoric further fueled by the origins of the Pandemic of 2020).

The third most practiced religion is Hinduism (PEW Research Center, 2015). In recent years, American culture has incorporated many Hindu beliefs and displays such as karma, reincarnation, and the practice of Yoga (Biernacki, 2010). Symbols from the Hindu faith would likely be more recognizable than, for example, Shinto symbols. Therefore, I decided that Hindu displays would provide a reasonable and measurable counterbalance to Christian displays in these studies (while simultaneously not provoking any other ideological/political undertones). Hinduism is predominately practiced by individuals from India (Pew Research Center, 2015). Prior research also shows that interviewer race can be factor in applicant perceptions of an interview (Ledvinka, 1973; Liden & Parsons, 1986). Therefore, it seemed necessary to also alter interviewer race to include an interviewer of Indian origin to provide a proper basis of comparison. Consequently, in all three studies, participants will either encounter Christian, Hindu, or no religious displays from a male interviewer who is either an Indian or white male.

The manipulation of Interviewer race and religion begs the question why gender of the interviewer was not manipulated. Given my interests in investigating three

boundary conditions—described below—I kept the design to a more manageable three-way interaction and not delve into a four-way interaction with race, religion, moderator and gender.

Each study will have a third unique variable which will also be manipulated. In study one, I will manipulate the religious leanings of the organization, having one organization whose leaders operate in accordance with their religious beliefs and another whose leaders do not. In study two I will manipulate the position of the interviewer; either a human resource manager, a department manager or a store manager. In study three I will manipulate amount of coworker interaction required for the job; either high or low coworker interaction.

Reactions of an applicant to interviewer displays may be moderated by type of organization. Public organizations and representatives of public organizations are sometimes legally mandated to refrain from religious expressions. Applicants interested in working for an organization usually engage in some form of anticipatory socialization and have some expectations when they come into an interview. In manipulating the religious leanings of the organization, I test whether applicants' reactions to interviewer displays of religion differ when the organization represented by the interviewer is one whose leaders operate in accordance with their religious beliefs or not. I elaborate later on this manipulation in the literature review.

Similarly, an interviewer's position with the organization is likely to moderate applicant reactions to that organization. In recent history, people have shown a wide range of reactions to organizations whose leaders run their respective businesses in accordance with their spiritual beliefs (see Chik Fil-A and Hobby Lobby). In general,

people seem to group an organization with its leader. In other words, in the eyes of the people, if an organization leader supports religious based causes so too does that organization as a whole. In my studies I test whether such a view applies strictly to an organization's leader or if it extends to those who represent the organization. Further, I test whether there are varying degrees to which an organization representative's actions affect how one views that organization by varying the interviewer's position. Assuming applicants do view an organization according to actions or displays from its representatives, will applicants rate that organization differently if its representative is an HR manager vs. a department or store manager?

Finally, amount of coworker interaction may moderate applicant reactions to an organization. As with all my dissertation studies I want to test whether the way people view an organization differs when religious displays are present in an interview. In the third study I will also test whether those views vary by amount of coworker interaction associated with the job. Interviews are meant to provide a preview of work life with that organization. In some ways an interviewer provides a preview of social life in an organization. However, the opinions one forms of an organization may not be as strong if applicants know that they will be siloed from their coworkers vs. working alongside their coworkers extensively for the majority of the job. Therefore, I will manipulate amount of coworker interaction in Study 3 to reflect very little coworker interaction vs. a lot.

In the next chapter I will explain how and why an organization's stance, interviewer's position, and amount of coworker interaction can influence an applicant's reaction to an organization. Further, in a time where more people are working from home the space between work and home shrinks exponentially. Another outcome of the current

pandemic is that the job market has reached an apex level of uncertainty. It is logical that people will look for as many cues as possible to aid in their decision to pursue employment with an organization. In my literature review I will discuss use of communication cues further in terms of signaling theory, communication dyads, and theory on when and where interviewers exert the greatest influence on applicants.

In summary, my dissertation is comprised of three studies investigating applicant reactions to religious displays on the part of the recruiter/interviewer. In my studies, a 2 X 3 design was used as the baseline where the interviewer was either an Indian or White male and displayed either Hindu or Christian or no religious symbols. In each study, either the type of organization (secular or religious leaning) or position of the interviewer (HR Manager, Department Manager or Store Manager) or the amount of coworker interaction needed on the job (very little vs. a lot), was manipulated. I now turn to the literature review and further elaboration of the theoretical rationale and summary of relevant empirical studies in the next chapter.

Dissertation Organization

In Chapter II I discuss theoretical background that informs my dissertation studies. I will start with a discussion of historical legislation as it relates to workplace religious expression. I then discuss work culture and its impact on religious display and follow up with research on the current workplace as it relates to policies on workplace religious expression. Chapter II ends with a brief description and explanation of my dissertation studies.

Chapter III details participants, recruitment methods, materials creation, survey measures used, survey execution, and statistical analysis plans for my dissertation studies.

I also discuss theoretical underpinnings of each of the three studies. For manipulating organization type (Religious Leaning vs. Secular) I discuss research on person-organizational value match (Holland, 1985) as well as organization fit (Rynes, Bretz Jr., & Gerhart, 1990), and organization vs. individual personality (Slaughter & Greguras, 2009). For manipulating interviewer position, I will discuss how and when interviewer behavior has the greatest impact on applicant perceptions of an organization (Rynes, et al., 1990) in conjunction with communication and signaling theory (Carson & Zmud, 1999; Rice, 1992; Trevino, 1990). Finally, I will discuss self-identity theory (Ashforth & Mael, 1989) in conjunction with theories of person-to-person and applicant-to-(future) coworker fit (Kritoff-Brown & Zimmerman, 2005; Devandorf & Highhouse, 2008) to explain importance of coworker interaction.

In chapter IV I detail results including preliminary analyses of manipulation checks for my studies, as well as primary and supplementary hypothesis analyses. Chapter V will recap my results and outline ramifications and importance of my research for the field. I will end with limitations and future directions of my research. Figures are embedded in chapter III to provide context for materials used in my studies while tables are also embedded in chapter IV where necessary.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

To provide context for the basis of my study I first review legislation as it applies to the workplace and personal religious expression. I supplement that with discussion of recent EEOC cases that provide at least some legal precedent for workplace religious expression. Finally, I include discussion of relevant research to further build the case for the importance of research on religious workplace expression as a relevant and vital area of study.

The Legislation of Religion

"This is America, I can say whatever I want." is a statement rooted in an understanding of the first amendment of the American constitution.

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

The law, however, does not regulate how others may react to one's expressions (Cromwell, 1997). Nor does it come with indemnity from any social consequences that may come of that expression. A consequence of freedom of speech is that people can also freely express their dislike of what someone else says or does. As the social media era has shown, the way a person expresses themselves can have dire social consequences such as being ostracized and even losing their job which suggests a conflict between the court of law and the court of public opinion.

Of course, the conflict between the court of law and public opinion also applies to how people choose to express themselves religiously. Not everyone shares the same

religion, but even for those who do, there is within-faith variation in how they think those beliefs should be expressed. In some instances, individuals who profess a religious identity that does not reflect the predominant religion or is not popular at the time find themselves socially unpopular or even ostracized. It is in such situations that the conflict between the court of law and the court of public opinion is most salient. In the wake of 9/11, for example, there was a growing anti-Muslim sentiment among the American people (Hicks, 2003). It is no coincidence that post 9/11, religious discrimination claims began to increase with most of them being filed by Muslim employees (King & Williamson, 2014; Ghumman, Ryan, Barclay, & Markel, 2013).

However, there are more than just legal outcomes at stake. The workplace has a very large social component. Supervisor-subordinate and coworker relations are what drive the day-to-day operations of any organization (Fiske, 1992). It should come as no surprise that these two dyads are also the primary types of workplace conflict (Spector, 1998; Bruk-Lee & Spector, 2006). As with any social milieu, disagreements are bound to occur, whether because of goal incongruence, threats to one's self-identity, differing personalities, or opposing viewpoints on how to carry out job tasks (Riaz & Juniad, 2010). Of course, as individuals spend more time working together their familiarity with one another also increases as do conversation comfort levels. Invariably, conversations "around the water cooler" will involve politics and/or religion at some point. Even in the closest of circles these topics can lead to heated debate, a fact which is even more true in today's political climate.

Taken in the context of my study, discussion of a religious nature among a group with disparate religious faiths could conceivably trigger threats to someone's self-identity

(Ysseldyk, et al., 2010) leading to any number of negative emotional outcomes including anxiety, anger and frustration (Spector, 1998). Or consider an organization in the US that does not have an explicitly stated policy on religious expression. Such ambiguity could conceivably foster a sense of lack of control in those from a different religion than Christianity/Judaism whose holidays and customs are already recognized at a national and cultural level. We see in these examples the possibility for both coworker and supervisor conflict (which has played out in many recent EEOC cases). Moreover, a sense of lack of control (such as that arising from working in an organization with no explicit policy on religious expression) could compound the emotional outcome of perceived interpersonal conflict which in turn leads to several types of strain (Spector, 1998).

With advances in telecommunication, perceived interpersonal conflict is no longer germane to those who work in physical proximity with one another. Skype, Zoom, Microsoft Teams, Google, and other communication services have lessened the need for physical proximity in face-to-face communication. As a corollary, visual cues are now equally as important in long distance communication as in face-to-face communication. Without saying a word an individual can broadcast their religious identity just by the displays in their office – displays that once weren't an issue when communication was limited to phone or email, which is particularly salient in the COVID-19 era where many employees now have to interact with one another virtually from their homes. Not everyone has the luxury of a dedicated home office. Many remote workers operate from their bedroom, living room, kitchen, etc. Social media is already rife with the faux paus that have arisen by employees unfamiliar with virtual conferencing technology. Thus

organizations have to question whether to have to take a stance on displays seen from someone's home and how far this stance should go.

In my prior research (Beane, Ponnapalli, & Viswesvaran, 2017) we examined types of religious displays one might encounter in a workplace setting. We started with Christian symbols given the recognizability of such symbols in a US sample. A panel of 40 Industrial/Organizational Masters and PhD students created a list of 31 possible Christian religious symbols and displays that one might encounter at work – excluding holiday displays such as Christmas trees. Two researchers then pared that list down to 27 items.

We presented two samples of psychology students (453 and 299 participants) at a Southeastern university with these 27 scenarios wherein an interviewer displayed their religion during an interview. We included Christian displays ranging from subtle ("The interviewer had diploma from a Christian university") to deliberately provocative ("The interviewer asks you to join him in a prayer at the end of the interview"). Participants rated each scenario on (1) the likelihood of occurring using a scale of 1 (Very Unlikely) to 7 (Very Likely) and (2) the attractiveness of an organization to them where the scenario occurred using a scale of 1 (Very Unattractive) to 7 (Very Attractive).

In the analyses there was a common theme among religious displays in that they fell under three different categories. The first two categories are visual displays (e.g., having a cross on one's desk), and verbal displays (e.g., saying "God bless you."). We dubbed the third category "shared experiences" which included both visual and verbal displays and yet was statistically distinct from those two categories. These displays included having pictures of one's children at their baptism or having a diploma from a

Christian university. Most people can relate to having children or graduating from school thus the "shared experiences" naming convention.

Miller, Ewest, & Neubert (2019) found a similar breakdown of workplace religious expression when developing their Integration Profile (TIP) Faith and Work Integration Scale - a 24-item survey intended to measure dimensions of workplace religious expression. They based their scale on Miller's (2007) four-dimensions of work-faith integration: *ethics* – internal/external principles under which one operates at work, *expression* – verbal/nonverbal displays of one's faith, *experience* – finding meaning in one's workplace processes and outcomes through their faith, and *enrichment* – either of one's self or their group via spiritual practices and interactions. The final 24-item scale had three dimensions – verbal and non-verbal expressions, and experience (i.e., finding meaning through daily work processes). It is important to note that our third category of workplace religious expression also involved experiences, however these experiences involved representations of life events that we all share which may or not involve religion (i.e., pictures of one's child at their bar mitzvah vs. at their 13th birthday party). Miller et al.'s (2019) experience category involved finding spiritual meaning in one's work processes.

Beane et al.'s (2017) findings are also in line with the general literature on personal work displays. Byron and Lawrence (2015) outlined that some personal displays can reflect shared experiences with one's co-workers serving as a means of social interaction. As stated previously, such displays can include having a picture of one's child at their baptism or having a diploma from a Christian university on the wall. While these displays are religious in nature, they are also reflective of life experiences we all

share. Many people have attended college and have children. In our research displays depicting shared experiences were seen as more innocuous. In the studies for my dissertation, I will be relying on visual and verbal displays. I will also have one shared experience type of display (i.e., college degree from a religious university) that will be seen visually and heard verbally.

According to media richness theory, a message lean in information - such as context - is open to a wide array of interpretations compared to messages richer in information (Carlson & Zmud, 1999; Rice, 1992; Trevino, 1990). Equivocality which occurs when a message has more than one possible interpretation or where there is more than one framework from which to interpret that information (Dennis & Velacich, 1999). For example, if one were to see an interviewer's office adorned with religious paraphernalia it could give an impression that the organization has an open policy concerning employee religious expression. However, without context (i.e., knowledge of the organization's religious accommodation policy), it could also create the impression that the organization endorses that specific religion which is particularly salient in the context of a job interview where the applicant has little information on the organization.

Work Culture and Religious Display

Conversations about religion are one thing but real conflict arises when individuals attempt to express their religious identity at work. After 9/11, American citizens of the Muslim faith began to experience an increase in religious based discrimination, which was felt nowhere more than in the workplace. For example, female Muslim employees experienced pushback from their employers and coworkers when wearing a hijab (a scarf or veil worn around the head and chest) on the job (King, &

Williamson, 2010). It is in these instances where the court of law has had to step in to delineate the boundaries of the social consequences of expression and in some cases, serve as educators that remind people of the vicissitudes of basic human rights.

There is also a cultural component. The United States is over 70% Christian (PEW Internet Research, 2015) and as such most national holidays are centered on Christian holy days. The month leading up to the Christmas holiday is the busiest shopping season of the year. Many businesses extend their operating hours during the holiday season to accommodate increased customer traffic and then close early on Christmas Eve and stay closed on Christmas day. These business practices are viewed as a cultural norm by many but at the outset they can also create a perception that organizations are aligned with Christianity. For example, if there are employees in the organization who are members of a minority religion in the US such as Judaism or Islam who saw coworkers with Christian displays in their workspace those minority employees could conclude that the organization has a culture that favors Christianity and thus experience threats to their religious identity (Dean, Safranski, & Lee, 2014; Ysseldyk, et al., 2010).

Chatman, Polzer, Barsade, and Neale, (1998) found that organizational culture has an impact on how employees view diversity among their coworkers (i.e., having coworkers from groups different than that of the employee). For example, when a business emphasizes organization membership as a salient characteristic – something that all employees share regardless of personal background – they achieve higher levels of employee cooperation and do so much sooner than when organizations do not (Chatman & Flynn, 2001). The example in the previous paragraph also demonstrates the impact of

organizational culture on how employees view coworker diversity. Organizations that honor and allow displays for Judeo-Christian holy days without an explicit religious diversity policy in place may, therefore, be inadvertently emphasizing individual employee differences over their similarities and thus negatively impact employee teamwork and, by extension, productivity. Such a practice can also leave open the possibilities of increased in-group-out-group antagonism (Chatman et al., 1998).

At a time where religious diversity is increasing in the US (PEW Internet Research, 2015) such perceptions can lay the seeds for religious discrimination claims. Employees who experience difficulty when requesting off for their holy days while seeing others get their holy days off without even asking could experience a sense of injustice. In a real-world example, Darden Restaurants Inc. displayed secular Christmas decorations (i.e., Santa Claus, etc.) over and around the main entrances to their headquarters, and, as a result, management received numerous complaints from their employees (Atkinson, 2004). Some employees cited the lack of decorations celebrating other non-Christian holidays while other employees stated that the secular decorations missed the true meaning of Christmas.

Beyond the First Amendment

The First Amendment covers freedom of religious expression in general but there is little in the way of context for when or where someone expresses their religion. Moreover, the first amendment is not a guaranteed right to work based on one's religious expression. It was not until much later that this lack of context would be addressed directly by legislators. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is the single most important piece of legislation in the HR world. It serves as a veritable holy text for all

human resource managers operating in the United States. Those familiar with the existence of Title VII at the very least know it mandates that individuals cannot be hired, fired, promoted or given/not given raises on the basis of their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Atkinson, 2004; Benefiel, Fry & Giegle, 2014). Title VII defines what constitutes employee discrimination in terms of both the rights and obligations for organizations, prospective employees as well as labor organizations (i.e., unions). In terms of religious discrimination, Title VII makes two specific references. In the first reference, legislators (1964) define what they mean by religion and religious accommodation.

