DIVERSITY STIGMA AND DIVERSITY CREDITS: THE POSITIVE AND

NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF RACE AND GENDER DIVERSITY FOR

COMPANIES AND EMPLOYEES

by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Diversity Stigma and Diversity Credits: The Positive and Negative Consequences of

Race and Gender Diversity for Companies and Employees

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Many U.S. institutions have committed to increasing employee diversity as a means to improve their organizational strength and competitiveness, and frequently highlight the race and gender diversity at their organizations in promotional materials such as brochures and websites. However, recent research suggests that exposure to both race and gender diversity systems at the organizational level may be associated with negative consequences such as discriminatory hiring for racial minorities and women (Kaiser et al., 2013). Thus, corporations that espouse their race and gender diversity may ironically harm themselves and the underrepresented group members whom they seek to empower (i.e., racial minorities and women). At the same time, race and gender diversity has been associated with positive outcomes for companies, such as creativity, so individuals may also expect diverse organizations to also possess these qualities. This dissertation examined the perceptions and downstream consequences of race and gender diversity in institutional settings among high status group members (Whites, White men). Study 1a predicted and found that race-diverse

organizations experienced diversity stigma, being evaluated as less prestigious, less exclusive, and having less competent employees, compared to a race-homogenous organization. In contrast Study 1b found that gender-diverse organizations experienced diversity credits, being evaluated as more broadminded, marginally more prestigious, and having more competent employees, compared to a gender-homogenous organization. These data suggest that the perceptual benefits of diversity may remain reserved for organizations that are gender-diverse, and that race-diverse organizations may bear the perceptual brunt of organizational stigma. Studies 2a and 2b further examined whether race and gender diversity also negatively impacts the hiring and valuing of racial minorities and women, due to the perception that race or gender representation "is no longer a problem" at such organizations. Across studies, racial minorities, as well as (White) male and female candidates, received perceptual boosts in race and gender diverse contexts, though the benefits of gender diversity were more global than those of race diversity. Perception of social progress was found to be unrelated to target evaluations. The results are discussed with respect to increasing the representation and valuation of underrepresented group members in the workplace.

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Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to Harrison Trevino Wilton and Sebastian Javier Wilton, my sons, for whom I most ardently strive to make the world a more inclusive and tolerant place.

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I. Introduction

As the United States becomes increasingly diverse, it is important that institutions commit to increasing race and gender diversity as a means to attract and promote feelings of inclusion among historically disadvantaged groups (e.g., racial minorities and women), promote and facilitate harmonious intergroup relations, and even capitalize on some of the benefits that diverse contexts offer, such as enhanced creativity (Martins & Parsons, 2007; McKay & Avery, 2005; Plaut, 2010; Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Crosby, 2008; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). Although diversity is commonly touted as a positive asset in the modern workplace and companies are motivated to recruit and retain racial minorities and women (McKay & Avery, 2005), women and racial minorities remain underrepresented and undervalued in the workforce (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Catalyst, 2012; Deitch et al., 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Pager & Shepard, 2008; U.S. Department of Labor, 2011a, 2011b). Moreover, the prejudices and negative stereotypes that impugn the capabilities and interpersonal qualities of racial minorities and women persist (e.g., Devine & Elliot, 1995; Maddox & Gray, 2002; Rudman & Phelan, 2008), potentially dampening how race or gender diverse organizations are perceived. At the same time, individuals may associate race or gender diversity with positive qualities such as creativity or increased tolerance, so individuals may expect that diversity is associated with both detriments and credits. However, research has yet to fully examine the beliefs that individuals hold about organizations that advertise their commitments to race and gender diversity (McKay & Avery, 2005), and how such views may affect perceptions of such companies and their employees.

Diversity in Companies: Origins, Definitions, and Advertising

Diversity is a "hot topic" in the modern workplace, with many organizations prominently affirming their commitments to diversity as a key component of their organizational success in promotional materials such as brochures and websites. In fact, estimates suggest that formal diversity programs (i.e., efforts to attract, promote, and retain a diverse workforce) exist in approximately half of all U.S. companies with 100 or more employees (Ivancevich & Gilbert, 2000; Lubove, 1997). Although there is considerable variation in the way that companies and individuals define diversity as it pertains to the workplace (c.f., Collins, 2011a, 2011b; Bell & Hartman, 2007; Unzueta, Knowles, & Ho, 2012), racial minorities and women are almost universally included in diversity platforms because of their historical experiences with discrimination and long-standing attachments to organizational diversity efforts (Bell & Hartman, 2007; Kravitz et al., 1997; DiTomaso, Post, Parks-Yancy, 2007).