> "The term "religion" includes all aspects of religious observance and practice, as well as belief, unless an employer demonstrates that he is unable to reasonably accommodate to an employee's or prospective employee's religious observance or practice without undue hardship on the conduct of the employer's business."
> (p. 4)

Note the term "…without undue hardship…" which has been a bone of contention in many religious discrimination cases. While Title VII defines when an organization can refuse religious accommodation the condition that action is contingent upon remains ambiguous. Organizations have cited undue hardship as their reason for refusing religious accommodation only to have the courts disagree.

The authors of Title VII (1964) also define the only situation when hiring on the basis of someone's religion is lawful:

> "…it shall not be an unlawful employment practice for a school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning to hire and

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employ employees of a particular religion if such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is, in whole or in substantial part, owned, supported, controlled, or managed by a particular religion or by a particular religious corporation, association, or society, or if the curriculum of such school, college, university, or other educational institution or institution of learning is directed toward the propagation of a particular religion." (p. 6-7)

Essentially an organization can hire based on religion only when that organization has a specific religious orientation. For example, it would not be unlawful for a Catholic church or a Buddhist monastery to require their maintenance staff to be practicing Catholics or Buddhists respectively.

Beyond the above two references Title VII does little else to define the parameters of religious accommodation and/or discrimination. Of the five protected classes mentioned in Title VII religion has the most need for interpretation and therefore leaves room for the most ambiguity. In subsequent years, legislators attempted to further clarify employee religious rights and additionally the breadth of employer obligation in terms of religious accommodation with the passing of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993. That law was repealed four years later with the case of the City of Boerne vs. Flores insofar as it applies to states (Ball & Haque, 2003). However, it still applies in Federal cases giving Congress the ability to amend federal laws. Additionally, several states have also enacted their own version of Religious Freedom Restoration Act.

Religion in the workplace is still very much a hot topic among legislators. In the intervening years since the City of Boerne vs. Flores, Congress has since attempted to pass the Workplace Religious Freedom Act (Borstoff & Arlington, 2010) which has been

brought before Congress several times since 1999 and is no closer to being passed now than it was then. As mentioned earlier in my dissertation, Great Britain passed their Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations in 2003 and revised that legislation with the Equality Act in 2010 (legislation.gov.uk, 2015). Meanwhile the French Labor Union maintains a religion neutral workplace and prohibits employees from making any legal claims based on their religious membership (Frégosi & Kosulu, 2013).

Religion in the workplace is clearly a global concern. Moreover, today's workplace continues to grow in global socio-technological connectivity and diversity within and across nations. Thus, there will be more contact between employees of different religious and cultural beliefs each with their own forms of expression and accommodation needs. As more organizations become international, issues with cross cultural differences will further complicate the issue of religious expression in the workplace.

Policy in a Religiously Diverse Workplace

When discussing workplace religious expression, it makes sense to start with how organizations deal with religious diversity. Borstoff and Arlington (2010) examined what employees know about their respective organizations' religious accommodation policies and their perceptions of those policies. Their sample consisted of 141 participants that represented a variety of organizations and job types (i.e., professional, technical, clerical, and managerial positions) and organization sizes (i.e., 40-240 employees). Researchers asked participants whether their organization had a religious accommodation policy and if so, how clearly the organization stated this policy. Additionally, participants answered

survey items concerning their knowledge of their organization's policies on religious time-off requests, dress code accommodation, food accommodation (i.e., providing food at company functions that meets requirements of an employee's religion), stance on formation of religious-based co-worker groups, and workspace decoration.

Over half of participants (55%) reported their organization did not have a method of clearly stating its religious accommodation policies. Eighty-four percent of their participants reported their organization had a policy regarding religious holiday leave while 77% reported that their organization had policies in place to address the scheduling difficulties arising from such requests (i.e., getting shifts covered). A little over half of participants (55%) reported their organization had policies for when an employee's religious dress violates standard dress code. Of those organizations represented in this sample, 67% provide food to their employees either through a cafeteria, vending machine, etc. and of those organizations only 37% were reported as offering food that meets employee religious requirements. In addition, only half of the organizations that provide food to employees at staff meetings take religious food requirements into consideration when doing so. Finally, over 60% of these participants reported that their organization had no policy concerning workspace decoration.

Borstoff and Arlington's (2010) results highlight a larger issue where despite very noticeable increases in workforce religious diversity (Pew Research Center, 2015) as well as an upswing in religious discrimination cases over the last 20 years (Ghumman et al., 2013), organizations are largely ignoring an issue that is costing them millions of dollars in legal related fees (US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 2020). Moreover, having no clear religious accommodation policy demonstrates a lack of

acknowledgement of something that is a key part of many of their employee's identities and lays down a foundation for social misunderstanding and stress among those that make up this religiously diverse workforce which can result in lower levels of cooperation and higher levels of conflict (Chatman & Flynn, 2001). It also places lower level managers in the unenviable position of having to interpret the tenets of Title VII on their own and negotiate the social quandaries that arise from religious based misunderstandings (King & Holmes, 2014).

In consideration for developing clear HR policies, organizations need to take a clear ethical framework to design workplace policies. As I mentioned in the previous section, Beane and Viswesvaran (2019) outlined four possible philosophical frameworks (in lieu of a specific legal framework) based loosely on Hunter and Schmidt's (1977) three ethical philosophies for employing personnel selection tests (unqualified individualism, qualified individualism, and quota systems). In line with Hunter and Schmidt's (1977) philosophy, organizations could adopt one of four general philosophies: unqualified expression, qualified expression, proportional expressions, null/zero expressions.

In an *unqualified expression* framework, organizations would allow free expressions of religious displays. Organizations employing this framework would entertain zero complaints arising from a coworker's religious expression – whether from emotional distress, or from physical/material harm. Such a position is least likely to be employed, but it must nonetheless be spelled out to more clearly define its counterparts.

Organizations and HR managers who employ a *qualified expression* philosophy would determine which religious expressions are acceptable in work settings and then

communicate this list to their employees. An expression's acceptability would depend, in

part, on items such as the expressor's power and position (i.e., senior manager vs. a junior

employee), or the type of organization (an American Company, a multinational

corporation from Europe or Asia recruiting for a US location or for a position abroad).

Individual differences such as openness to experience and personal views on religion (cf.

King & Williamson, 2010) are also likely to influence perceived fairness. The most

obvious shortcoming of a qualified expression philosophy is that it would be change

often over time with HR managers stuck in constant negotiation of what is acceptable

among the different stakeholders.

Proportional expressions would employ a "fairness" framework that balances

expressions of different faiths. For example, if you play Christian music in the cafeteria

one day, other religious music will be played on other days. While such an approach has

the advantage of baked in multiculturalism there is an issue of feasibility in making sure

to include music or displays from over 4000 religions and spiritual traditions worldwide

into a rotation.

Finally, in a *null/zero expressions* framework, organizations can adopt a stand

where all religious expressions are barred in the workplace. The trouble with this final

framework will be clearly delineating between religious accommodations required by the

EEOC (i.e., time off for a religious holy day) and social expressions that are not.

Continuing on social expression, practitioners of this position would also need to

differentiate between religious expression and everyday social expression (i.e., inviting a

coworker to see a movie vs. to inviting a coworker to attend a prayer meeting).

Other researchers have supported the idea that how organizations handle diversity is important to potential applicants. Olsen and Martins (2016) explored how people view an organization in terms of how it maintains employee diversity. Specifically, they examined organization attractiveness when considering how that organization socializes employees from different racial and ethnic backgrounds (i.e., acculturation). The authors of reference two types of acculturation strategy. The first is an assimilation strategy where employees of all races/ethnicities must adapt to the organization's culture. The second is an integration strategy where an organization allows its employees to maintain their identity while still being a part of the organization's culture.

Olsen and Martins (2016) also explored the perceived value that organization places on maintaining a diverse workforce. With terminal value the organization sees diversity as an end in and of itself, leaving the motivation for an organization's diversity policy ambiguous and thus open to multiple interpretations – not all of which may be positive. Instrumental value of maintaining diversity reflects a notion that having a diverse workforce serves a logical business purpose that is meaningful to the organization is a specific way. Olsen and Martins (2016) felt that perceived value an organization places on diversity further enhances perceptions of the organization and its culture. These authors also explored organization diversity policy in terms of how applicants are likely to view why an organization hires employees. For organizations who emphasize the instrumental value of diversity, applicants may be more likely to see that organization's hiring practices as being merit based (i.e., achieving a specific business goal) as opposed to filling a demographic quota (Olsen & Martins, 2016).

In their study, Olsen and Martin (2016) crafted a series of individual statements for a fake organization's recruitment announcement. Each statement either reflected a specific acculturation strategy (assimilation vs. integration) or type of value placed diversity by the organization (terminal vs. instrumental). All participants viewed four control statements in addition to 27 random combinations of acculturation and diversity value statements for a total of 31 presentations. For each presentation participants rated the organization in terms of attractiveness and attributions as to why the organization arrives at its hiring decisions (i.e., importance placed on ability/skill or work aptitude). Participant ratings of organization attractiveness were higher for organizations that conveyed instrumental value placed on diversity compared to terminal value regardless of participant race or gender. Merit based attributions of organization hiring practices were also more favorable when instrumental value was demonstrated. More positive merit-based attributions in turn yielded higher organization attractiveness.

Organizations that conveyed instrumental information received higher attractiveness ratings when they emphasized merit-based attributions. Regardless of gender, both minority and white participants from communities with a smaller white population rated organizations more favorably when viewing a recruitment statement that reflects an integration strategy. In fact, for individuals from a community with a smaller white population this relationship was stronger for white participants compared to minority participants. Taken as a whole, these results show that people do consider an organization's views on diversity when considering it as a place to work. The importance of an organization's diversity policy in their consideration cuts across age, gender, and race.

Dissertation Overview

We are a people that feel many ways about many things. The question becomes what happens when our differences are exposed to a strong situation (Cooper & Withey, 2009; Mischel, 1977), that is when characteristics of the situation override our individual differences? For example, we all need to earn money to survive. So, do our personal preferences affect our perceptions and decisions when something like gaining employment is on the line? Slaughter and Greguras (2009) found that despite strong situation our individual differences do play a role in our decisions to pursue employment which is the underpinning idea behind my dissertation. I want to explore how people react to an organization when its representatives display their religion compared to organizations where representatives do not. I also want to examine whether those reactions vary with displays from multiple religions. With all things being equal, will the presence of religious display by an organization representative affect an applicant's desire to pursue employment with that organization?

The primary goal of my three studies is to quantify workplace religious expression and peoples' reaction to it. There has been much in the way of anecdotal evidence that shows there are a wide range of responses when organizational leaders demonstrate their religious beliefs. On a personal level, people feel strongly about being able to express their religious identity, but they also feel strongly about how others express their religious identity. When coupled with the fact that people also have a greater desire to bring their religious identity to the workplace (where they spend so much of their waking life) the potential for conflict is clear. Very little research has been

done to quantify this in a meaningful way. Given the increasing number of religion-related cases with the EEOC this is an area greatly in need of research.

However, a problem arises when attempting to quantify workplace religious expression in a way that can be studied and analyzed. The crux of the research I am proposing is centered around the way people react when an organization leader demonstrates their religious identity. In such cases, people have reacted strongly not only toward the CEO but also the organization (Huffington Post, 2012; Jeltsen, 2012; Salkowitz, 2016; Time.com, 2014).

Neubert and Wood (2019) explored that very premise in a study where they asked participants across two samples to put themselves in the role of a job seeker who has applied for a job with a fictional organization called RXP Enterprises. The organization was described as a well-established firm in the customer service industry. Participants indicated their likelihood of pursuing a job with the organization by answering a combination of three survey questions taken from Fisher et al.'s (1979) job offer acceptance questionnaire and Highhouse et al.'s (2003) Organizational Attractiveness questionnaire.

In sample one, 191 participants read through a series of short profiles of the fictional organization. With each profile, participants indicated their decision to pursue employment based on three survey items mentioned above. Each profile had three components. First, there was a statement from the founder of the organization detailing why they started this company. Thier statement was either religious or secular in nature. The second item was company literature which was also religious or secular. Last, compensation associated with the job was described as below average, average, or above

average. Participants viewed a total of 12 profiles (based on all combinations of these three variables) to consider for job pursuit.

In sample two, 120 participants also asked to base their job pursuit intentions on a series of profiles on the organization. Participants saw three statements from the founder - the third being devoid of any motivating values for starting their organization. Similarly, participants also saw a third piece of company literature which was devoid of any values. However, these job profiles contained no information about compensation. Therefore, in this second sample, participants were given a total of 9 company profiles to consider for job pursuit.

In both samples, participants were less likely to pursue a job with the organization when its leader expressed religious motivations or when the organization had religious literature. However, responses varied by participants' own religious orientation. Participants with high religious orientation had more positive responses to religious statements and materials than did participants with low religious orientation. These results match those of my own research where participants, in general, rated an organization less positively when faced with religious displays from their interviewer (Beane et al., 2017a; 2017b).

We know from research, individuals associate an organization with its leaders (de Vries & Miller, 1986; O'Reilly, Caldwell, Chapmen, & Doerr, 2014). I want to replicate that effect in a lab study where I can measure people's reactions to an organization where its leadership expresses religion. I want to create the experience of meeting an actual organization leader in a real-world setting. In everyday life the chances of meeting an organization's CEO are not particularly high. Therefore, any scenario that involves such a

meeting would either seem unrealistic or would elicit reactions too far removed from my

area of interest. Moreover, people's reactions to a CEO might be useful for marketing but

may not be necessarily salient to HR policy making. My research is meant to contribute

both to the body of scientific knowledge but also help HR managers in crafting policy

that pertains to workplace religious expression, an area where policy is sorely lacking

(Borstoff & Arlington, 2010; Ghumman, et al., 2013).

Overall Study Design

In all three studies, I will be manipulating interviewer's religion. Christian

displays were chosen for their recognizability in a US population which is over 70%

Christian (PEW Internet Research, 2015). However, in such a population, Christian

displays may be seen as normal and therefore not elicit strong reactions. This has borne

out in previous research. Ghumman and Jackson (2008) conducted a study where 428

participants examined an applicant's picture and resume, as well as a description of the

job for which they were applying. Participants then rated that applicant in terms of their

employability for that job. In this experiment researchers manipulated gender of

applicant, position being applied for, and religious identifier worn by the applicant in

their picture. Type of religious identifier included Christian (wearing a cross), Muslim

(Muslim headscarf), Jewish (Star of David), and non-religious (no identifier). The

applicant was being rated for their employability for one of four gender neutral

occupations: community organization manager, mail superintendent, technical writer, and

associate editor. Consistent across all conditions, applicant resumes were crafted to

present a candidate with average qualities for the occupation for which they were being

considered. After viewing the job description and the applicant's picture and resume,

participants rated the applicant on employability for the job as well as the job position itself in terms of prestige, importance, social contribution, educational requirement, and opportunity for advancement. Ratings of job position were an indication of job status, with higher rankings indicating a higher status job.

Employability ratings did not significantly differ for applicants who wore a Christian identifier versus no religious identifier. While applicants who wore Jewish and Muslim identifiers received higher employability ratings than applicants who wore Christian identifiers. For applicants who wore Muslim identifiers employability ratings were lowest when they were being considered for high status jobs and the highest when being considered for low status jobs.

It is important to note that participants were 68% Christian/Catholic. Heuristically thinking, it would be logical to conclude that a predominately Christian sample would give Christian applicants the highest employability ratings. However, what was seen here mirrors what we have seen via real world events. The United States is over 70% Christian (PEW Research Center, 2015) and yet we continually see variation in that population's reaction to events stemming from Christian displays in a workplace context which provides further credence to the idea that there is indeed within-faith variation to how people view the expression of their religion. Thus, for my dissertation it was necessary to include religious displays from a non-Christian religion.

The five biggest religions in the world are Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Shintoism (PEW Research Center, 2015). Though Islam is the second biggest religion in the world, Islamic displays and symbols may elicit highly negative reactions given the current political climate. While at some point, those reactions do need

to be studied, it falls outside the scope of what I want to examine here. Shintoism and Buddhism, while known, do not have a high enough profile in American culture and may not elicit a reaction from participants.

Hinduism, on the other hand, does have recognizability in American culture without political confounds. American culture has adapted various aspects of the Hindu faith such as reincarnation into its collective cognitive architecture (Biernacki, 2010). Further, the practice of Yoga, which is firmly rooted in the Hindu faith has also become culturally acceptable. Given this, I decided that Hindu displays would provide a reasonable and measurable counterbalance to Christian displays in these studies. As Hinduism is predominately practiced by individuals from India it became necessary for sake of plausibility to also alter interviewer race to include an interviewer of Indian origin. Therefore, the interviewer will either be an Indian or white male who displays either Christian, Hindu, or no religious expressions in his office[1].

Thus, the basis for all three studies is a 2 (White male vs. Indian male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) design with a third manipulation specific to each study. Study 1 will be a 2X3X2 design which will include type of organization (secular vs. religious leaning). Study 2 will be a 2X3X3 design which will include interviewer's position with the organization (HR manager vs. Department manager vs. Store manager). Study 3 will be a 2X3X2 design include which will include amount of coworker interaction expected on the job (high vs. very low coworker interaction).

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[1] While interviewer gender may also play a role in organization attractiveness ratings, to keep the design of my studies simple I opted to keep the manipulation to only interviewer religion and race.

Using this 2 (White male vs. Indian Male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) design in prior research I found post interview organization attractiveness ratings were lowest when the interviewer was an Indian male who exhibited Christian religious displays during the interview. In my studies, I expect to find a similar interaction of interviewer race and religion.

H1a: In all three studies, I expect an interaction of race and type of religious display.

H1b: Specifically, in line with my prior research, I expect post interview organization attractiveness ratings will be lowest for an Indian male interviewer who exhibits Christian displays.

Study 1

In Study 1 I will examine whether the relationship between organizational attractiveness ratings and the presence of religious display during an interview varies with whether the organization itself has a religious orientation. In study I, I will manipulate the type of organization. Participants will either view an interview for a job with a secular organization or one with an organization that has religious leanings. To be clear, this organization will not be itself a religious entity such as a church or temple. Rather it will be a for profit organization in the vein of Hobby Lobby or Chick-Fil-A whose leaders operate based on their religious principles. Therefore, this will be a 2 (white male vs. Indian male) X 3 (Secular vs. Christian vs. Hindu) X 2 (secular vs. religious organization) design.

Research supports that applicants prefer organizations whose values match their own (Holland, 1985). People feel strongly about their religious identity (Alidadi, 2010; Ball & Haque, 2003; Atkinson, 2014) and how others express their religious identity.

They also feel strongly about how organizations deal with cultural and religious differences among their employees (King & Williamson, 2010). In terms of attraction to organizations people tend to find organizations more attractive when they share that organization's values (Holland, 1985; King & Williamson, 2010; Schmidt, Chapman & Jones, 2014; Super, 1990). Other researchers have found applicants also look at an organization's "personality" when deciding on whether that organization is a place they want to work.

Slaughter and Greguras (2009) explored whether individual personality traits predicted ratings of higher organization attractiveness and intentions to pursue a job by their perceptions of that organization's personality characteristics. Data was collected at three time points (each of which were two weeks apart). At time one, participants answered items that measure the Big Five personality traits (i.e., Openness, Conscientiousness, Extraversion, Agreeableness, and Neuroticism). At time two, participants were randomly assigned to rate one of 23 Fortune 100 organizations on 33 personality traits and favorability of available job opportunities and perceptions of job attributes compared to other organizations. At time three, they rated the same organization on attractiveness using Highhouse, Lievens and Sinar's (2003) organization attractiveness measure. They also rated the likelihood of accepting a job with the organization.

These researchers found that, in general, perceptions of organization personality predicted ratings of organization attractiveness incrementally over job opportunities and job attributes. Increases in individual levels of conscientiousness predicted higher levels of organization attractiveness and intentions to pursue a job when perceptions of the

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organization being a "boy scout" were high. Increases in individual levels of conscientiousness predicted higher levels of organization attractiveness and intentions to pursue a job when perception of the organization as being innovative were also high. Increases in individual levels of conscientiousness, extraversion, and, to some extent, agreeableness predicted higher levels of organization attractiveness when perception of the organization as being thrifty were also high.

Overall, this research demonstrates that people react differently to organizations when they perceive that organization has qualities and values that match their own. The links between conscientiousness and perceptions of an organization as a "boy scout", for example, makes sense just from a heuristic standpoint as the idea of someone as a boy scout is generally someone who is very conscientious. It therefore makes sense that if someone is high in conscientiousness that they would value an organization that is also high in conscientiousness. This is similar to King and Williamson's (2010) findings mentioned earlier where people were more satisfied with their job when they perceived the organization's view on workplace religious display matched their own views on workplace religious display.

There are differences in the extent to which people value having and expressing their religious identity as there are also many religions that people identify with. Moreover, there is, within each religion, within-faith variation among its practitioners as to how strongly they identify with their religion and to what extent they practice their religion. Consequently, there should also be within-faith variation in the extent to which people want to display their religious identity to others as well as the extent to which they want to be exposed to other people's religion - whether at work or in their personal life.

Study 1, more than any of the others, bears the most similarity to real world events where religious leaning organizations also have religious leaning leadership. In those instances, there have been numerous negative reactions (de Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Jeltsen, 2012; Markoe, 2013). In an employment interview context, job applicants are likely to have engaged in some anticipatory socialization and gathered information about the prospective organization. If it was a religious leaning organization, they would not be bothered by religious displays in the interview. However, if it was a secular organization, religious displays by the interviewer are likely to evoke a stronger reaction. Therefore, I hypothesize:

H2: There will be a significant 3-way interaction of interviewer race, interviewer religion, and organization's religious leaning such that the two-way interaction between interviewer race and religion will be stronger for a secular organization.

Study 2

In study two I will examine whether applicant ratings of organizational attractiveness vary by both the presence of religious display and the interviewer's position with the organization. Therefore, this will be a 2 (white male vs. Indian male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 3 (HR manager vs. Department manager vs. Store manager) design. Very little research has explored the impact of interviewer position on organization attraction. Yet we have seen evidence demonstrating individuals judge an organization by the actions of its leaders (de Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Jeltsen, 2012; Markoe, 2013). In these instances, public reaction was directed at both the CEO and their organizations. This supports previous findings that an organization's personality and that of the organizational leader are interdependent (de Vries & Miller,

1986; O'Reilly et al., 2014). The same might be said for individuals who serve as direct representatives of an organization – for example a recruiter or interviewer.

Interviewer behavior has been found to influence an applicant's perceptions of an organization at earlier stages of recruitment (Chapman, Uggerslev, Carroll, Piasentin & Jones, 2005; Carless & Imber, 2007; Rynes, Bretz & Gerhart, 1991). For applicants, interviewer characteristics such as friendliness and personableness indirectly convey information about what they can expect from the organization itself (Liden & Parsons, 1986). Therefore, because displays in an interviewer's workspace serve to convey a sense of who that interviewer is (Byron & Lawrence, 2015) and people tend to focus more on the nonverbal cues of their communication partner (Fitcher et al., 2001) an applicant could infer organizational environment from such displays. Since an applicant and interviewer are not experienced communication partners, without context, there is little information conveyed beyond what the applicant gleans from those displays (Carson & Zmud, 1999).

Harris and Fink (1987) examined applicant reactions to an organization in terms of both organizational and recruiter characteristics. Participants in were 135 undergraduate students who interviewed with recruiters from various organizations. Interviews took place on campus through the university job placement office. Researchers administered a survey to participants before and after their interview. At time 1, participants rated job attributes (job itself, work/company environment, compensation/job security, and fringe benefits), their likelihood of accepting a job with the organization, as well as regard for the job and company. At time 2 participants answered the same items from time 1 along with items concerning recruiter

characteristics (personableness, competence, informativeness, and aggressiveness), and perceived job alternatives.

Across both time points, researchers found recruiter personableness and informativeness predicted applicant perceptions of the job and work environment. Recruiter competence, and informativeness were related to applicant regard for the company while recruiter personableness was related to applicant regard for the job. Recruiter personableness also predicted an applicant's likelihood of joining the organization. This last finding held true even when the researchers accounted for attributed of the job itself.

Of particular salience to my research is the finding concerning recruiter job function. The researchers defined job function as either personnel recruiter – someone whose sole job was recruiting - versus someone who was actually a manger with the organization. These researchers did not find significant effects of recruiter position in their study. However, the question of whether interviewer/recruiter position affects an applicant's organization perceptions is still a valid one. It is a point that has been validated by other research.

Rynes, Bretz Jr., and Gerhart (1990) conducted a longitudinal study examining organization fit perceptions from undergraduate and graduate students who were actively searching for a job. Participants were nominated by job placement directors from their respective colleges based on criteria of interpersonal skills, articulateness, self-confidence and goal orientation. This was a longitudinal study where participants were interviewed at the beginning of the semester and then again at the end of the semester.

In the first wave of interviews, interactions with organization recruitment personnel and the recruitment process itself was associated with both positive and negative organization fit perceptions. Interactions with organization recruitment personnel and the recruitment process itself were also associated with both positive and negative changes in organization fit perception. In the second wave of interviews, researchers found that many participants ended up with an organization that was not among their favorites in the initial interview. Among the top reasons for accepting jobs with less favored organizations included more job information, treatment by the recruiter, recruitment personnel status within the organization, the extent to which applicants felt they were treated well during recruitment, organization schedule flexibility for site visits, and professionalism of site visit. Among their strongest findings were negative perceptions of organization fit due to recruiter actions.

Additionally, recruiter behavior seemed to be a stronger influence of organization perceptions when participants interpreted those actions as a signal of work life with the organization. Recruiter behavior had less influence when participants did not perceive recruiter behavior as an indication of work life with the organization. Further, participants paid less attention to recruiter behavior when that recruiter was an HR associate as opposed to someone who actually worked for the organization.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that an applicant may perceive an interviewer's religious display differently based on two dimensions. The first is the interviewer's perceived power which can convey how directly that interviewer represents the organization. For example, a department manager may not have as much power as an HR representative. Conversely both of those positions may not be seen as having as much

power as a site or store manager. The second dimension is social contact or how closely the applicant may be working with the interviewer in the future. In keeping with the previous example, a department manager is likely someone an employee will interact with a lot more than they will with a site or store manager. An HR representative is someone a potential employee will have very little contact with past the interview process. In this respect, a department manager may be seen as having low power but high social contact whereas a site manager will have high power but low social contact. An HR representative would be seen as high power but low on social contact.

In Study 2, I will be manipulating interviewer level as HR associate – defined as someone whom the applicant will not interact with again outside of the interview process, a department supervisor – defined as someone with whom the applicant will be working with directly every day, and a store manager – defined as someone who oversees the site where the applicant will be working but not someone the applicant will be working directly alongside (Harris & Fink, 1987; Heneman, Schwab, Fossum, & Dyer, 1986). Other research has established that people feel more strongly about a recruiter's actions when that recruiter is more likely to be someone they will work with (Rynes et al., 1990). Previous research has shown that applicant reaction to recruiter behavior is weaker when the recruiter is an HR associate from outside the work site (Rynes et al., 1990). In a retail setting a store manager has more legitimate power than an HR associate or a department manager, but this is not someone with whom an employee will work alongside each day.

There is a possibility that the specific titles of HR manager, Department manager, and Store manager, might not hold meaning to all participants in Study 2. However, the descriptions given with these titles as created by previous researchers (Harris & Fink,

1987; Heneman et al., 1986; Rynes et al., 1990) such as a Department manager being a leader whom the applicant will be working directly with every day should be relevant and easy to understand, which has been verified in previous research. Therefore, I hypothesize:

H3: There will be a significant three-way interaction of interviewer race, religion, and position such that the two-way interaction of interviewer race and religion will be strongest for department manager (i.e., a leader whom the applicant will be working directly with every day), followed by site/store manager (i.e., a leader who oversees the site where the applicant will be working but not someone the applicant will be working directly alongside), followed by HR manager (i.e., a leader whom the applicant will not see after the interview process).

Study 3

In study three I will examine whether applicant rating of organizational attractiveness varies with the presence of religious display and the level of coworker socialization required for the job. In Study 3, I will manipulate the level of coworker interaction associated with the position. Given the number of manipulations in these studies I want to keep those manipulations simple and something participants can easily process. Therefore, participants will either be viewing an interview for a job with high coworker interaction or low coworker interaction, making this a 2 (Indian vs. White male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2 (high vs. low coworker interaction) design.

It has been said in the field of Industrial/Organizational Psychology that "the people make the place" (Schneider, 1987, p. 437). Schneider (1987) proposed that

organizations are comprised of the people that populate it and by the attributes those people share. Schneider (1987) said that it is through recruitment that organizations can either attract more like-minded employees or a more diverse workforce. We know from Slaughter and Greguras (2009) that people tend to rate organizations more highly when they perceive that they share personality traits with that organization.

Research on self-identity theory has demonstrated that we tend to join groups that enhance our self-identity (Ashforth & Mael, 1989; Dutton, Dukerich, & Harquail, 1994). We seek out groups and organizations with traits that match our own. Congruently, similarity-attraction hypothesis states that we are attracted those who are similar to ourselves (Byrne, 1971; 1997). This line of thinking has been applied to how we look at organizations as a place to work in terms of our perceived fit with that organization (Chapman et al., 2005). Cable and Turban (2001) posited three determinates of an applicant's perceived fit with - and attraction to - an organization. These are employer information (i.e., characteristics of the organization), job information (characteristics of the job), and people information (type of people that make up the organization – one's potential coworkers).

Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson (2005) further refined the idea of people information into person-to-person fit. Devendorf and Highhouse (2008) called this applicant-employee fit. Regardless of the naming convention, the tenets of this concept are that applicants will be more attracted to organizations where they perceive greater similarity with their potential coworkers. Devendorf and Highhouse (2008) found college aged females were more attracted to organizations where there was more similarity

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between how they believe others saw them and how they saw the employees at that organization.

Van Hoye and Turban (2015) furthered this idea by incorporating applicant and employee personality traits such as conscientiousness, agreeableness, and extraversion. For this experiment researchers created employee testimonials for a fictional organization. These testimonials were written to reflect an employee who was either high or low in conscientious, agreeableness, or extraversion. Success of these manipulations were verified in a pilot study resulting in 6 possible conditions with an employee testimonial that reflected an employee who was high or low in either conscientiousness, agreeableness or extraversion.

In their first sample, participants were told to imagine there was an opening for a job with this fictional organization and given an employee testimonial to read. This testimonial fell into one of the aforementioned six conditions. Participants then rated their attraction to the organization and answered some personality items measuring their own conscientiousness, agreeableness, and extraversion.

Results for the first sample found no effect for extraversion on organization attractiveness. For participants who were high in conscientiousness, organization attractiveness was highest when the employee was also high in conscientiousness and lowest when the employee was low in conscientiousness. However, there was no relationship between employee conscientiousness and organization attractiveness when the applicant themselves were low in conscientiousness. These same results were found for agreeableness.

In a second sample, participants were asked to rate their attraction to the organization and their perceived fit with the organization. Results were consistent with the first sample in terms of organization attraction as well as perceived fit with the organization. In sum, this research demonstrates that when applicants are more attracted to an organization when they perceive their potential coworkers will be more like them. It is conceivable that by choosing an organization whose personality is similar to ours (Slaughter & Greguras, 2009) and whose employee's personalities are similar to ours (Cable & Turban, 2015) we anticipate that organizations norms will also be similar to our own.

The workplace is a social network like any other and every social network has its own set of norms (Coleman, 1988; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Inkpen & Tsang, 2005; Putnam, 2000). Typically, these norms are dictated by the surrounding culture in which a network resides (Coleman, 1988, Putnam, 2000). In an organizational culture where differences rather than similarities are emphasized there are more occurrences of in-group-outgroup antagonism (Putnam, 2000) and thus less cooperation among coworkers (Chatman et al., 1998; Putnam, 2000).

As stated earlier, many US organizations honor Judeo-Christian traditions because the US has largely been made up of Christians (PEW Internet Research, 2015). If this same organization lacks an explicit policy concerning religious expression (as most do) it could lead non-Christian employees to believe that there is a bias in favor of those who follow the Christian faith and by extension a bias against those who have a different religious orientation (Borstoff & Arlington, 2011). This can be compounded further if an employee perceives that the organization has a terminal view on diversity – that the

achievement of a diverse workforce is the end in and of itself – or worse, no view on diversity (Olsen & Martins, 2016). If an applicant perceives that the organization favors a specific religion, there is a greater chance of the applicant perceiving being less of a fit with their future coworkers and will likely react more negatively to the organization. However, an applicant who reacts negatively to such a display may be more inclined to accept a job with the organization if the social component of the job is minimal. The line of thought is less social interaction means less opportunity for conflict. Therefore, I hypothesize:

H4: There will be a significant three-way interaction of interviewer religion, interviewer race, and amount of coworker interaction (i.e., high vs. low). Specifically, the interaction effect of interviewer race and religion on organization attractiveness will vary by the amount of coworker interaction (i.e., high vs. low).