Indeed, the concept of diversity has its origins in affirmative action and equal employment programs that were designed to address the historical underrepresentation of women and racial/ethnic minorities (as well as other protected social classes[1]) in the workplace (Collins, 2011a; Kravitz et al., 1997). However in the workplace, the term diversity has evolved to become centered around the idea that organizations should encourage race and gender diversity in order to become attractive to the increasingly female and non-White consumer markets (Collins, 2011a; Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Skrentny, 1996; see also Johnston & Packer, 1987). This "business case for diversity" effectively neutralized the idea that diversity policies should be implemented primarily as ethical efforts to eliminate workplace discrimination (Collins, 2011b). However, it also harkened a shift whereby companies advertised their racial and gender diversity as a key

component of their corporate strategy and success (Richard, 2000; Unzueta & Binning, 2010). It also suggested that companies should seek to become places where racial minorities and women should want to work (if only in a show of corporate "good will" or to attract more consumers; Collins, 2011). Companies may also be motivated to recruit and retain racial minorities and women as employees to access the organizational benefits, such as enhanced performance or creativity, that diversity can provide; to improve their reputation or public image; or to avoid legal examination in the form of lawsuits (Brief, 2008; Crisp & Turner, 2011; Mannix & Neale, 2005; McKay & Avery, 2005; Tomas & Ely, 1996; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998).

Now, organizations frequently advertise diversity of both race and gender in promotional materials. However, race and gender disparities and biases remain in the workplace[2], and corporations sometimes fail to capitalize on the benefits that a race and gender diverse workforce can bestow (c.f., Brief, 2008; Mannix & Neale, 2005; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). Yet little research has examined how advertising an organization's race or gender diversity may affect perceptions of either the organization or the individuals who work at the organization. It has also failed to fully examine how individuals may view their own prospects at organizations that advertise diversity. This lack of systematic exploration into the effect of race and gender advertising is surprising. While at first blush individuals commonly indicate support for race and gender diversity both in the workplace and beyond, they often fail to be able to expound upon its perceived benefits (Bell & Hartman, 2007; Collins, 2011a, 2011b), suggesting that individuals' may not advocate for or believe in diversity as much as they may first admit. Many individuals resist diversity-enhancement policies that target individuals on the

basis of gender and race, such as affirmative action, though this resistance may depend on the extent to which such policies threaten one's sense of self (e.g., White privilege versus anti-Black discrimination, Lowery, Knowles, & Unzueta, 2007; Collins, 2011a, 2011b; Kravitz et al., 1997; 2000; Unzueta & Lowery, 2008). The naggingly persistent belief that racial minorities and women are conferred undue advantage in hiring and promotion as a result of affirmative action diminishes subsequent support for such policies, as well as impugns perceptions of them in work (Heilman, Battle, Keller & Lee, 1998; Heilman & Blader, 2001; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Heilman & Welle, 2006). Together, these ideas suggest that, not only may advertisements depicting race and gender diversity not necessarily improve work-related outcomes for racial minorities or women, but they may actually contribute in part to the problem in certain social contexts.

This dissertation therefore examined whether advertising a company as race and gender diverse, commonly believed to be a positive way to attract racial minorities and women and improve corporate image, may actually negatively affect perception of the company and its employees. This research thus shifts focus from the impact of *diversity policies* (e.g., affirmative action; diversity recruitment efforts) to *race and gender representation*, on important markers of company performance and reputation. This distinction is important as the concept of diversity has been somewhat disjoined from specific policies that seek to increase opportunities for underrepresented group members (i.e., individuals affirm diversity yet oppose diversity-enhancing policies; Collins, 2011b). This research also expands upon current efforts to include high status (i.e., Whites or White men) perceivers' beliefs about diverse workplaces. In particular, this research tested whether such advertisements may induce a "diversity stigma," whereby a

diverse company's merits are diminished as a result of advertising the high numbers of racial minorities and women who work at the company. However, given the mixed effects of race and gender diversity on important business outcomes, as well as the fact that many individuals (ostensibly) support the general concept of diversity (Mannix & Neale, 2005; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998), this research will also explore whether diversity is associated with benefits such as creativity. Finally, this research also advances current understandings of diversity to examine how White identity is construed in a diverse environment. While previous research suggests that Whiteness is not considered to be "diverse" (Unzueta & Binning, 2010), the present research further examined if Whites (and White men), like racial minorities (and White women), will also be impugned by diversity stigma. In doing so, this research will enable a broad view of the meanings and consequences that high status individuals, and thus those in positions of power and influence in the workplace, individuals attach to diversity.

The Costs and Benefits of Diversity

Over the past several decades, researchers have examined the impact of both race and gender diversity on important organizational outcomes, such as performance and creativity (for reviews see Mannix & Neale, 2005; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). This work has demonstrated that both race and gender diversity can enhance organizations in important ways. For example, racial diversity has been shown to improve creativity, innovation in problem solving, and performance on cognitive tasks (Antonio et al., 2004; Crisp & Turner, 2010; Gurin, et al., 2002; Mannix & Neale, 2005; Sommers, 2006). Similarly gender diversity has been shown to improve performance, organizational commitment, and absenteeism (Fenwick & Neal, 2001; Jackson & Joshi, 2001; Tsui,

Egan, O'Reilly, 1992). However, the research in this area has been mixed, with other studies demonstrating negative effects (or no effects) of either race or gender diversity, such as impeded team processes or performance and lowered organizational attachments, performance evaluations, and partner liking (Jackson, Joshi & Erhardt, 2003; Jehn & Bezrukova, 2003; Kochan et al., 2003; Timmerman, 2000; Tsui, Egan, & O'Reilly, 1992; Tsui & O'Reilly, 1989; see also Bowers, Pharmer & Salas, 2000; Kochan et al., 2003).

The variation in diversity-related performance outcomes suggests that individuals may perceive both benefits and disadvantages to diversity in organizations. We conducted a short pre-test in which we asked participants to describe the specific costs and benefits that they associated with diversity at work[3] in an open-ended format on an online survey. One hundred and fifty nine English speaking participants based in the United States participated via Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk); of those, 148 participants provided demographic information (83 women; 111White, 13 Asian, 11 Black, 9 Latino, 2 multiracial, and 2 "other" race). Two independent coders generated a list of the most common types of responses for each question. Preliminary analyses suggest that the disadvantages that individuals most frequently associate with diversity are conflict (e.g., "difficulty working together," or "arguing over ideas") and misunderstandings, and that advantages that individuals most frequently associate with diversity are creativity and broadening horizons (see also, Crisp & Turner, 2011; Pelled, 1996).

Advertising and Organizational Perception. Despite the proliferation of research into the area of diversity at work, as well as the continued use of diversity-affirming marketing efforts on behalf of businesses, research has yet to systematically

examine how advertising race and gender diversity affect perception of race or gender diverse companies. In particular, research has yet to examine whether the negative stereotypes and biases that impugn racial minorities and women may bleed into perception of the companies that they work for, thus lowering evaluations of organizations that espouse race and gender diversity. This idea is consistent with the concept of *courtesy stigma* or *stigma by association*, in which individuals associated with the stigmatized person share the stigma (Goffman, 1963; for a review see Pryor, Reeder & Monroe, 2012). Individuals have been found to be penalized by courtesy stigma when their relationship to the target (i.e., stigmatized person) is either close and meaningful (e.g., family members) or more distant (e.g., strangers). The "slipping" of stigma from one individual to another at both proximal and distal levels of relationship supports the idea that a "diversity stigma" could emerge to lower perceptions of companies and employees. Research also has yet to determine if individuals would associate a diverse company with positive measures, such as creativity or encouraging a more tolerant work atmosphere.

In support of the idea that a "diversity stigma" may affect companies at large, researchers have found that all members of gender-diverse workgroups suffered penalties to their perceived effectiveness, even when the groups' actual performance did not vary, as more women were added to the group (West, Heilman, Gullet, Moss-Racusin, & Magee, 2012), suggesting that gender-diversity influences group-level judgments. Analysts have also been shown to devalue a company's stock when the top management team was described as race-diverse (i.e., management teams were described as comprised of African American and White versus all White executives), though only when the

African American executives' educational background was described as prestigious (Sauer, Thomas-Hunt & Morris, 2010).

The little research that has examined how diversity advertising efforts affect perceptions of companies has found that companies that are described as having diversity policies may be perceived positively, particularly when such judgments are made by racial minorities and women (Ng & Burke, 2007; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008; Williams & Bauer, 1994). For example, undergraduate management students, and particularly those that were racial minorities or women, evaluated a company as more attractive when it was described as having a diversity management policy (versus a control, Williams & Bauer, 1994). Avery (2003) similarly found that Black perceivers were more attracted to organizations that were described as racially diverse, but only when that diversity was said to exist at the highest levels of the corporation (i.e., supervisor positions). Whites' perceptions of the company's attractiveness were not affected by the advertisement's diversity, but there was a non-significant trend that suggested that Whites viewed the organization as more negative when it was described as diverse at the employee (but not manager) level (Avery, 2003). Additionally, past research has shown that the representation of racial minorities in corporate advertising brochures, together with messages about valuing diversity (i.e., multicultural messages), influences the extent to which African Americans trusted and expected bias at an organization (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). Consistent with the current project's objectives, the authors did not find that minority representation similarly affected White's trust in the company (Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008).

However, advertising minority or female diversity may affect the way in which Whites evaluate companies on other important characteristics, such as estimations of the company's prestige or selectivity. Moreover, these evaluations may lead to negative effects for racial minorities and women in the workplace. For example, Whites were shown to perceive organizations with diversity structures (e.g., diversity policies, diversity training programs) as procedurally fairer for racial minorities and women, even when such organizations were clearly characterized by unfair disadvantage (e.g., discriminatory hiring; Kaiser et al., 2013). This research suggests that diversity advertising can influence Whites' construal of an organization, and that it may have (unintended) negative consequences for racial minorities and women. Whites affirm the general concept of diversity superficially while simultaneously devaluing the actual representation of racial minorities and women in organizations, as well as disassociate the positive benefits of diversity from diversity policies. Therefore, it is unclear whether Whites' positive evaluations of companies that had diversity policies (e.g., Williams & Bauer, 1994) would extend to: (1) more comprehensive or less superficial company evaluations (e.g., prestige); (2) manipulations of race or gender diversity that were based on the actual representation of racial minorities or women in the workplace, as opposed to diversity policies; or (3) a non-undergraduate population.