Up to this point I have laid out the case for why studying workplace religious expression is not only necessary but vital. In lieu of having legal guidelines concerning this topic, organizations need a philosophical framework on which to operate. This research is one of the first necessary steps in creating such a framework. In order to properly govern a problem, one must first diagram and understand it. Over the course of my three dissertation studies I will examine effects of the two-way interaction of an interviewer's race and religion on applicant attraction to an organization. In each study I will examine the strength of that two-way interaction when paired with the type of organization (i.e., secular vs. religious leaning) in study 1, the position of the interviewer with the organization (HR Manager vs. Department Manager vs. Store Manager) in study 2, and the amount of social interaction associated with the job (low vs. high social

interaction) in study 3. In the next chapter I will detail the methods, procedures, samples, and measures I used in my dissertation research.

CHAPTER III: METHOD

Overview of Dissertation Studies

My dissertation is a study in three parts. In all three studies I examine the interaction effect of interviewer's race (Indian vs. white) and religion (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) on organization attractiveness ratings taken after watching this interviewer conduct a job interview. However, in each study I examine this interaction at different levels of a unique third factor.

In Study 1, I explore the interaction of interviewer religion and race by the type of organization (i.e., religious leaning similar to Chik-Fil-A or Hobby Lobby or one with no religious leaning). Study 1is therefore a 2(Indian vs. white) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2(Religious Leaning vs. Secular) design. In Study 2, I examine the interaction of interviewer religion and race by type of interviewer. Participants in study 2 will see an interviewer who is either a department manager (with lower power but greater interaction on the job), a store manager (with higher power but low interaction on the job), or an HR manager (with some power but no interaction on the job). Study 2 is a 2 (Indian vs. white) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 3 (HR manager vs. Department manager vs. Store manager) design. In study 3, I examine the interaction of interviewer race and religion by amount coworker interaction associated with the job (high vs. low). Study 3 is therefore a 2(Indian vs. white) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2(high vs. low coworker interaction) design.

The next sections of Chapter III will explain how I conducted my three studies. First, I detail materials I used and how I created them. I describe materials used across all three studies and those materials specific to each individual study. Then I describe the

procedures used across all three studies followed by study specific procedures. Next, I describe measures I used across all three studies and those specific to each study. Finally, I describe analyses I will use to examine the results of these studies. I first describe analyses used across my studies followed by study specific analyses.

Materials

I created a series of 16 videos to portray an interview with a representative from a fictitious retail organization called HBLM, a retail chain not unlike Best Buy or HH Greg that sells technological products. Interview videos for these three studies consisted of recorded dialogue playing over pictures of the interviewer in his office. Dialogue was recorded and saved as .wma sound files using Microsoft 7 Home Premium sound recorder software. Length of these audio files ranged from 6 to 33 seconds. I then converted these sound files into .mp3 file format using Media.io online audio converter software. Two male FIU graduate students filled the role of the interviewer by posing for pictures in an office of the psychology department at FIU wearing formal business attire.

Figure 1. Photo of Interviewer with Christian, Hindu and no religious displays.

One student was a male from India while the other was a white American male.

For these pictures, the office was decorated in one of three ways: with two Christian

displays (a 12-inch statue of Jesus Christ and a large Christian themed poster), two Hindu

displays (a 12-inch statue of Ganesh and a large Hindu themed poster), or no decoration.

These images were manipulated with Microsoft Office Power Point 2013 to also include

the interviewer to be wearing a necklace with either a Cross or Ganesh symbol on it. I

combined the sound files and images into 16 short video segments using Windows Live

Movie Maker software and then uploaded these individual videos to a private YouTube

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account. These 16 segments range from 6 to 33 seconds in length and comprise the whole of an interview scenario which is approximately 4.5 minutes in length. I then copied the embed URL for each video into Qualtrics to create that portion of the survey.

The interview scenario is the same order of events for all conditions. The interviewer welcomes the applicant and informs them that this a first stage recruitment interview where specific positions will not be discussed. This statement is in line with the career page shown in the beginning of the survey which made no reference to specific job positions. The interviewer then introduces himself and gives a brief background of both himself and the organization. The interviewer discusses what the organization expects from its employees and then asks six structured interview questions using past experience and/or situational judgment. Applicants did not have to answer these questions. They were informed at the beginning of the study that the exercise was to serve as a preview of an actual interview experience. Last, the interviewer asks the applicant if they have any questions and then thanks the applicant for their time.

Dialogue in the interview is consistent across all conditions except in three places. When the interviewer discusses his background, he mentions what college he graduated from; either Cannon Christian University (Christian Condition), Vignana Jyothi Institute of Management (Hindu condition), or Cannon State University (Secular Condition). Cannon Christian University and Cannon State University are fictitious institutions created for my studies while Vignana Jyothi Institute of Management is a real university in India.

The last structured interview question asks the applicant to recall a time they had to deal with a difficult person and what steps they took to overcome that difficulty. I

manipulated the last question to reflect the interviewer as Christian ("My relationship

with the Lord gives me the strength to deal with all people – even the difficult ones – in a

positive manner…"), Hindu ("Ganesh, the remover of obstacles gives me the strength to

deal with all people – even the difficult ones – in a positive manner…"), or non-religious

("It is very important to build good relationships at work, even with difficult people...").

In the last video, the interviewer says goodbye to the applicant. I also manipulated the

segment to reflect the interviewer as Christian ("God bless you and have a good day."),

Hindu ("Namaste, and have good day."), or secular ("Thank you, and have a good day.").

These three pieces of dialogue combined with the three religious displays in

accompanying the images (statue, poster and necklace) provide participants six

opportunities to observe the interviewer's religion.

Also, created for these studies was an "About Us" page from HBLM's career

website. Prior research has shown an organization's career webpage is an important part

of the job search process that can impact an applicant's view of the organization itself

(Cober, Brown, Keeping, & Levy, 2004) as well as their fit with that organization

(Dineen, Ash, & Noe, 2002). The web page was created using Microsoft Office Power

Point 2013 using information from 20 retail organization websites. The web page

contains a brief description of HBLM, a section labelled "We are HBLM!", a mission

statement, a list of company commitments, and statements concerning diversity and then

specifically religious diversity.

Figure 2. Career Webpage Viewed by Participants.

The design and wording of the web page were refined over the course of six pilot studies. First four graduate students examined the career pages of 20 Fortune 500 organizations, including retail, supply chain, entertainment, and hospitality organizations. Given the website would be tested with a sample of college age individuals, the fake organization was designated as a retail organization to maintain mundane realism. I created four versions of a career web page for this fake organization. The appearance was the same for all four web pages. However, each page contained variations on statements that described the organization as whole, its mission statement, and stance on diversity. Four psychology graduate students examined and rated these web pages for their appearance of authenticity.

Over two studies, 150 psychology and 120 business undergraduate students at a Southeastern university were randomly assigned to view only one of the four different versions of my career web page. Participants rated how warm, kind, generous, competent, efficient, and effective they thought the organization was on the basis of each section and statement on the web page. To answer these items, participants answered on a scale of 1 (low) to 6 (high). Additionally, participants rated the web page as a whole with a free response question "What did you think of this career web page?" These responses were used to refine the website's look and feel.

In the next study, 204 psychology students at a Southeastern university viewed one of four versions of the revised career webpage. They rated how warm, kind, generous, competent, efficient, and effective the organization appeared on the basis of each section and statement on the web page on a scale of 1 (low) to 6 (high). Once again, participants were given the option to rate the career web page with a free response

question "What did you think of this career web page?" The feedback I received

informed one final revision of the web page wherein statements that were rated the

highest in warmth, kindness, generosity, competence, efficiency, and effectiveness were

combined into one final iteration of the career web page. A final sample of 200

psychology students from a Southeastern university reviewed the website and rated it in

the same fashion as the previous three studies. The website used in my dissertation

research is the result of this final study.

Participants

Below is a comparative demographic table for my dissertation studies. Next, I

describe/summarize participants and procedures unique and/or specific to each study.

	Study 1		Study 2		Study 3	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
Gender						
Female	311	82.93%	414	80.86%	306	80.31%
Male	64	17.07%	98	19.14%	75	19.69%
Race/Ethnicity						
African American/Black	41	10.94%	55	10.74%	41	10.76%
Asian/Pacific Islander	6	1.60%	12	2.34%	7	1.84%
Caucasian/White	50	13.33%	59	11.52%	44	11.55%
Hispanic/Latino	266	70.93%	367	71.69%	276	72.44%
Native American	12	3.20%	19	3.71%	13	3.41%
Generation Group						
Millennial	156	41.60%	141	27.54%	150	39.37%
Generation Z	219	58.40%	371	72.46%	231	60.63%
Religion						
Agnostic	39	10.40%	48	9.38%	40	10.50%
Atheist	20	5.33%	40	7.81%	28	7.35%
Buddhism	4	1.07%	3	0.59%	9	2.36%
Catholic	105	28.00%	138	26.95%	121	31.76%
Christian	109	29.07%	152	29.69%	98	25.72%
Hindu	6	1.60%	4	0.78%	5	1.31%
Jewish	2	0.53%	8	1.56%	—	—
Muslim	4	1.07%	8	1.56%	3	0.79%
No Answer	35	9.33%	40	7.81%	37	9.72%
Other	1	0.27%	1	0.20%	2	0.52%
Spiritual/not Religious	49	13.07%	62	12.11%	34	8.92%
Yoruba	1	0.26%	8	1.56%	4	1.05%

Table 1. Comparative Demographics.

Participants in Study 1 were 311 female and 64 male undergraduate psychology students from Florida International University. The sample was 70.93 % Latino/Hispanic,13.33% Caucasian/White, 10.94% African American/Black, 3.20% Native American, and 1.60 % Asian/Pacific Islander. In addition, 15.73% of the sample identified themselves as Atheist/Agnostic, 57.07 % as Christian/Catholic, 4.53 % as non-

Christian, 13.07% as spiritual but not religious and 0.27 % as Other (an additional 9.33 % chose "I would rather not say" for this item).

Participants in Study 2 were 414 female and 98 male undergraduate psychology students from Florida International University. The sample was 71.69 % Latino/Hispanic,11.52% Caucasian/White, 10.74% African American/Black, 3.71% Native American, and 2.34% Asian/Pacific Islander. In addition, 17.19% of the sample identified themselves as Atheist/Agnostic, 56.64% as Christian/Catholic, 6.05% as non-Christian, 12.11% as spiritual but not religious, and 0.20% as "Other" (an additional 7.81 % chose "I would rather not say" for this item).

Participants in Study 3 were 306 female and 75 male undergraduate psychology students from Florida International University. The sample was 72.44 % Latino/Hispanic,11.55% Caucasian/White, 10.76% African American/Black, 3.41% Native American, and 1.84% Asian/Pacific Islander. In addition, 17.85% of the sample identified themselves as Atheist/Agnostic, 57.48% as Christian/Catholic, 5.51% as non-Christian, 8.92% as spiritual but not religious, and 0.52% as Other/Unsure (an additional 9.71 % chose "I would rather not say" for this item).

Overall Procedures

Participant Recruitment

Participants were recruited for each study using the SONA research participation system at Florida International University with a study listing titled "An Interview with HBLM [1,2, or 3]." Participants received extra course credit for taking part in the study. Those students who did not wish to participate in my study had alternative options for extra course credit available to them. Participation was only limited to persons 18 years

or older. Participation in study 2 was also limited to students who did not participated in study 1. Participation in study 3 was also limited to those students who did not participate in study 1 or 2. Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct were used in ensuring ethical treatment of all participants (American Psychological Association, 2010).

Survey Execution

The procedure was the same for all three studies. Upon consenting to take the study participants were directed to an online survey administered via the Qualtrics online survey website. First participants signed a digital informed consent form and read an overview of the study. Next, participants viewed an "About Us" section of a career web page for a fictional retail organization called HBLM. Participants were not able to move on to the next section for 1 minute. After viewing the career site, participants rated the organization's attractiveness and then answered survey items measuring individual differences and demographic items (e.g., age, sex, and race). Next participants viewed a series of videos of an interview with an HBLM representative. The videos were embedded into the Qualtrics survey with code that ensures each video plays automatically and that participants cannot move on to the next video until the current video has finished playing. The video segments stopped at places where it makes sense to stop or at a point where the applicant would speak to the interviewer. Participants could not move on to the next video segment until the current segment played to completion.

Once participants finished watching the interview, they again rated the organization's attractiveness and answered survey items from several individual difference and demographic items including participant religion. Participants also

answered individual items asking whether they were aware of each religious display as well as whether or not any of these displays influenced how they rated the organization. Additionally, participants answered several continuous items where they indicated the extent to which they could infer the interviewer's religion, religiosity levels and comfort expressing religion at work based on what they saw in the videos.

Study Specific Materials and Procedures

Study 1

Study 1 is a 2 (white male vs. Indian male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2 (Religious retail organization vs. Secular retail organization) design. There were 12 different interview scenarios depending on my manipulation of interviewer race, type of religious displays seen during interview, and religious leaning of the organization.

The organization website was altered for Study 1. Participants saw one of two websites- one which reflects a more religious organization and one which reflects a secular organization. The secular organization career website page has a company description and Mission statement that reflects a neutral company description and mission statement:

HBLM has been recognized as an industry leader and innovator as well as one of the best places to work! Our reputation as an employer and corporate citizen is second to none! At HBLM we provide a variety of technological products, programs, and services to our customers. Explore your career possibilities at HBLM today!
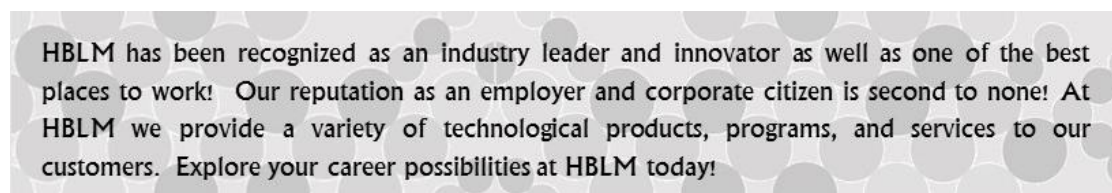
Figure 3. Company description.

Figure 4. Company Description and Mission Statement from Career Website.

The religious organization career website page has a company description and

Mission statement that reflects an organization run according to religious principles:

Figure 5. Company Description from Career Website for Religious Leaning Organization.

Figure 6. Company Description and Mission Statement from Career Website for Religious Leaning Organization.

The videos were also altered to reflect a secular vs. religious leaning organization. There

is also a change in the segment where the interviewer provides background information

on the organization. For the secular organization, the interviewer says the following:

"Let me tell you a little bit about our company. HBLM is a leading retail seller of technological products, programs, and services for big and small businesses as well and individual consumers. We are highly committed to meeting our customer's business and personal needs."

For the religious organization, the interviewer says the following:

"Let me tell you a little bit about our company. HBLM is a leading retail seller of technological products, programs, and services for big and small businesses as well and individual consumers. We are highly committed to meeting our customer's business and personal needs. In accordance with our CEO's spiritual beliefs we don't operate on Sundays. We believe that our employees should have that day as an opportunity to rest, spend time with family and friends or worship if they choose to do so."

The portion in this segment concerning spiritual beliefs is taken from a well-known

organization career site that known for its religious leanings. Once participants finished

watching the interview videos, they answered an item asking them to rate the religious

leaning of the organization.

Study 2

Study 2 is a 2 (white male vs. Indian male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No

Religion) X 3 (HR Manager vs. Department Manager vs. Store Manager) design. There

are 18 different interview scenarios based on my manipulation of interviewer race and

position, and type of religious displays seen during interview. The video and survey

materials are the same as previously outlined but with some alteration.

When the interviewer discusses his academic background the degree the interviewer earned is in line with his position with the organization. The HR manager earned a Master's in Human resources; the Department Manager earned a Master's in Business; the Store Manager earned a Master's in business management. It is at this point that the interviewer simply [and realistically] states his position ("I have been an HR manager with HBLM for five years."). The participant also sees interviewer position in the instructions prior to the interview ("This interview is being conducted by an HR Manager who is not someone you will not interact with again after the hiring process."). Once participants finished watching the interview, they had to answer an item asking the position of the interviewer with the organization. If participants answered this item incorrectly, they were given another reminder of the interviewer's position with the organization.

Study 3

Study 3 was a 2 (Indian male vs. White male) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 3 (high vs. a low coworker interaction) design. There were 12 different interview scenarios using my manipulation of interviewer race and position, and type of religious displays seen during interview. For Study 3, I manipulated key video segments in the interview scenario detailed at the beginning of the Method section. The survey was altered in one place for Study 3. Before watching the interview videos, participants were told that that the positions will either require high or low coworker interaction:

"While your interview will not cover a specific position – the positions for which HBLM is hiring will likely involve very little face-to-face contact/social interaction with coworkers."

"While your interview will not cover specific positions – the positions for which HBLM is hiring will likely involve a lot of face-to-face contact/social interaction with coworkers."

After viewing the interview videos participants answered an item that asks, "According to the description you read before the interview video how much face-to-face coworker contact/social interaction is likely to be involved in your position with HBLM should you be hired?" If the answer selected did not match the description provided before the interview videos, participants saw the description one more time. Participants also answered a survey item assessing the importance they place on social interaction with coworkers: "I prefer a job with a lot of social or face-to-face contact/social interaction with coworkers." Participants indicated the extent to which they agree with this item using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree).

Measures

Organizational Attractiveness

I used participant scores on Highhouse, Lievens, and Sina's (2003) Organizational Attractiveness Scale to measure ratings of organizational attractiveness. Higher scores on this measure indicate higher rated attractiveness of the organization. For this measure participants indicated the extent to which they agree with each item using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). One item on this scale is recoded. This measure is an overall measure organizational attractiveness but also has three subscales: General Attractiveness ("For me, this company would be a good place to work."), Intention to Pursue ("I would accept a job offer from this company."), and Prestige ("This

is a reputable company to work for."). Highhouse et al. (2003) found a Cronbach's α of .88 for scores on the overall scale. I used Organizational attractiveness twice in each study. In study 1 I found Cronbach's α of .944 and .964; in study 2, .915 and .929; in study 3, .914 and .937. These are for the overall scale.

Religiosity

I modified the 3-item version of Sherman et al.'s (2000) Duke Religious Index to measure perceived interviewer religiosity ("This interviewer experiences the presence of the Divine (i.e., God) in his life."). For this reworded measure participants indicated the extent to which they agree with each item using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Sherman et al. (2000) found a Cronbach's α of .84 for scores on this scale. Across all three studies I found Cronbach's α of 893, .910, and .910.

Comfort Expressing Religion at Work

I used a modified version of this 7-item scale developed by Kutcher et al. (2010) to measure perceived interviewer comfort expressing their religion at work ("This interviewer is comfortable having coworkers know whether or not he is religious."). For this reworded measure participants indicated the extent to which they agree with each item using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Kutcher et al., (2010) found a Cronbach's α of .83 for scores on this measure. Across all three studies I found Cronbach's α of 921, .911, and .929 for the reworded version of this measure.

Items made specifically for these Studies

I created four items such as "From viewing this interview scenario the interviewer's religious beliefs were apparent to me" to measure participant perception of interviewer's religion. For these items, participants indicated the extent to which they

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agree with each item using a scale of 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). Of critical importance in my studies is whether participants noticed religious displays during the job interview. Therefore, I created items to assess awareness of each specific religious display with items such as "Did you notice the statue of Jesus on the interviewer's desk?" or "Did you notice the statue of Ganesh (a Hindu deity) on the interviewer's desk?" Participants answered these items "yes" or no."

There was also concern as to whether participants would recognize Hindu religious displays at all. In all interview conditions, I included an item that directly asks participants if they recognized the displays in the Hindu interview condition as religious displays with "Did you recognize anything in the interviewer's office as representing a religion?" Participants answered this item "yes" or no." If participants answered yes to this item, they were then given an opportunity to list which religion they thought it belonged to. Additionally, I wanted to gauge participant familiarity with the Hindu religion with the following: "I am familiar with the Hindu religion." Participants indicated their familiarity with the Hindu religion using a scale of 1 (Not at all Familiar) to 5 (Very Familiar).

Analyses

Overview of Dissertation Studies

First, I will briefly describe my three studies. Study 1 was a 2(Indian vs. white) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2(Religious Leaning vs. Secular) design. Study 1 involved an organization who was religious leaning similar to Chik-Fil-A or not religious leaning. In Study 1, I examined the interaction of interviewer race and religion by type of organization (religious leaning or not). Study 2 was a 2 (Indian vs. White) X

3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 3 (HR manager vs. Department manager vs. Store manager) design. Participants in Study 2 saw an interviewer who was either a department manager (with lower power but greater interaction on the job), a store manager (with higher power but low interaction on the job), or an HR manager (with some power but no interaction on the job). In Study 3, I examined the interaction of interviewer race and religion by interviewer position (HR, Department, or Store Manager). Study 3 was a 2(Indian vs. White) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2(high vs. low coworker interaction) design. In Study 3, I examined the interaction of interviewer race and religion by amount coworker interaction associated with the job (high vs. low).

I will next discuss issues of power and sample size followed by an overview of the analyses I will use across all three studies as well as study specific analyses. Next, I will discuss my preliminary statistical analyses. These include experimental manipulation checks used in all three studies and study specific experimental manipulation checks. Also included in preliminary analyses is examination of organization attractiveness ratings. Participants rated the organization first, after viewing the organization web site and then again after watching a job interview with that organization. Before testing my hypotheses, I explored the relationship between OA ratings at these two time points. Finally, I will discuss results of analyses I used to test my hypotheses.

Statistical Power

To achieve appropriate statistical power in line with Cohen's (1988) formulas a sample size of 500 should prove sufficient for study 2, which has 18 conditions in terms of statistical power using an alpha of .05 and assuming a relatively weak population

correlation between our variables of interest. A sample size of 300 should prove adequate

for studies 1 and 3, which each have 12 conditions. All three of these studies are a

between-subjects design. I will use Between-Subjects Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) as

my primary means of analysis in each study. Post-interview organization attractiveness

will be the outcome variable in each study. For all three studies I will use a 2X3 ANOVA

to explore the interaction interviewer race (Indian vs. White) and religion (Christian vs.

Hindu vs. No Religion).

Data Analysis Plan

Each study will have three predictors. Therefore, I will conduct a Three-Way

ANOVA to test for a three-way interaction among my predictors. In study 1, I will

conduct a 2 (Indian vs. White) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs.no religious displays) X 2

(Religious Leaning vs. Secular) ANOVA to test for a three-way interaction among

interviewer race, type of religious display, and type of organization. In study 2, I will

conduct a 2 (Indian vs. White) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 3

(Department manager vs.HR Manager vs. Store Manager) ANOVA to test for a three-

way interaction among interviewer race, type of religious display, and interviewer

position. In study 3, I will conduct a 2 (Indian vs. White) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No

Religion) X 2 (High vs. Low Coworker Interaction) to test for a three-way interaction

among interviewer race, type of religious display, and amount of coworker interaction. I

will discuss results of these analyses in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV: RESULTS

In this section I will discuss my analysis results. First, I will provide preliminary analyses wherein I tested the veracity of my experimental manipulations. Next, I will discuss results of my hypothesis tests for each study. Finally, I will discuss supplementary analyses I conducted to further flesh out my data and explore my hypotheses.

Preliminary Analyses

Experimental Manipulations – Religious Display

Before conducting main analyses, I tested for experimental manipulation success. In all three studies, participants rated interviewer's religiosity and comfort expressing religion with modified versions of the Duke Religious Inventory (Sherman et al., 2000) and Comfort Expressing Religion (CER; Kutcher et al. 2010) scales. I compared responses to both measures by type of religious display (Christian, Hindu, or no religion) using a One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). Means and Standard Deviations, and ANOVA output are shown below.

			N	Mean	SD
Study 1	Interviewer's Religiosity	Christian	127	4.2	0.78
		Hindu	133	3.45	0.95
		No Religion	130	2.61	0.87
		Total	390	3.42	1.08
	Interviewer's Comfort Expressing Religion	Christian	127	4.06	0.71
		Hindu	133	3.6	0.81
		No Religion	130	2.9	0.71
		Total	390	3.52	0.88
Study 2	Interviewer's Religiosity	Christian	137	4.13	0.75
		Hindu	130	3.59	0.83
		No Religion	127	2.37	0.9
		Total	394	3.38	1.1
	Interviewer's Comfort Expressing Religion	Christian	137	4	0.69
		Hindu	130	3.65	0.71
		No Religion	127	2.8	0.7
		Total	394	3.5	0.86
Study 3	Interviewer's Religiosity	Christian	206	4.13	0.83
		Hindu	196	3.68	0.88
		No Religion	210	2.55	0.89
		Total	612	3.45	1.1
	Interviewer's Comfort Expressing Religion	Christian	206	4.14	0.72
		Hindu	196	3.76	0.74
		No Religion	210	2.86	0.79
		Total	612	3.58	0.92

Table 2. Means and Standard Deviations for Participant Ratings of Interviewer's Religiosity and Comfort Expressing Religion.

Study	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Study 1	Interviewer's Religiosity	164.106	2	82.053	108.938	<.001
	Interviewer's Comfort Expressing Religion	86.796	2	43.398	78.761	<.001
Study 2	Interviewer's Religiosity	211.597	2	105.798	154.882	<.001
	Interviewer's Comfort Expressing Religion	99.465	2	49.732	101.747	<.001
Study 3	Interviewer's Religiosity	275.29	2	137.645	182.625	<.001
	Interviewer's Comfort Expressing Religion	179.012	2	89.506	158.578	<.001

Table 3. ANOVA Output Ratings of Interviewer's Religiosity and Comfort Expressing Religion

In all three studies I found a significant effect of religious display on how participants rated both interviewer's religiosity and comfort expressing their religion. Across all three studies, Tukey's post hoc comparisons revealed participants rated both interviewer religiosity and comfort expressing their religion highest for a Christian interviewer, second highest for a Hindu interviewer, and lowest for an interviewer with no religion.

In all three studies I asked participants to identify the interviewer's religion. In study 1 this survey item did not function consistently in Qualtrics for all participants and therefore could not be used for analyses. In study 2, 83% of participants identified the Christian interviewer as Christian or Catholic when the interviewer was an Indian male; 90% did so when the interviewer was a White male. When the interviewer was a Hindu Indian male, 50% of participants identified the interviewer as Hindu; 20% identified him as Buddhist. When the interviewer was a Hindu White male, 38% identified him as Hindu; 22% identified him as Buddhist. For a non-religious interviewer, 75% of participants were unsure of interviewer religion when he was an Indian male; 69% were unsure when he was a White male. In Study 2, an additional 15% of participants identified the non-religious Indian male interviewer as Hindu.

In Study 3, 82% of participants identified the Christian interviewer as Christian or Catholic when the interviewer was an Indian male; 89% did so when the interviewer was a White male. When the interviewer was a Hindu Indian male, 60% of participants identified him as Hindu; 8% identified him as Buddhist. When the interviewer was a Hindu White male, 28% of participants identified him as Hindu; 28% identified him as Buddhist. For a non-religious interviewer, 70% of participants were unsure of interviewer

religion when the interviewer was an Indian male; 71% were unsure when he was a White male. In Study 3, an additional 7% of participants identified the non-religious Indian male interviewer as Hindu.

Overall, these findings provide clear evidence that manipulation of interviewer religion was successful. There was disagreement among participants in correctly identifying the religion of the White male Hindu interviewer. However, participant ratings of interviewer's religiosity and comfort expressing his religion in all conditions demonstrate they were keenly aware that the interviewer was religious in both the Christian and Hindu conditions compared to the non-religious condition. Further, most participants identified him as either Hindu or Buddhist. This demonstrated suitable differentiation between conditions, and I was, therefore, confident that making a viable comparison between the Hindu interviewer condition with the Christian or non-religious conditions was feasible.

Study Specific Experimental Manipulations

In study 1, I manipulated the type of organization by modifying the company website seen at the beginning of the study to present either a secular or religious organization. For the religious organization, the website mentions that the organization does not operate on Sundays in accordance with the CEO's spiritual beliefs. In the company's mission statement, it is made explicit that this organization operates in accordance with the CEO's spiritual beliefs. In the survey I asked participants whether they noticed a) the website seemed religious b) the organization does not operate on Sundays c) why the organization does not operate on Sundays and d) the organization operates in accordance with the CEO's spiritual beliefs. These items were only asked of

those participants in the religious organization condition ($N = 189$) and had a yes/no

response. When asked if anything on the organization website seemed religious, 51%

responded with yes (a χ^2 of responses to this item by religious display type was not

significant). However, 71% of participants in the religious organization condition noticed

that the organization is closed on Sundays and 76% said they noticed why it is closed on

Sundays. Additionally, 62% of these participants said they noticed the organization

operates in accordance with the CEO's spiritual beliefs. For these items my cut off for

success was 60% or higher. I deemed anything that fell near or on this range in terms of

yes responses as a measure of success. In this case, two items had almost an almost 75%

"yes" response. Using that cut off, I felt these results provided concrete evidence of

successful manipulation of organization presentation.

In study 2, I manipulated interviewer's position with the organization (Human

Resources Manager vs. Department Manager vs. Store Manager). I informed participants

of the interviewer's position in the survey prior to the interview videos. After watching

the interview, I then asked participants to identify the interviewer's position. If they

answered this item incorrectly, I furnished them with a reminder of the interviewer's

position. I performed a χ^2 to determine if participants were more likely to correctly

identify interviewer position in their respective condition. The χ^2 was significant (χ^2(2, N

= 512) = 19.964; $p <.001$). Of those who saw an HR manager, 77% correctly identified

the interviewer's position, while 49% did so when it was a Department Manager and 52%

did so in when it was a Store Manager.

In study 3, I manipulated the amount of social interaction associated with the job

being interviewed for. The job had either a lot of face to face coworker interaction or

very little face to face coworker interaction. I informed participants of the job's social level in the survey prior to the interview videos. After watching the videos, I then asked participants to identify amount of coworker associated with the job. I performed a χ^2 to determine if participants were more likely to correctly identify amount of coworker interaction in their respective condition. The χ^2 was significant ($\chi^2(1, N = 381) = 19.964$; $p < .001$). Of those with low coworker interaction, 41% correctly identified the amount of coworker interaction associated with the job. Of those in the high job social level condition, 77% correctly identified the level of coworker interaction associated with the job.

The goal of these survey items was two-fold. First, I wanted to determine how successful my manipulation was initially. Second, I wanted to provide participants with another opportunity to understand the particulars of their interview scenario. So, while only 41% of participants correctly identified the amount of coworker interaction in the low coworker condition initially, those participants were provided with a reminder before going into the post interview organizational attractiveness portion of the survey. Even if only half of those reminders were successful, overall, the total number of those who remembered the amount of coworker interaction associated with the job in their interview scenario would meet my threshold of success (i.e., 60% or more).

Pre and Post Interview Organizational Attractiveness

In each of my dissertation studies, participants first viewed a career website for HBLM, a fictional retail organization that specializes in electronics, and then watched a video depicting a job interview with this organization. Participants rated the organization on organizational attractiveness after viewing the career site and again after viewing the

interview videos. I compared pre and post interview OA ratings in all three studies using a *t test* and found significant differences in each study.

Post interview OA ratings were significantly lower than pre interview OA ratings in study 1 (t(748) = 1.996; p = .046), study 2 (t(1022) = 2.379; p = .018), and study 3 (t(760) = 3.155, p = .002). In Study 1, post interview OA ratings (*M* = 3.509, *SD* = .835) were significantly lower than pre interview OA ratings (*M* = 3.623, *SD* = .725). In Study 2, post interview ratings (*M* = 3.347, *SD* = .796) were significantly lower than pre interview OA ratings (*M* = 3.350, *SD* = .778). In Study 3, post interview ratings (*M* = 3.458, *SD* = .808) were significantly lower than pre-interview OA ratings (*M* = 3.635, *SD* = .738). If manipulations participants encountered in the middle of their respective conditions had no effect, I would expect no significant difference between OA ratings at time 1 and time 2. However, if these ratings do significantly differ, this should be seen as preliminary evidence that study manipulations were successful and may have impacted OA ratings at time 2.

Finally, I visually examined distributions of my outcome variable, post organizational attractiveness for my samples as a whole as well as for each condition. Overall, distributions clustered heavily around the mean (approximately 70%) but appeared to be normally distributed. Out of a possible range of 1 to 5, mean post interview OA was 3.2 for Study 1, and 3.5 for Study 2, and 3. I found similar range of responses by condition for all three studies. Given that range, I expected differences between conditions to be small. However, I believe that finding similar results across multiple studies provides some validation for those results.

Primary Analyses

Hypothesis 1a/1b

Based on results of my previous research, I proposed there would be a significant interaction of interviewer race and religion (Hypothesis 1a). Further, I hypothesized post interview organization attractiveness ratings will be lowest for an Indian male interviewer who exhibits Christian displays during a job interview (Hypothesis 1b). For all three studies I tested for an interaction of interviewer's race and type of religious display with a 2 (Indian vs. White) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) ANOVA. In each of my three studies I found no significant interactions of interviewer race and religion on post interview OA ratings. There were no significant differences in post interview OA ratings by interviewer race. This was confirmed by an independent samples t test. Thus, there was no preliminary support for hypotheses 1a or 1b. However, I revisited these hypotheses as I examined each study.

In all three studies there was a significant effect of religious display. A One-Way ANOVA confirmed a significant main effect of religious display on post interview OA ratings in study 1 ($F(2,372) = 11.807$; $p < .001$), Study 2 ($F(2,509) = 3.550$; $p = .029$), and in Study 3 ($F(2,378) = 8.875$; $p < .001$). In Study 1 and 3, post interview OA ratings were significantly lower for an interviewer with Christian Displays compared to an interviewer with Hindu or No Religious Displays. The latter two displays did not significantly differ in either study. In study 2, however, post interview OA ratings for Christian and Hindu interviewers did not significantly differ. Ratings for a non-religious interviewer were significantly higher than an interviewer with Christian or Hindu displays.