The Current Research

In a series of four studies, the present research examined the perceptions and expectations associated with exposure to race and gender diversity in organizational contexts. Specifically, I manipulated either the race or the gender diversity of an organization and measured participants' views of the organization and the racial

minorities and women who work there (Studies 1a and 1b). I also measured how the companies' race or gender diversity profile affects the hiring and valuing of racial minorities and women who seek employment (Studies 2a and 2b). Specifically, Studies 1a and 1b explored how Whites' views of a company's perceived prestige, accessibility, and levels of conflict, creativity, and broadmindedness, varied according to the company's race or gender profile (i.e., whether it is diverse in terms of either race or gender or not). Studies 1a and 1b also examined the extent to which Whites' expected they would be successful at the company. Studies 2a and 2b further evaluated how exposure to race or gender diversity affects hiring of racial minorities and women, as well as the proposed salary for and perceived competence of the candidate in the context of organizational diversity.

Hypotheses. I proposed that diversity exposure at the organizational level may be associated with some positive qualities, but that it would also ironically harm companies, racial minorities and women. Specifically, in Studies 1a and 1b I predicted that (a) Whites may view racially-diverse and gender-diverse companies as more creative and broadminded – but also as less prestigious, more accessible, and characterized by more conflict – than non-diverse companies; (b) the employees who work at race- or gender-diverse companies (vs. non-diverse companies) would be evaluated as less competent and qualified workers; and (c) Whites would expect that they would personally be more successful at homogenous versus race- or gender-diverse companies. In Studies 2a and 2b I further predict that (d) Whites would be less likely to hire and value racial minorities and women for positions in companies that are described as race- or gender diverse (vs.

race or gender homogenous) organizations, because they may not view race or gender disparity as an issue that needs to be addressed.

Overview of Studies

The proposed research employed a between subjects design for all studies, with participants randomly assigned to one of two diversity conditions (race-diversity vs. no diversity in Studies 1a and 2a; gender-diversity vs. no diversity in Study 1b and 2b). Consistent with prior research, the company's diversity profile was manipulated via company brochures that provided statistics on the number of racial minorities or women who work and are in leadership positions at the company, as well as employee names (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2013; Purdie-Vaughns et al., 2008). The same materials were used across all four studies to manipulate company diversity (described in full in the Materials sections for Studies 1a and 2a). Participants for all four studies were Whites who currently hold or have held positions within organizations, and were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) for a small incentive.

II. Study 1a

Study 1a experimentally manipulated the race diversity composition of the company using brochures. After evaluating each company, participants rated the institution and individuals working at the institution (e.g., in terms of quality and competitiveness), as well as indicated how well they would personally perform at the institution.

Method

Participants

One hundred and six Whites (51.9% male; M_{age} = 35.42, SD_{age} = 12.31)[4] recruited from MTurk participated in the study in exchange for twenty six cents. Participants self-identified predominantly as heterosexual = 89.6% (homosexual = 8.5%; bisexual = 1.9%) and politically as either Democratic = 39.6% or Independent = 34.0% (Republican = 22.6% or other = 3.7%). The educational background of participants was as follows: high school graduate = 26.4%; associates degree = 12.3%; Bachelor's degree = 45.3%; Master's degree = 15.1%; professional degree = .9%). The sample size was determined by an a priori power analysis conducted to ascertain the appropriate sample size required to capture a desired statistical power level of .80 and medium effect size for an independent samples t-test (d = .50). The sample was comprised of men and women as represented in the population.

Procedure

Participants were recruited via MTurk to participate in a study examining individuals' views of corporations, and navigated to an online survey hosted via Qualtrics where they completed the survey from a location of their choosing. After providing

informed consent, participants were randomly assigned to review one of two company profiles (see Materials below) and asked to form opinions of the company. The company was described as either diverse in terms of race (race-diverse condition) or no race information was provided (no diversity condition); thus a between-subjects design was employed. In both experimental conditions, participants were instructed to fully review the company's profile and then complete a manipulation check to ensure that they correctly categorized the company's racial composition as either homogenous or race-diverse. The manipulation check was embedded among questions about the professional quality of the materials (see Preliminary Analyses), as well as other filler items about the company to obscure the experimental interest in diversity. Participants who incorrectly categorized the company's diversity profile two times were excluded from analyses. After completing the manipulation check, participants completed all dependent measures, including an evaluation of the company and the individuals working at the company, as well as indicated how well they would perform at the institution. All scales are described fully below. Upon completion of all manipulation checks and dependent measures, participants provided their demographic information, including age, gender and race. Finally, participants were fully debriefed and incentives were awarded via MTurk to participants who complete the survey in its entirety.

Materials

Unless otherwise specified, participants will indicate their agreement with all items using a scale with anchors of 1 ("strongly disagree") to 7 ("strongly agree"). For a complete review of all study materials and measures, see Appendices A1 – A3 and B.

Company brochures. Consistent with prior research (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2013; Purdie -Vaughns et al., 2008), the brochures manipulated the company's diversity composition via information about the company diversity composition. Specifically, the brochures provided statistics on the number of racial minorities who work at the company, both overall and in leadership positions. Additionally, names of either all White men (no diversity condition) or White and Black men together (race diversity condition) who ostensibly work at the company were included in the company brochure.