At the outset, these results are antithetical to results found in my initial research and thus did not support hypotheses 1a and 1b. However, as mentioned above, when no religious displays were present, participants were more likely to identify an Indian male interviewer as Hindu compared to a White male interviewer. So, while hypotheses 1a and 1b were not statistically supported in these analyses, there is some anecdotal support that interviewer's race can influence how they are perceived by potential applicants.

Hypothesis 2

Below are means and standard deviations by condition as well as t test and ANOVA output for these analyses.

Organization	Interviewer Race	Religious Display	N	Mean	SD
Religious Leaning	Indian	Christian	30	3.207	0.791
		Hindu	33	3.556	0.746
		No Religion	31	3.662	0.624
	Caucasian	Christian	32	3.363	0.910
		Hindu	30	3.658	0.871
		No Religion	30	3.729	0.901
Secular	Indian	Christian	32	3.173	0.780
		Hindu	35	3.792	0.903
		No Religion	31	3.529	0.739
	Caucasian	Christian	30	3.089	0.771
		Hindu	30	3.609	0.966
		No Religion	31	3.628	0.841

Table 4. Hypothesis 2 Means and Standard Deviations.

Predictor	Level	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Significance
Interviewer Race	Indian	192	3.493	0.794	-0.207	373	0.836
	Caucasian	183	3.511	0.894			
Organization	Religious Leaning	186	3.528	0.822	0.594	373	0.553
	Secular	189	3.477	0.865			

Table 5. Hypothesis 2 t test table.

ANOVA	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Three-Way	Race * Religious Display * Organization	0.459	2	0.229	0.337	0.714
	Race * Religious Display	0.243	2	0.122	0.179	0.836
	Race * Organization	0.632	1	0.632	0.928	0.336
	Religious Display * Organization	1.127	2	0.563	0.827	0.438
	Race	0.063	1	0.063	0.093	0.761
	Religious Display	15.899	2	7.950	11.670	<.001
	Organization	0.325	1	0.325	0.477	0.490
Two-Way	Race	0.064	1	0.064	0.095	0.758
	Religious Display	15.826	2	7.913	11.686	<.001
	Race * Religious Display	0.26	2	0.130	0.192	0.826
	Organization	0.294	1	0.294	0.436	0.510
	Religious Display	15.864	2	7.932	11.770	<.001
	Organization * Religious Display	1.229	2	0.614	0.912	0.403
One-Way	Religious Display	15.881	2	7.941	11.807	<.001

Table 6. Hypothesis 2 ANOVA Table.

For hypothesis 2, I proposed a significant three-way interaction of interviewer race and religion with an organization's religious leaning (i.e., religious leaning or not religious leaning) such that the two-way interaction between interviewer race and religion would be stronger for a secular organization. To test these hypotheses, I conducted a 2 (Indian vs. white) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) X 2 (Religious vs. Secular Organization) ANOVA. There was no significant three-way interaction of interviewer race, and religion with organization type. There was no significant interaction of organization type and interviewer religion. There was no significant main effect of organization type, a finding confirmed by an independent samples *t* test.

I attempted to explore my hypotheses by conducting a 2 (Religious vs. Secular Organization) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) ANOVA at each level of interviewer race (Indian vs. White). However, I found no significant interactions or main effects at either level of interviewer race. Further, in the survey for Study 2 I asked participants whether they noticed religious elements on the career website page such as why the company does not operate on Sundays. I excluded those participants who did not notice these religious elements and conducted my analyses again; results remained the same as described above. Thus, I found no support for hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3

Below are means and standard deviations by condition as well as *t* test and ANOVA output for these analyses.

Interviewer Position	Interviewer Race	Religious Display	N	Mean	SD
HR Manager	Indian	Christian	29	3.193	1.007
		Hindu	25	3.429	0.645
		No Religion	31	3.529	0.784
	White	Christian	31	3.288	0.701
		Hindu	27	3.198	0.678
		No Religion	29	3.253	0.641
Dep Manager	Indian	Christian	29	3.322	0.969
		Hindu	31	3.198	0.833
		No Religion	27	3.272	0.764
	White	Christian	26	3.313	0.797
		Hindu	29	3.101	0.807
		No Religion	28	3.760	0.758
Store Manager	Indian	Christian	30	3.416	0.763
		Hindu	28	3.655	0.643
		No Religion	26	3.477	0.707
	White	Christian	29	3.037	0.750
		Hindu	29	3.370	0.794
		No Religion	28	3.571	0.629

Table 7. Hypothesis 3 Means and Standard Deviations.

Predictor	Level	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Significance
Interviewer Race	Indian	256	3.8570	0.8050	0.966	510	0.335
	Caucasian	256	3.1930	0.7500			

Table 8. Hypothesis 3 t test Table.

ANOVA	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Three-Way	Race * Religion * Interviewer Position	3.820	4	0.955	1.618	0.168
	Race * Religion	2.039	2	1.019	1.727	0.179
	Race * Interviewer Position	2.452	2	1.226	2.077	0.126
	Religion * Interviewer Position	3.587	4	0.897	1.519	0.195
	Race	0.566	1	0.566	0.959	0.328
	Religion	4.173	2	2.087	3.535	0.030
	Interviewer Position	1.139	2	0.570	0.965	0.382
Two-Way	Race * Religion	1.849	2	0.925	1.546	0.214
	Race	0.577	1	0.577	0.965	0.326
	Religion	4.255	2	2.128	3.558	0.029
	Interviewer Position * Religion	3.487	4	0.872	1.460	0.213
	Interviewer Position	1.132	2	0.566	0.948	0.388
	Religion	4.293	2	2.147	3.595	0.028
One-Way	Religion	4.255	2	2.128	3.550	0.029
	Interviewer Position	1.087	2	0.544	0.898	0.408

Table 9. Hypothesis 3 ANOVA Table.

I proposed there would be a significant three-way interaction between interviewer race and religion with interviewer position. I also proposed interviewer race and religion would have the least effect when the interviewer was an HR manger and the strongest effect for a department manager. A 2X3X3 ANOVA did not yield a significant three-way interaction and, as stated earlier, there was no significant interaction of interviewer race and religion. I then conducted a 3(HR vs. Department vs. Store Manager) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) ANOVA. There was no significant interaction of interviewer position and interviewer religion. There was no significant main effect of interviewer position which was further confirmed by a One-Way ANOVA.

However, there was a significant main effect of religious display ($F(2,503)$ = 3.595; p =.028). A One Way ANOVA confirmed this ($F(2,509)$ = 3.550; p =.029). An interviewer with Christian displays received significantly lower post interview OA ratings (M = 3.261, SD = .834) than did an interviewer with Hindu displays (M = 3.320, SD = .754) or no religious displays (M = 3.478, SD = .728). Post interview ratings did not significantly differ between Hindu and no religious displays. I also conducted these analyses using only participants who correctly identified the interviewer's position; my results did not change. Overall, there was no support for Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4

Below are means and standard deviations by condition as well as *t* test and ANOVA output for these analyses.

Coworker Interaction	Interviewer Race	Religious Display	N	Mean	SD
Low	Indian	Christian	33	3.329	0.740
		Hindu	29	3.540	0.897
		No Religion	31	3.404	0.796
	Caucasian	Christian	33	3.135	0.883
		Hindu	35	3.472	0.551
		No Religion	32	3.435	0.738
High	Indian	Christian	35	3.295	0.826
		Hindu	30	3.680	0.834
		No Religion	30	3.507	0.860
	Caucasian	Christian	33	3.166	0.834
		Hindu	30	3.856	0.637
		No Religion	30	3.776	0.853

Table 10. Hypothesis 4 Means and Standard Deviations.

Predictor	Level	N	Mean	SD	t	df	Significance
Coworker	Low	193	3.383	0.772	-1.819	379	0.070
Interaction	High	188	3.533	0.840			
Interviewer	Indian	188	3.452	0.825	-0.129	379	0.897
Race	Caucasian	193	3.463	0.795			

Table 11. Hypothesis 4 t table.

ANOVA	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Three-Way	Race * Religion * Coworker Interaction	0.169	2	0.084	0.135	0.874
	Race * Religion	1.649	2	0.825	1.317	0.269
	Race * Coworker Interaction	0.784	1	0.784	1.253	0.264
	Religion * Coworker Interaction	1.308	2	0.654	1.044	0.353
	Race	0.019	1	0.019	0.030	0.863
	Religion	11.476	2	5.738	9.161	0.000
	Coworker Interaction	2.438	1	2.438	3.892	0.049
Two-Way	Race * Religion	1.564	2	0.782	1.244	0.289
	Race	0.005	1	0.005	0.008	0.928
	Religion	11.157	2	5.578	8.873	0.000
	Coworker Interaction * Religion	1.310	2	0.655	1.051	0.351
	Coworker Interaction	2.491	1	2.491	3.998	0.046
	Religion	11.370	2	5.685	9.124	0.000
One-Way	Religion	11.144	2	5.572	8.875	0.000

Table 12. Hypothesis 4 ANOVA Table.

I hypothesized the interaction effect of interviewer race and religion on organization attractiveness would vary by the amount of coworker interaction (i.e., high vs. low). A 2X3X2 ANOVA yielded no significant three-way interaction of interviewer race and religion with amount of coworker interaction. There were no significant two-way interactions of interviewer race with religious display, of coworker interaction with interviewer race, or of coworker interaction with religious display. There was no significant main effect of interviewer race (confirmed in a follow up t test). However, there were significant main effects of religious display and coworker interaction.

Next, I conducted a 2(high vs. low coworker interaction) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) ANOVA. There was no significant interaction of coworker interaction and religious display. There was a main effect of coworker interaction and also one for religious display. A t test showed a main effect of coworker interaction level that approached significance. In general, post interview OA ratings were lower for low coworker interaction ($M = 3.383$, $SD = .771$) compared to high coworker interaction ($M = 3.534$, $SD = .840$).

As stated earlier, a χ^2 analysis showed only 41% of participants in the low coworker interaction condition correctly identified the amount of coworker interaction after viewing the interview videos. When I removed those participants that did not correctly identify the level of coworker interaction, the t test results above were significant at $p < .05$. However, no other results changed. Taken in total, these results did not support Hypothesis 4.

Lastly, my three studies, participants first viewed an organization website and then rated the organization on organizational attractiveness. Participants then answered some individual difference survey items, watched a series of videos depicting an interview with that organization. Participants then rated the organization on organizational attractiveness a second time. I therefore conducted a repeated measures ANOVA in each study using OA at Time 1 and Time 2 as my outcome. However, there was no change in my results across all three studies. Religion was still the only significant predictor of OA.

Supplementary Analyses

Hypotheses 3

Below are means and standard deviations by condition as ANOVA output for these analyses.

Interviewer Race	Religious Display	Interviewer Position	N	Mean	SD
Indian	Christian	HR Manager	29	3.193	1.007
		Department Manager	29	3.322	0.969
		Store Manager	30	3.416	0.763
	Hindu	HR Manager	25	3.429	0.645
		Department Manager	31	3.198	0.833
		Store Manager	28	3.655	0.643
	No Religion	HR Manager	31	3.529	0.784
		Department Manager	27	3.272	0.764
		Store Manager	26	3.477	0.707
Caucasian	Christian	HR Manager	31	3.288	0.701
		Department Manager	26	3.313	0.797
		Store Manager	29	3.037	0.75
	Hindu	HR Manager	27	3.198	0.678
		Department Manager	29	3.101	0.807
		Store Manager	29	3.37	0.794
	No Religion	HR Manager	29	3.253	0.641
		Department Manager	28	3.76	0.758
		Store Manager	28	3.571	0.629

Table 13. Hypotheses 3 Means and Standard Deviations for Supplementary Analyses.

Interviewer Race	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Indian	Religion	0.781	2	0.390	0.604	0.548
	Position	2.705	2	1.353	2.092	0.126
	Religion * Position	2.072	4	0.518	0.801	0.525
Caucasian	Religion	5.461	2	2.731	5.114	0.007
	Position	0.895	2	0.448	0.838	0.434
	Religion * Position	5.325	4	1.331	2.493	0.044

Table 14. Hypotheses 3 ANOVA Output for Supplementary Analyses.

I proposed there would be a three-way interaction between interviewer race, religious display and interviewer position. I tested my hypothesis with a three-way ANOVA and found only a significant main effect of religious display. However, I decided to explore my hypotheses with a different approach. I conducted a 3(HR vs. Department vs. Store Manager) X 3(Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) ANOVA's for each level of interviewer race (Indian vs. White male). When the interviewer was an Indian male there was no significant interaction of interviewer position and type of religious display; nor were there any significant main effects. However, when the interviewer was a white male there was a significant interaction of interviewer position and religious display. There was a significant main effect of religious display but not for interviewer position.

Pairwise comparisons showed no significant differences between any groups for an Indian male interviewer. However, there were several significant differences for a white male interviewer. Participants who saw a department manager rated an organization significantly less attractive when Christian displays were present ($M = 3.289, SD = .700$) compared to no religion ($M = 3.760, SD = .758$). Hindu displays ($M = 3.101, SD = .807$) were also seen as less attractive compared to no religion. Christian and Hindu displays did not significantly differ. Participants who saw a store manager rated an organization significantly less attractive when Christian displays were present ($M = 3.037, SD = .750$) compared to no religion ($M = 3.751, SD = .629$). No other differences were found for store manager.

However, pairwise comparisons only showed differences between religious display at each level of interviewer position. In order to explore differences between all

combinations of interviewer position and religious display. I created a predictor variable

that combined the two (i.e., HR manager with Christian displays vs. Department manager

with no religion, etc.). In my initial data, interviewer position was labelled as HR

manager = 1, Department manager = 2, and Store manager = 3 while religious displays

were labelled as Christian =1, Hindu = 2, and no religion =3. I used an equation of 10 *

Religious Display + Interviewer Position to derive my new predictor levels. For example,

an HR Manager with Christian displays was labelled as 11, derived from the equation

((10 * 1) + 1). I coded the new predictor this way to maintain a point of reference with

the original predictor levels from which this new predictor arose.

I then conducted a One-Way ANOVA using this combined predictor and used

Tukey's post hoc analyses to examine specific differences in post interview OA ratings

by interviewer position and religious display. Post interview OA ratings were higher for a

non-religious department manager ($M = 3.795$, $SD = .758$) compared to a Hindu

department manager ($M = 3.101$, $SD = .807$), or a Christian store manager ($M = 3.037$,

$SD = .750$). A Hindu department manager also received higher post interview ratings

compared to a Christian store manager. There were no other significant differences.

These results demonstrate interviewer's race, religious display, and position have

a combined effect on how an applicant views an organization which supports hypothesis

3. In my initial analyses I found no significant main effect of interviewer position or

interviewer race. However, when splitting the sample by interviewer race, a different

story emerges. It appears interviewer position and religious display do not impact ratings

of organizational attractiveness when the interviewer is an Indian male. However, when

the interviewer is a white male, we see a significant interaction of interviewer position

and religious display as well a significant main effect of religious display. Overall, when the interviewer was a white male, participants gave the highest rating to a non-religious department manager. This might be because a department store manager was explicitly described as "someone you will likely be working directly under should you be hired."

Additionally, when the interviewer was a white male, the effect of religious display was only significant when the interviewer was a department or store manager. There were no significant differences for an HR manager and the only significant difference for a store manager involved Christian displays. The real differences in post OA ratings were found in the department manager conditions providing further support for hypothesis 3.

Hypotheses 4

Below are means and standard deviations by condition as well as ANOVA output for these analyses.

Interviewer Race	Religious Display	Coworker Interaction	N	Mean	SD
Indian	Christian	Low	33	3.329	0.740
		High	36	3.311	0.820
	Hindu	Low	31	3.572	0.875
		High	32	3.648	0.817
	No Religion	Low	32	3.440	0.808
		High	31	3.497	0.847
Caucasian	Christian	Low	35	3.141	0.857
		High	33	3.166	0.834
	Hindu	Low	36	3.489	0.552
		High	31	3.845	0.629
	No Religion	Low	34	3.441	0.728
		High	30	3.776	0.853

Table 15. Hypotheses 4 Means and Standard Deviations for Supplementary Analyses.

Interviewer Race	Source	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Indian	Religion	1.383	2	1.383	2.067	0.129
	Coworker Interaction	0.071	1	0.071	0.107	0.744
	Religion * Coworker Interaction	0.041	2	0.041	0.062	0.940
Caucasian	Religion	10.620	2	5.310	9.464	0.000
	Coworker Interaction	2.817	1	2.817	5.021	0.026
	Religion * Coworker Interaction	1.154	2	0.577	1.028	0.360

Table 16. Hypotheses 4 ANOVA Output for Supplementary Analyses.

Results of my three-way ANOVA showed a significant main effect of coworker interaction whereas the *t* test showed a main effect only bordering on significance. So, I conducted some follow-up analyses using interviewer race, religious display, and coworker interaction. I conducted a 2 (Low vs. High Coworker Interaction) X 3 (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion) ANOVA at each level of interviewer race (Indian vs. White). Table 15 displays output for both ANOVA's. When the interviewer was an Indian male there was no significant interaction of coworker interaction and type of religious display; nor were there any significant main effects. When the interviewer was a white male there was no significant interaction of amount of coworker interaction and type of religious display. However, there were significant main effects for both predictors.

A follow up *t* test confirmed main effect of coworker interaction ($t(197) = -2.050$; $p = .042$) with a white male interviewer. In general, participants rated an organization as more attractive when the job involved high coworker interaction ($M = 3.584$, $SD = .831$) compared to low coworker interaction ($M = 3.357$, $SD = .731$). A follow-up one-way ANOVA confirmed the main effect of religious display ($F(2,198) = 8.856$, $p < .001$). In general, participants rated an organization as less attractive when Christian displays ($M = 3.357$, $SD = .731$) were present compared to no religious displays ($M = 3.598$, $SD = .800$) or Hindu displays ($M = 3.654$, $SD = .610$).

Pairwise comparisons showed no significant differences between any groups for an Indian male interviewer. Participants who saw a white male interviewer with low coworker interaction rated an organization significantly less attractive when Christian displays were present ($M = 3.141$, $SD = .857$) compared to Hindu displays ($M = 3.489$,

SD = .552). When coworker interaction was high, participants rated the organization significantly less attractive when Christian displays were present (*M* = 3.166, *SD* = .834) compared to no religious displays (*M* = 3.776, *SD* = .853) or Hindu displays (*M* = 3.845, *SD* = .629).

These results demonstrate interviewer's race, religious display, and amount of coworker interaction have a combined effect on how an applicant views an organization. In my initial analyses I found no significant main effect of coworker interaction or interviewer race. However, when splitting the sample by interviewer race, it appears amount of coworker interaction and type of religious display do not impact ratings of organizational attractiveness when the interviewer is an Indian male. Conversely, we do see significant main effects for both religious display and coworker interaction when the interviewer is a white male.

Overall, participants preferred a job with high coworker interaction when the interviewer was a white male. However, this changed by type of religious display. Jobs with high coworker interaction elicited lower OA ratings when Christian displays were present, and they were rated highest when Hindu displays were present. In general, Christian displays still elicited the strongest reaction across conditions. However, this effect changed when considering interviewer race. Moreover, there was more differentiation among type of religious display when coworker interaction was high. Thus, these results support hypothesis 4.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION

Results Summary

In my Dissertation I examined whether presence of religious displays from an organization representative in an interview scenario would affect an applicant's desire to pursue employment with that organization. From the above results it is clear that it does. However, applicants do not react to such displays in a vacuum. Additionally, there is clear evidence that applicants consider other factors when considering their feelings towards such religious displays. Interviewer's race plays a part how applicants feel about that interviewer's religious displays. Interviewer's position also plays a role. Applicants feel more strongly about such displays if they know their interviewer is someone they will be working directly under. Further, amount of anticipated interaction with prospective coworkers also plays a role. Participants in my studies, in general, preferred a job with high coworker interaction with no religious displays.

Dissertation Overview

Organizations are constantly evolving while employee relations continue to change as environmental conditions and employee expectations also change. In recent years there has been a desire by employees for organizations to allow their religious expressions (Gallup, 2013; PEW Internet Research, 2015), a preference that has fueled many high-profile conflicts. Researchers have explored how public announcements by top leaders have affected people's perceptions of an organization (De Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Jeltsen, 2012; Markoe, 2013). Whereas high-profile conflicts are relatively rare as are encounters with an organization's CEO for many employees, the workplace constitutes a socio-technical system where all (or most) employees interact

with co-workers. Employees are more likely to encounter religious displays by their co-workers, and empirical research is needed to understand how that affects job attitudes. When encountered from supervisors or individuals in power (e.g., an interviewer), such displays may be more salient. This is especially true in a recruitment interview, where the job applicant has little information about the organization and the recruiter is seen as representative of the organization. In my dissertation, I designed three studies to investigate how religious displays by a recruiter affected organizational attractiveness and three boundary conditions that could affect such reactions.

Building on my earlier studies (Beane, et al., 2017a, 2017b), I expected a two-way interaction between interviewer race and display of religious symbols. I explored that two-way interaction in my prior research and found participants do react to an interviewer's religion (Beane et al., 2017a) and further research showed that reaction can vary by the interviewer's race (Beane et al., 2017b). My findings became the basis of the studies in my dissertation. Based on my prior research, I proposed there would be a significant interaction between interviewer race and religion. Further, based on my prior research, I posited results would be more negative for conditions with an Indian male interviewer with Christian displays. Beane et al. (2017b) reported participants gave the most positive OA ratings to a white Hindu interviewer and the least positive OA ratings to an Indian Christian interviewer. I expected to see similar results across the three studies in my dissertation.

Specifically, all three studies were based around the same 2X3 design where all participants were exposed to the same variation in interviewer religion and race. In all my studies I included an interviewer who is either White or of Indian origin. I crossed two

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levels of interviewer race with three levels of interviewer religion: either Christian, Hindu, or no religious displays. Each study had a third unique variable. In Study 1, I manipulated the religious leanings of the organization (secular or religious). In Study 2 I manipulated interviewer position as either a human resource manager, a department manager or a store manager whereas in Study 3 I manipulated amount of coworker interaction required for the job. The primary objective was to test the three-way interaction between Interviewer Race, Religious display and the tested boundary condition.

However, results played out differently for each study. In Study 1, I found no significant interactions or significant main effect of interviewer race. At the outset, participants in Study 2 and Study 3 were more likely to identify their interviewer as Hindu when he was an Indian male (this survey item did not work consistently in study 1 and therefore could not be properly analyzed). Thus, on a surface level, an interviewer's race plays a part in how people perceive their religion. Beyond this anecdotal fact, interviewer race did have an effect in study 2 and 3 which played out differently for each respective study. In both studies the interaction of religious display with that study's other respective manipulation (interviewer position and amount of coworker interaction) was only significant for the conditions that involved a white male interviewer; there were no significant differences when the interviewer was an Indian male. Thus, only hypothesis 1a was supported.

In Study 2, interviewer race affected interaction of interviewer position (HR vs. Department vs. Store Manager) with religious display (Christian vs. Hindu vs. No Religion). When faced with a white male interviewer, participants preferred a non-

religious department manager compared to a Hindu department manager or a Christian store manager. However, they showed no preferences when the interviewer was an Indian male. Study 3 showed a similar effect of interviewer race. In study 3, I found significant main effects for religious display and coworker interaction in study 3 overall. However, when I examined these effects at each level of interviewer race, results were only significant for a white male interviewer.

Thus, although in all three studies the three-way interaction failed to achieve statistical significance, an interesting pattern emerged (as elaborated in the supplementary analyses in Chapter IV). When I investigated the two-way interaction between religious displays (Christian, Hindu or no displays) and the boundary condition in study 2 and 3, the effects were more pronounced for the White interviewer and very weak or completely vanished for the Indian Interviewer. I suggest four potential reasons for my findings.

First, data for my studies were collected from college students. The American public has become more polarized in its views over the years, and several surveys (Hagan, Sladeck, Luecken, & Doane, 2018) have shown that college students are more liberal (i.e., by extension less religious). It is possible our respondents reacted more negatively to religious displays by the White interviewer and simply ignored religious displays by the Indian interviewer (himself seen as a minority—a racial, and perhaps even a religious, minority). Negative perceptions are triggered, and more threats perceived when the perpetrator is seen as powerful. Although the White and the Indian male both played the role of the recruiter (i.e., same position power), perhaps the White interviewer triggered more negative perceptions because he also represented the majority in the American Society at large—whereas the Indian was a minority and our respondents

overlooked his display of religious symbols. Gebert et al. (2014) proposed that a member of minority religion may experience greater identity threat when presented with an expression of religious faith from someone in a majority religion and thus react more negatively to that expression. It is possible that such a reaction may occur for someone in an ethnic minority faced with religious displays from someone in the ethnic majority. It is also possible our respondents expected the White Interviewer to be more familiar with the American societal expectation of religious neutrality in the workplace, and thus became more negative when he violated these expectations. Of course, organizations cannot condone some behaviors from minorities while censuring the same for the majority; the more sensible approach is to have a uniform code for acceptable behavior.

A second alternate explanation for this broad pattern of findings (i.e., the religious displays X boundary condition interaction was significant for the White but not Indian Interviewer) could be more methodological. In all three studies, the videos depicted an Indian or White interviewer, but the background audio was that of a white male. After making the videos, I had given voice to the scripts to make it consistent— such that any effect would be due to interviewer race and not due to any accent differences. In retrospect, using my voice might have affected the realism for the Indian Interviewer as compared to that of the White Interviewer. Future research needs to consider how to manipulate Interviewer Race while not confounding it with audio cues and accents.

A third explanation for these broad pattern of findings (i.e., the religious displays X boundary condition interaction was significant for the White but not Indian Interviewer) relies on the effects of future expectations. It is possible our respondents expected to have more social interactions in the workplace with Whites than with co-

workers of Indian Origin. Thus, they might have reacted more negatively to the White Interviewer displaying religious symbols and ignored those of the Indian Interviewer. Van Hoye and Turban (2015) found applicants tend to be more attracted to organizations where there is a greater perceived fit with their perspective coworkers (more likely to be Whites). The idea of future expectations, which is part of signaling theory; (Carson & Zmud, 1999; Rice, 1992; Trevino, 1990) also explains why we see reactions significantly differed when the manger was someone they would work with on a daily basis (i.e., department manager—Study 2) or when amount of coworker interaction associated with the job was high (Study 3). These results conform with research by Harris and Fink (1987) as well as Heneman et al., (1986) that showed participants care more about behavior from an interviewer who is someone they are likely to be working alongside in the organization. These results fall in line with the tenets of person-employee fit (Cable & Turban, 2001; Kristof-Brown, et al., 2005; Van Hoye & Turban, 2015) and are also consonant with Attraction-Selection-Attrition paradigm (Scheneider, 1987) that people gravitate to a workplace such that we see greater homogeneity over time. It will be interesting for future research to empirically examine in a longitudinal research design whether religious display norms converge over time as is the case with other personality variable (Lu, Chatman, Goldberg, & Srivastava, 2019; Schneider, Goldstein & Smith, 1995; Slaughter and Greguras, 2009).

A fourth explanation for the general pattern of findings (i.e., the religious displays X boundary condition interaction was significant for the White but not Indian Interviewer), could be that the samples in my studies are unique compared to other universities. Most psychology studies rely on WEIRD samples -samples that are White,

educated, and from industrialized, rich, and democratic populations (Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, A., 2010). It is been suggested that college samples are an atypical slice of humanity and that generalizing findings involving such samples is akin to Sigmund Freud positing his theories based on his work with clientele comprised mostly of wealthy middle-aged housewives. The samples in my studies, while still college students, were more than 70% Hispanic/Latino Americans. While it is possible that perceptions of a white male interviewer could be a result of participant race, I examined for effects of participant race and found no significant differences. The number of participants in each ethnic group while disparate was still sufficient such that equal variances could be assumed in my analyses.

Study 2 and 3 provided support for hypothesis 1 (the two-way interaction between race and religion, also found in my prior studies—Beane et al, 2017) whereas Study 1 did not. It is possible that differential support is related to differences in study design. In study 2, participants were told the interviewer's position before watching the interview videos. Similarly, in study 3, participants were told the amount of coworker interaction associated with the job before watching the interview videos. In both studies, after watching the videos, I asked participants to confirm the manipulation they were told at pre-interview. If participants answered incorrectly, I provided them a reminder of the manipulation. I did not have such a question in Study 1 as there was no organic way to tell participants "HBLM is a religious leaning organization" outside of the verbiage used on the company website. However, when asked if they noticed religious elements on the company website, a sufficient proportion of participants in religious conditions indicated they noticed those elements. Moreover, there were no significant differences when I

examined the main relationships in Study 1 by participants who did notice them compared with participants who did not. Therefore, I am comfortable in asserting that lack of support for hypothesis 1a/b is not an artifact of study design.

When taking the results of Study 2 and 3 together there is a clear underscoring of the importance of job social component. Participants cared more about the elements of their job interview when amount of potential coworker interaction was high or when the interviewer was someone they would be working with directly. My findings confirm prior research on person-employee fit (Cable & Turban, 2001; Kristof-Brown, et al., 2005; Van Hoye & Turban, 2015). Study 1 did not have a social component in its manipulations whereas study 2 and 3 did. In study 2, verbiage used for interviewer descriptions included a social component – daily interaction, some interaction, or no interaction beyond the interview. In study 3, the position itself was described as involving either a lot of face-to-face coworker interaction or very little face-to-face coworker interaction. Results of both studies show that when a job's social component is high – either through interaction with one's superior or with one's coworkers - interviewer's race and religion matter.

Interestingly, when I examined for differences in these results by participant race, I found no significant differences. Further, when examining results by participant religion I found the effect for interviewer religion was more pronounced for atheist/agnostic and non-Christian participants over Christian participants. However, these differences were not statistically significant. Regardless of other factors such as participant religious affiliation, Christian interviewers were still the least preferred and the effect of interviewer race was the same. I also examined the data by those who correctly assessed

interviewer's religion against those who did not and found no significant effects. Also, when I examined the data by only those who correctly assessed interviewer position or job social level, results in these studies did not change.

Beyond the general patterns of findings, there were also some interesting results specific to the three studies that need to be highlighted in my discussion.

Study 1

In Study 1, I had hypothesized a significant three-way interaction of interviewer race, religion and type of organization (Religious Leaning vs. Secular). I had stated that the interaction of interviewer race and religion would be moderated by type of organization. However, there was no statistical evidence to support these hypotheses. Prior to watching the interview, participants viewed a job site for the organization which conveyed whether it was religious leaning. The majority of those participants in conditions with the religious leaning organization indicated they noticed statements which indicated the organization's religious lean when they viewed the company job site. However, there were no significant differences in pre interview ratings by organization type. There were also no significant differences or interactions involving organization type in terms of post interview OA ratings.

When examining the data visually, there was a more negative reaction when the organization was portrayed as non-religious in their website and the interviewer was a Christian. However, the only significant effect in Study 1 was for Christian displays. Regardless of the interviewer's race or whether the organization was secular or religious people reacted more negatively to Christian displays compared to Hindu or no religious displays. This reaction would seem to run counter to what we have witnessed in the

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public arena when it comes to religious leaning organizations (De Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014; Jeltsen, 2012; Markoe, 2013). In recent history, people reacted strongly to religious leaning organizations whose leadership was also religious.

One explanation may be the context in which the organization was presented (outside of the fact that it is a fictional organization). In Study 1, the organization was presented through its career website with no other facts or knowledge about the organization other than 1) it exists and 2) it is either religious leaning or it is not. At the outset this description should be sufficient, especially since the majority of participants who saw the religious leaning website said they noticed religious aspects of the organization such as why it does not operate on Sundays and that it operates in accordance with its CEO's spiritual beliefs. However, in recent real-world events, negative reactions to religious leaning organizations have usually followed headlines about that organization acting against others in accordance with their religious/spiritual beliefs. For example, the CEO of Hobby Lobby decided against providing insurance that covers birth control for female employees because he felt that conflicted with his religious beliefs (De Vogue, 2014; Dockterman, 2014).

In my study, HBLM was not depicted in such a manner. It is therefore possible that an organization being religious leaning may not be enough on its own to elicit a strong reaction one way or the other. Overall, the only variable to elicit reaction in Study 1 was whether the interviewer was exhibiting Christian religious displays. The one thing participants seemed united on regardless of type of organization or interviewer race was that they preferred an organization with a non-Christian interviewer. However, it is, again important to note, while not a statistically significant find, the reaction to Christian

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displays was lower when participants were first presented with a non-religious organization compared to one that was religious leaning. This non-significant finding is still counter to my initial hypothesis but there may be some logic to it, nonetheless. When presented with a secular organization there is an implicit expectation that displays of religion will not be present during an interview with that organization. Therefore, suddenly being presented with an interviewer that displays their religion could be more of a shock thus eliciting a more negative response.

Study 2

In study 2, I proposed there would be a significant three-way interaction of interviewer race, religion, and position. I proposed the effect of interviewer race and religion would have the least impact when the interviewer was an HR manager compared to a department manager or a store manager. Also, I stated the effect of interviewer race and religion would be strongest when the interviewer was a department manager compared to store manager or an HR manager. My distinction of interviewer position was based on the research of Harris and Fink (1987) as well as Heneman et al., (1986) where they found participants paid more attention to an interviewer's behavior when that interviewer was someone who they would work alongside.