Manipulation checks. All participants responded to the following statement to ensure that they correctly categorize the company as racially diverse: "The company is racially diverse". The provided response options were, "yes," "no," or "there is not enough information to answer the question." To disguise the experimental interest in race, the questions were included among other filler items concerning the information on the company's brochure (e.g., "The company is a software firm" and "The company supports environmental causes"). The study procedures determined prior to data collection stipulated that participants who did not correctly recall the company's racial-diversity profile would be asked to review the brochure and respond to the questions about the company again, and individuals who did not correctly pass the manipulation check after two attempts were excluded from analyses. However, in the present study, all participants correctly classified the company's racial diversity profile on the first attempt. Participants also respond to the following two questions to assess the perceived professionalism of the materials, which were embedded among other filler items, on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) scale: "This brochure looks professional," and "This brochure looks high-quality."

Key Measures. Participants evaluated the extent to which the company possessed both negative and positive qualities that may stem from diversity, as well as their likelihood of personal success at the company. Perceived prestige, employee capability, accessibility, and conflict assessed diversity stigma, and creativity and broadmindedness assessed diversity credits (see below for a description of all measures). The measures that are expected to tap positive and negative evaluations were counterbalanced. The Cronbach's alpha and overall mean and standard deviation for each dependent variable is displayed in Table 1 (all α's > .89).

Prestige . This five-item scale measured the perceived prestige and quality of the company. Sample items included "The company is prestigious" and "The company described in the brochure is likely a high-quality organization."

Employee capabilities. This four-item scale measured the perceived capabilities of the individuals who work at the company. Sample items included "The individuals who work at the company are highly qualified" and "The individuals who work at the company are extremely competent."

Accessibility. This six-item scale measured the perceived prestige and quality of the company. Sample items included "The company would have a rigorous hiring process" and "Getting hired at this company would be uncomplicated."

Conflict. This six-item scale measured the extent to which the company is perceived as full of conflict and discord. Example items included, "The company is likely characterized by difficulty working together" and "The company is likely characterized by difficulty driving consensus."

Creativity. This six-item scale measured the extent to which the company is perceived as creative or capable of generating new ideas. Example items included, "The company is likely characterized by creativity," and "The company is likely characterized by fresh viewpoints."

Broadmindedness. This six-item scale measured the extent to which the company is perceived to promote a positive and inclusive organizational culture. Example items included, "The company enables individuals to broaden their horizons," and "The company encourages acceptance and lack of bias."

Personal success. This five-item scale measured the extent to which participant believe they would be personally successful at the company. Example items included, "I would be very successful" and "I would be promoted very quickly."

Results

Data Screening

Data screening processes were employed upon completion of data entry. Prior to data collection, the decision rules for excluding participants from analysis included individuals who fell below the legal age of consent (18), who did not indicate current or prior experience working in an organization, or who did not accurately categorize the diversity of the company (e.g., as either race diverse or as not diverse). Based on these criteria, no participants were excluded from analyses.

Descriptive Statistics

The overall means and standard deviations for each variable are presented in Table 1, and the correlations between all dependent measures (except for the conflict and

creativity measures) are presented in Table 2. The means and standard deviations for each variable are presented by company diversity condition in Table 3.

Preliminary Analyses

A preliminary data analysis first ruled out any main or interactive effects of participant gender. A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) x 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was computed for each dependent measures. A single marginal main effect of participant gender was found on the conflict variable, such that men ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.12$) were more likely to evaluate the company as marked by conflict than women were ($M = 2.22$, $SD = 1.08$), $F(1, 100) = 3.62$, $p = .06$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. No other significant main effects of gender, $Fs < 2.45$, $ps > .12$, or interactions between company diversity profile and participant gender, $Fs < 2.52$, $ps > .12$, were found on any of the dependent measures. Therefore, participant gender was not further included in the main experimental analyses.

Additionally, an independent samples t-test was conducted on the perceived professionalism of the brochures (see Manipulation Check). The control ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 1.39$) and race-diverse ($M = 4.73$, $SD = 1.36$) brochures were perceived as equal in professionalism, $t(104) = .35$, $p = .73$.

Main Experimental Condition Analysis

To explore the hypothesis that Whites may attribute diversity stigma and diversity credits to racially-diverse companies versus relative to non-diverse companies, separate independent samples t-tests were conducted on each of the dependent variables related to company evaluation (prestige, accessibility, conflict, creativity and broadmindedness). I predicted that Whites would evaluate the racially-diverse company, compared to the

homogenous company, as less prestigious, more accessible and more antagonistic (i.e., higher in conflict), but also as more creative and broadminded. As expected, Whites evaluated the racially-diverse company, compared to the homogenous company, as less prestigious, $t(104) = 2.15$, $p = .03$, $d = .41$, and less exclusive, $t(104) = 2.17$, $p = .03$, $d = .43$. However, there was no difference in how Whites perceived the companies in terms of conflict, $t(102) = -1.51$, $p = .13$, creativity, $t(102) = .77$, $p = .44$, or broadmindedness, $t(104) = -1.10$, $p = .27$.

To explore the hypothesis that Whites may view the employees who work at the race-diverse companies (vs. non-diverse companies) as less competent and qualified workers, I conducted a separate independent samples t-tests on the employee evaluation variable. As expected, I found that Whites viewed the employees at the race-diverse company as less capable, relative to those at non-diverse companies, $t(104) = 1.96$, $p = .05$, $d = .39$.

To explore the hypothesis that Whites will expect to personally be more successful at homogenous versus race -diverse companies, I conducted a final independent samples t-tests on the personal success variable. There was no statistical support for this hypothesis, though a trend in the expected direction was observed, $t(104) = 1.60$, $p = .11$.

III. Study 1b

Study 1b exactly replicated the procedure and materials outlined in Study 1a's

protocol, except diversity of gender, and not diversity of race, was of experimental

interest. That is, participants reviewed a company that was described as either diverse in

terms of gender (gender-diverse condition) or no race information was be provided (no

diversity condition). The control condition brochure used in Study 1a was again used in

this study; the gender diverse condition displayed the names of White men and women

who work at the company. Additionally, only White men were recruited from MTurk to

control for the status effects of both race and gender.

Participants

One hundred and five White men ($M_{age} = 37.66$; $SD_{age} = 11.95$)[5] were recruited

from MTurk to participate in the study in exchange for twenty six cents. Participants self-

identified predominantly as heterosexual = 94.3% (homosexual = 3.8%; bisexual = 1.9%)

and politically as Independent = 37.1% (Republican = 29.5%, Democrat = 28.6%; other =

4.8%). The educational background of participants was as follows: high school graduate

= 18.3%; associates degree = 11.5%; Bachelor's degree = 51.9%; Master's degree =

17.3%; professional degree = 1.0%). The sample size was determined by an a priori

power analysis conducted to ascertain the appropriate sample size required to capture a

desired statistical power level of .80 and medium effect size for an independent samples

t-test ($d = .50$).

Descriptive Statistics

The overall means and standard deviations, as well as the Cronbach's alpha, for

each variable are presented in Table 1 (all α's > .84)., and the correlations between all

dependent measures (except for the conflict and creativity measures) are presented in

Table 2. The means and standard deviations for each variable are presented by company

diversity condition in Table 3.

Results

Preliminary Analyses

An independent sample t-test was conducted on the perceived professionalism of

the brochures (see Manipulation Check). The two items ("The materials had a

"professional" quality to them" and "The look and feel of the materials was high-

quality") correlated significantly, $r = .84$, $p < .001$. The control ($M = 4.31$, $SD = 1.29$) and

gender-diverse ($M = 4.56$, $SD = 1.58$) brochures were perceived as equal in

professionalism, $t(103) = -.88$, $p = .38$.

Main Experimental Condition Analysis

To explore the hypothesis that White men may attribute diversity stigma and

diversity credits to gender-diverse companies versus relative to non-diverse companies,

separate independent samples t-tests were conducted on each of the dependent variables

related to company evaluation (prestige, accessibility, conflict, creativity and

broadmindedness). I predicted that White men would evaluate the gender-diverse

company, compared to the homogenous company, as less prestigious, more accessible

and more antagonistic (i.e., higher in conflict), but also as more creative and

broadminded. Contrary to expectations, White men evaluated the gender-diverse

company, compared to the homogenous company, as marginally more prestigious, $t(103)$

$= -1.83$, $p = .07$, $d = -.36$, and as significantly more broadminded, $t(103) = -3.55$, $p =$

$.001$, $d = -.69$. However, there was no difference in how White men perceived the

companies in terms of accessibility, $t(103) = -1.00$, $p = .32$, creativity, $t(101) = .07$, $p = .95$ or conflict, $t(101) = .11$, $p = .91$.

To explore the hypothesis that Whites may view the employees who work at the gender-diverse companies (vs. non-diverse companies) as less competent and qualified workers, I conducted a separate independent samples t-tests on the employee evaluation variable. Contrary to expectations, I found that Whites viewed the employees at the gender-diverse company as more capable, relative to those at non-diverse companies, $t(103) = -2.32$, $p = .02$, $d = -.45$.

To explore the hypothesis that Whites would expect to personally be more successful at homogenous versus race-diverse companies, I conducted a final independent samples t-tests on the personal success variable. There was no statistical support for this hypothesis, $t(103) = -.31$, $p = .76$.

Discussion

Studies 1a and 1b examined whether White perceivers associated race or gender diversity concomitantly with both stigma and credits. The results found partial support for the experimental hypotheses. As expected, race-diverse organizations experienced organizational stigma, but contrary to expectations, they did not experience organizational benefits. In contrast to predictions, gender-diverse organizations experienced organizational benefits, but no evidence of stigma was found for the organizational perceptions I measured. Specifically, race-diverse organizations were evaluated as being less prestigious and exclusive, and the employees who worked at the company were also evaluated as less competent, compared to the race-homogenous organization and its employees. However, race-diverse organizations did not incur

institutional benefits in the form of elevated creativity or broadmindedness. Additionally, Whites did not expect greater antagonism, nor did they expect to personally be more successful, at race-diverse (vs. race-homogenous) organizations. Gender-diverse organizations were viewed as being significantly more broadminded and marginally more prestigious, and the employees who worked at the company were also evaluated as significantly more competent, compared to the gender-homogenous organization and its employees. No differences were observed in the perceived accessibility, conflict, creativity, or possibility for personal success at the gender-diverse (versus the gender-homogenous) organization. Thus, the data suggest that, to high status perceivers, the perceptual benefits of diversity may remain reserved for organizations that are gender-diverse (but not racially-diverse), and that racially-diverse organizations may bear the perceptual brunt of organizational stigma.