In study 2, I described interviewer position in terms of how closely they would be working with that interviewer. An HR associate was defined as someone whom the applicant will not interact with again outside of the interview process, a department supervisor was defined as someone with whom the applicant will be working with directly every day; a store manager was defined as someone who oversees the store where the applicant will be working but not someone the applicant will be working

directly alongside. These descriptions are similar to those used by Harris and Fink (1987) as well as Heneman et al. (1986).

I did not find support for either hypothesis for the overall sample when I examined results with a three-way ANOVA. Yet, when I examined the relationship between interviewer position and religious display at each level of interviewer race, a different story emerged. As mentioned above, there were no significant differences when the interviewer was an Indian male. However, there was a significant effect of interviewer position and interviewer religion when the interviewer was a white male (the interaction of these two variables was not significant). Participants reacted more negatively to a store manager with Christian displays compared to a non-religious or Hindu department manager. There were no other significant differences among the other possible eighteen comparison groups in Study 2.

In keeping with hypothesis 3, there was an interaction between interviewer race, religion, and position. Participants only seemed to care about the interviewer's religious display when he was a white male and either a department or store manager. These findings are similar to Rynes et al. (1990) who also found participants paid less attention to recruiter behavior when that recruiter was an HR associate as opposed to someone who actually worked for the organization. As I proposed in hypothesis 3, participants didn't seem to care when the interviewer was an HR manager. Also consistent with hypothesis 3, participants did rate a store manager lower than a department manager but only when that store manager was Christian, and the department manager was Hindu or non-religious. These results a show a clear relationship between interviewer race, religion and position in terms of how applicants perceive an organization. They also provided support

for hypothesis 1a in that interviewer race and religion played a role in how participants perceived the organization. The effect of interviewer race played out differently here than in study 1. As stated earlier, part of the reason may be the implied amount of social interaction in the way I described interviewer position to participants.

Descriptions for interviewer positions implied different levels of social interaction. Participants would be working with a department manager daily, implying high social contact. A store manager is someone whom they would work with but not daily, implying moderate social contact. An HR manager being described as someone who would not be seen again after the interview process implies zero social interaction. It is possible that potential social proximity with a leader also has a bearing on perceptions of their religious display. Social interaction is a through line that also plays out in study 3 in much the same way. Taken in that context, it appears that when applicants are faced with a leader with high social contact, they prefer a leader who is Hindu or not religious over one who is Christian. However, this preference was only manifested with a White male interviewer.

Leader status also has an effect. The only other combination of position and religious display that stood out from the others was a Christian store manager, who received significantly lower post interview OA ratings compared to a Hindu or non-religious department manager. Participants were less attracted to an organization when the interviewer was a Christian who occupied the highest standing in the immediate organization, which follows what we have seen in recent history in how people judge organizations by the actions of its leaders (Huffington Post, 2012; Jeltsen, 2012; Salkowitz, 2016; Time.com, 2014). Public reaction was directed at both the CEO and

their organizations, supporting the idea that a leader's and organization's personality are viewed interdependently (de Vries & Miller, 1986; O'Reilly et al., 2014).

Study 3

I hypothesized the interaction effect of interviewer race and religion on organization attractiveness would vary by the amount of coworker interaction (i.e., high vs. low). Specifically, I hypothesized the interaction effect or interviewer race and religious display would be strongest with high coworker interaction. In Study 3, there was a significant main effect of coworker interaction level (low vs. high). Participants showed that, overall, they prefer a job with high social interaction compared to low social interaction. I also found a main effect of interviewer religion which demonstrates that participants will rate an organization more positively with a Hindu or non-religious interviewer compared to one with a Christian interviewer. However, when examining these relationships at each level of interviewer race, I only found significant results when the interviewer was a white male. In those conditions, participants preferred a Hindu interviewer with high coworker interaction over a non-religious interviewer with high coworker interaction; both of these were preferred over a Christian interviewer with either a high or low social job. These results provide support for hypothesis 4 but also show that no matter the job's social level, Christian displays elicit a less positive reaction compared to other religious displays.

Limitations/Future Direction

One limitation to consider is that participants only saw male interviewers. Ghumman and Jackson (2008) demonstrated people's religious perceptions vary by the gender of the person they are rating. Specifically, in that study, females wearing religious

identifiers received higher employability ratings compared to males. It is likely that in future research I would find gender differences in these results. However, to keep my studies at a feasible level I kept interviewer gender constant to only male interviewers. As I was already studying religion and race, I felt bringing gender in as well would cloud my results which were meant to establish a baseline to compare with future research that should most definitely include gender.

Another limitation of my studies was inclusion of only Christianity and Hinduism. I limited my studies to these two religions, again, for feasibility. In my prior research I found reactions to Christian displays were viewed more negatively (Beane et al., 2017). Therefore, I needed a counterpoint to Christianity to make a more substantial comparison. Though, Islam is the second most practiced religion worldwide, I chose Hinduism displays over Muslim displays to eliminate political confounds in my results. Additionally, Hinduism is one of the top five most practiced religions worldwide that also has high recognizability in the US (Biernacki, 2010). However, future research must include other religions to refine and expand upon my findings here. Along with that, a more religiously diverse participant sample would also be required in order to fully explore these differences.

Additionally, my samples were predominately college age Christians. A more age diverse sample should be used in future research. Researchers found religiosity increases with age (Hayward & Krause, 2015). Further, Generation Z are the least religious generation followed by Millennials (Barna Group, 2018; PEW Internet Research, 2015; 2016). These samples were primarily Millennials and Generation Z and the percentage of Generation Z participants increased steadily from study 1 through study 3. A sample

comprised of a full range of generation groups will likely yield more varied results. Also, my samples were 70%+ Hispanic/Latino which is dramatically different from the typical WEIRD population problem many universities have (Henrich et al., 2010). However, as our interviewers were either Indian or White it would nonetheless be beneficial to have a more diverse population; particularly one with a larger proportion of Indian participants.

There may also be a limitation in terms of the images used in the survey itself. In conditions with a religious interviewer, I asked participants whether they noticed those religious symbols and displays. I asked no such questions in the non-religious conditions which underscores two possible limitations. First, having those same survey items in the non-religious condition could aid in determining if the question itself elicits a "yes" response from participants. If participants indicated seeing a statue on the interviewer's desk when, in fact, there wasn't one, that could impact my findings. However, when I accounted for those who correctly identified various displays (i.e., the presence of a religious poster), the results of my analyses did not change.

Second, in my religious conditions, the interviewer had a poster on the wall behind him, a statue on his desk and a pendant around his neck. The non-religious interviewer had a bare wall behind him, nothing on his desk besides office supplies (which were also seen in the religious conditions) and nothing around his neck. For a true counterbalance, future studies should include a secular analog to the poster, statue, and pendant for the non-religious interviewer.

One other limitation may be the nature of the organization used for these studies. I created a fictional retail organization based on information and wording found on career web pages for actual organizations. My goal was to eliminate confounds that might arise

from organization recognition. Part of what attracts (or repels) applicants to a company is organizational familiarity and brand awareness (Collins & Stevens, 2002; Allen, Mahto, Otondo, 2007). If participants had views of an organization that I chose to use prior to taking my studies, these views could have impacted their reactions. Further, I didn't want to run the risk of a well-known organization suddenly closing down or finding itself embroiled in a headline which could impact ratings of that organization outside of what I intended in my studies.

As stated earlier my goal was to isolate the phenomena of workplace religious display while maintaining mundane realism. Results of the studies conducted in creating the career webpage used in my dissertation demonstrate the fictional organization achieved mundane realism without brand recognition. Therefore, results of my studies are generalizable to a real-world context. However, a trade off may be that lack of brand recognition with a fictional organization may have fostered apathy in participants when considering the organization as a place to work. If the organization does not actually exist, there is no chance of actually working there. It is important to note that I found significant results in my studies, but perhaps using an organization that has greater organizational brand recognition in future studies may result in more pronounced differences in applicant reactions.

Lastly, I wrote earlier of why study 1 lacked significant effects beyond those for interviewer religion. In that study, Christian interviewers significantly differed from Hindu and non-religious interviewers but the latter two did not differ from one another. These results were independent of the type of organization seen in the company web site. However, the organization depicted in my study was presented in the vacuum of a

research study without real-world context. In other words, the organization had experimental realism but not mundane realism and thus results of my study may lack generalizability. A future iteration of my research should include a description of the organization in a context similar to what we have seen in recent events. Having participants view an excerpt from an article depicting the organization taking perceived positive and/or negative action based on its leader's religious beliefs may elicit different results in future research.

In study 2 and 3, I gave participants multiple reminders of which condition they were in. I provided a pre interview description. Then I asked participants a post interview follow up question which again provided that description if they answered the question incorrectly. Additionally, in Study 2, the interviewer mentioned his position with the company in the interview video. While this technique may lack a certain mundane realism, the success of these two studies hinged upon participants being aware of the interviewer's position and/or the amount of coworker interaction associated with the job.

In research we isolate phenomena in order to study it specifically. Rather than study a single fish in an ocean full of other fish we study that fish in an isolated aquarium so that we may better understand how it operates. Moreover, hiding my variables of interest was paramount to success. Participants knew up front via the study description that I was interested in their impressions of an organization based on an interview with its representative. Making those other characteristics obvious was salient to the study design so that participants could consider all the available facts when rating the organization.

Conclusion

The primary takeaway from my dissertation is applicants view organizations differently based on whether an interviewer displays their religion. However, the effect is amplified by both interviewer's race as well as social context of the job in question. Overall, participants liked an organization less when the interviewer appears to be Christian. However, the effect was more salient when social contact with coworkers or management was high. It is when social component comes into play that the interviewer's race also impacts an applicant's perceptions of the interviewer's religion. In my studies, when social contact with one's leader or coworkers is high the interviewer's religion is less relevant when the interviewer is a non-white male compared to when he is a white male. I found no differences in these results when comparing by participant race or religion.

The primary aim of my research is to provide a groundwork for field application for HR practitioners. Historical events have shown us that public reaction via social media varies both in affectivity (i.e., liking vs. disliking) and magnitude (i.e., like/dislike vs. love/hate) when 1) an organization's CEO operates openly by religious beliefs or 2) when an employee refuses to perform a duty that they believe contradicts their religion. Legal cases outlined earlier in my dissertation show individuals want to be able to express their religion at work.

Many cases just require modifications to dress code or schedule accommodation. However, other cases such D Chalmers v. Tulon Company of Richmond highlight issues of accommodation vs. offense. People may want to be able to express themselves, but HR practitioners must bear in mind that such expression may impact other employees – even

those who share the same religious beliefs as the expressor. My research shows that clearly there is within-faith variation in how individuals perceive religious displays from those with the same religious faith. On average, Christian-Catholic participants in my samples gave the lowest OA ratings for a Christian interviewer as did participants from other religions. HR practitioners are working a population with more religious diversity as well higher numbers of non-religious individuals (PEW Internet Research, 2015) and therefore need clear guidelines for workplace religious expression. Beane and Viswesvaran (2019) proposed a possible framework for organizations loosely created from Hunter and Schmidt's (1977) three ethical philosophies for employing personnel selection tests (unqualified individualism, qualified individualism, and quota systems). From their framework we derive four possible philosophical approaches to workplace religious expression.

Using an *unqualified expression* framework, organizations would allow free expression of religious displays and entertain no complaints arising from someone's religious expression whether from emotional distress, or from physical/material harm. With a *qualified expression* framework, HR practitioners themselves would determine which religious expressions are acceptable in work settings and communicate that list to employees. However, this would be a never-ending task as HR managers navigate ongoing debates over what displays, and expressions are acceptable and to whom.

Proportional expressions would employ a "fairness" where displays from one religion on one day are counterbalanced with displays from other religions on other days. However, HR practitioners would face incorporating displays from potentially 4000+ religions and spiritual traditions into that rotation. With a *null/zero expressions*

framework, organizations would disallow all religious expression. This stance is similar to one taken by the French Labor Union several years ago (Frégosi & Kosulu, 2013). However, a *null/zero expressions* policy lacks feasibility when navigating between EEOC regulated religious accommodations and everyday social expressions which are not. Also, with current pandemic work policies many employees are compelled to work from home. Organizations following a null/zero expressions framework might find themselves overstepping their bounds when it comes to telling how employees decorate their own homes.

Each framework outlined above have practical and, in some cases, legal challenges to overcome. Based on my research we see evidence that applicants do indeed react to an organization based on an interviewer's behavior and workspace. Therefore, at the very least, the interview environment should be religiously neutral. Given lack of familiarity between an interviewer and an applicant, displays in an interviewer's office may start speaking for the organization before the interviewer says a single word as well as be open to a wide range of interpretation by the applicant (Carlson & Zmud, 1999; Dennis & Velacich, 1999; Rice, 1992; Trevino, 1990). The applicant could perceive such displays as a signal that the organization embraces religious diversity and expression by its employees or perhaps that it endorses a specific religion. However, at the same time, the interviewer needs to convey the organization's stance on diversity including religious diversity and do so in way that shows the organization values such diversity as an enrichment to the organization rather than such diversity simply being an end unto itself (Olsen & Martin, 2016).

Another complication arises from the current pandemic which has given rise to increased remote work and virtual interviews where the interviewer's workspace is their own home. Organizations my find themselves facing new legal challenges if they attempt to tell employees how to decorate their own living space. However, virtual conference software such a Zoom allow its users to insert a faux background that camouflages their actual environment. Organizations can require their employees utilize this option in lieu of trying to dictate how that employee should decorate their home. In summary, I recommend organizations present a neutral and consistent face to its applicants in the early stages of recruitment while also clearly conveying a consistent message of inclusion; which should really be the tenets of any good interview.

As stated earlier in my dissertation, we live in a time where ideology governs the day. Individual careers can be made or broken by the ideological views one expresses whether in person or via social media. The ideological divide is split almost right down the middle with each group becoming more polarized by the day to the point of becoming almost tribal in nature. With seemingly little room for a middle ground, conversations can range from lively debates to uncivil behavior to straight up acts of violence. Chief among those aforementioned ideologies is religion which makes my line of research not only salient but vital.

The workplace has become richly diverse in terms of race, culture, and religion. During the past two decades, we have seen increases not only people's desire to be religious but also in people's desire to be non-religious (Barna Group, 2018; PEW Internet Research, 2015; 2016). A contrast of religious vs. non-religious has only grown as Millennials and Generation Z occupy larger proportions of the workforce. We spend

more time at work that ever before and as such people want to spend that being who they are. For many, religion is a salient part of their identity. However, people's desire for expression has become an increasingly dichotomous proposition as people clearly want to express who they are but do not want to be impinged upon by expression from others around them – especially when that expression is ideologically dissimilar. To complicate matters, the recent Covid-19 pandemic has necessitated that more people work from their homes than ever have before. Now, people are literally bringing themselves to work whenever they have a virtual meeting with their coworkers. A person's sense of identity is likely no stronger than it would be in their own home. Yet another complication emerges when organizations have to consider which religious expressions are acceptable and in what context.

A plethora of legal cases demonstrate a clear line between expression and offense (see Christine L. Wilson v. U.S. West Communications, 1995), but that line exists for both expresser and perceiver. Legal tenets such as Title VII of the Civil Rights Act do not clarify that dichotomy and employers have also done little to do so. Therefore, research on workplace religious expression is important especially now where larger numbers of people are working with coworkers virtually from their own homes. Through research it is possible to make these distinctions so that HR managers aren't left with a trial-and-error approach as their only guidepost. However, quantifying such an issue in a way that can properly researched has remained an obstacle. My research is one of the first steps forward in that vital endeavor.

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PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

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Beane, D. (2015, February). What you know and who you know: Does Social Capital

Predict Mental and Emotional Connectedness with an Organization? Poster presentation, University of South Florida Health Research Day Conference. Tampa, Fl.

Moulder, R., Leone, C., Beane, D., & Bernadell, R., (2013). Self-Monitoring Differences and Networking in the Virtual Social World. Symposium Session, Society of Southeastern Social Psychologists. Atlanta, Georgia.

Moulder, R., Leone, C., & Beane, D., (2012, March). Social Capital "Gains and Losses": How Neuroticism Plays a Role in Online Relationships. Poster presentation, Society of Southeastern Social Psychologists. Gainesville, Fl.

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Hoffman, N., Musinian, A., Beane, D., & Leone, C. (2011, November). "Self-monitoring and on-line social networking: 'Different (key)strokes for different folks?'" Poster presentation, Society of Southeastern Social Psychologists. Johnson City, Tennessee.

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Beane, D., & Gainey, R. (2011, March). Helping yourself by helping others. Symposium at the Florida Statewide Undergraduate Research Symposium. Jacksonville, Florida.

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