Studies 2a and 2b

Studies 2a and 2b examined the impact that race and gender diversity have on the evaluation and hiring of racial minorities and women. Over the past several decades, social scientific research across a variety of disciplines has consistently demonstrated that race and gender bias persists in the workplace despite corporate efforts to "manage" diversity. This research also demonstrates that prejudices and negative stereotypes that devalue the capabilities and interpersonal qualities of racial minorities and women continue to diminish the perceptions of racial minorities and women (e.g., Collins; Devine & Elliot, 1995; Maddox & Gray, 2002; Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Rudman & Phelan, 2008). Therefore, it is critical to examine the factors that affect the way that racial minorities and women are evaluated in work.

Beyond the examination of race and gender stereotypes, studies have also demonstrated the consistently depressing effects of *diversity management policies* (e.g., affirmative action, quotas) on perceptions of racial minorities and women in business and education. Collectively, this research has found that believing that women or racial minorities have received preferential selection on the basis of demographic characteristics results in diminished perception of these targets' qualifications as candidates or employees (Heilman & Blader, 2001; Heilman & Welle, 2006). That is, believing that a woman or a racial minority has been hired, admitted, or included in a group on the basis of her gender or his or her race results in a "diversity stigma" whereby individuals actively discount their qualifications and lower perceptions of their competence (Heilman, Battle, Keller & Lee, 1998; Heilman & Blader, 2001; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992). For example, when a work group was described as having been formed to ensure demographic diversity, both the women and the Black men who were perceived as less competent and were expected to be less influential than the women and Black men who were described as having joined a group formed on the basis of merit (Heilman & Welle, 2006). Women described as being hired via affirmative action policies were also assigned smaller salary increases than women not described as being hired via affirmative action policies or men (Heilman, Block, & Stathatos, 1997). This stigma is robust and is only eliminated when evidence of the targets' merit is absolute (Heilman & Blader, 2001), which suggests that explicitly depicting race and gender diversity would similarly impact the way that individuals perceive racial minorities and women. However, research has yet to examine whether diversity cues (in the absence of affirmative action policies) would similarly affect person perception. Additionally, Study 1b demonstrated perceived

benefits of gender diversity for gender-diverse companies. Thus, it is important to explore whether the perceived gender diversity credits bestowed to organizations would also transfer to female (or male) applicants at gender-diverse organizations.

Consequently, Studies 2a and 2b examined whether advertising race or gender diversity would adversely impact the hiring and valuing of racial minorities and women, even if they are simultaneously expected to bring positive qualities (e.g., creativity) that would enrich the work environment. Doing so would demonstrate a way in which racial minorities and women may experience bias even after some of their positive interpersonal characteristics are acknowledged. At the same time, Study 2b also tests the competing hypothesis, driven by the findings observed in Study 1b, that advertising gender diversity would improve the hiring and valuing of women, as well as elevate their perceived potential contributions to the work environment (e.g., creativity). Finally, Studies 2a and 2b also examined the meanings and consequences of diversity that are associated with Whiteness. That is, Studies 2a and 2b explored whether Whites and White men are viewed as more or less hirable in diverse contexts.

Additionally, Studies 2a and 2b examined whether the belief that race and gender issues have been addressed would serve as the mechanism underlying the reduced hiring of racial minorities and women. The belief that racial inequalities have been assuaged has been found to decrease support for redistributive social policies, including diversity initiatives (Kaiser, Drury, Spalding, Cheryan, & O'Brien, 2009). Therefore, it may be particularly relevant in decisions concerning hiring racial minorities and women to join places that are described as diverse. For example, after the 2008 election of President Barak Obama, whom many consider to be the nation's first Black president due to his

Black/White racial ancestry, individuals reported lower perception that racism is a problem in the United States today (Dovidio, Gaertner, Saguy, & Hehman, 2011; Kaiser et al., 2009; for an exception, see Plant et al., 2009). Importantly, participants also expressed less support for policies designed to address racial inequalities, such as including the active promotion of diversity by organizations in the workplace (Kaiser et al., 2009). Thus, Americans felt that Black representation in the highest levels of government was a sign that policies addressing racial inequalities (i.e., affirmative action) were no longer needed (Kaiser et al., 2009; Valentino & Brader, 2011; Williams & Negrin, 2008). These results persisted in the 2012 election, when President Obama's black identity was less novel and less salient of an issue than it was in the 2008 election (Gaither, Wilton & Young, 2014). Indeed, four years later, White participants again reported that the U.S. made racial progress and decreased their support for equality programs immediately after (vs. immediately before) Obama's election (Gaither et al., in press). These findings suggests that highlighting the representation of racial minorities or women in organizations may reduce support for further measures to include racial minorities, thus undermining social justice motivations.

IV. Study 2a

Participants

One hundred twenty four Whites (55.6% male; M_{age} = 32.76, SD_{age} = 6.98) were recruited from MTurk to participate in the study in exchange for twenty six cents. Participants self-identified predominantly as heterosexual = 89.50% (homosexual = 4.8%; bisexual = 5.6%) and politically as either Democratic = 45.2% or Independent = 35.5% (Republican = 17.7%; other = 1.6%). The educational background of participants was as follows: high school graduate = 16.9%; associates degree = 11.3%; bachelor's degree = 55.6%; Master's degree = 12.9%; professional degree = 2.4%; other = .8%). The sample size was determined by an a priori power analysis conducted to ascertain the appropriate sample size required to capture a desired statistical power level of .80 and medium effect size for a two-way analysis of variance (d = .25).

Procedure

The design for Study 2a was 2 (diversity condition: no diversity vs. race diversity) x 2 (candidate race: White male vs. Black male). Candidate gender was held constant to control for target gender effects, which will be explored in Study 2b. Participants were recruited to a study ostensibly to evaluate the way in which electronic resume submissions impact hiring processes. Participants were told their task was to carefully review a company's profile to learn about the company's background and values, and then to evaluate a candidate for a position at the company based solely on his or her resume.

Similar to Study 1a, participants were randomly assigned to review a company described as either diverse in terms of race (race-diverse condition) or no race

information was provided (no diversity condition). The company brochure materials were the same as those used in Study 1a. Participants were again instructed to fully review the company's profile and complete a manipulation check to ensure that they correctly categorized the company's racial composition as either homogenous or race-diverse. New to Study 2a, participants also answered questions about the company's perceived size, geographic location, success, and length of time in business, to ensure perceived company demographics were not influencing participants' evaluations on the main dependent variables (see Appendix C for question wording and scale anchors; see also Company Descriptives in the Results section). In addition, participants then reviewed a resume of a candidate ostensibly applying for a position at the company and evaluate the applicant's suitability for a job at the company. The position was described as an entry level position (0 – 2 years prior experience) for a highly motivated individual who has strong communication, organization, and analytical skills. The candidate was described as either a White or a Black male. Consistent with prior research, the candidate's race and gender was varied via the resume through the use of names (e.g., Malik Williams vs. Greg Nolen; c.f., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012; Wilton, Sanchez, & Quiros, 2014). Then, participants completed all dependent measures (all scales are described fully below). Upon completion of all dependent measures, participants provided demographic information. Finally, participants were fully debriefed and compensated.

Measures

The same company brochure used in Study 1a was used in Study 2a. Unless otherwise specified, participants indicated their agreement with all items using a scale

with anchors of 1 ("*strongly disagree*") to 7 ("*strongly agree*"). For a complete review of all Study 2a materials and measures, see Appendices D and E.

Candidate Resumes. The candidate resumes provided information about the candidate's prior education (e.g., a 3.4 at a four year university), work experience (e.g., a position at a marketing firm) and skills (e.g., Microsoft Word; organizational skills). The candidate resumes varied only by candidate name, which manipulated the candidate's race (Study 2a) and gender (Study 2a). The names were Malik Williams (Black man) and Greg Nolen (White man; Study 2a) and either Greg or Emily Nolen (White man or woman; Study 2b). Prior research demonstrated that the names manipulate the candidates' race and gender as described (Wilton et al., 2014); therefore, the resumes were not pretested to confirm proper manipulation of race and gender.

Candidate Job Worthiness. Participants indicated whether the candidate was qualified for and should receive the job on a nine-item scale; sample items included: "I believe this candidate is the best applicant for the job" and "This person is qualified to work at the company." A shortened version of this scale modified to measure deservingness of a minority internship demonstrated high levels of reliability (α's ranging from 94 to .95; Wilton, Sanchez & Chavez, 2013).

Candidate Value. To assess the candidate's perceived value at the company, participants responded to the following open-ended question, "What salary would you give the candidate?" Participants were instructed to write only numbers with no commas, but no anchors were provided.

Candidate Capability. This five-item scale assessed the extent to which the candidate was viewed as having the capability to be successful at the company. Example

items included, "If hired to work at the company, to what extent do you believe the candidate will be very successful," and "If hired to work at the company, to what extent do you believe the candidate will be able to live up to his/her potential."

Candidate Creativity. This five-item scale assessed the extent to which the candidate was viewed as contributing to the company's ability to innovate and be creative. Example items included, "If hired to work at the company, to what extent do you believe the candidate will add to the company's ability to innovate," and "If hired to work at the company, to what extent do you believe the candidate will add to the company's creativity."

U.S. Social Progress. A seven-item scale modified from Kaiser et al. (2009) assessed the extent to which participants viewed race or gender diversity as "addressed" or no longer a problem in the U.S. Example items include "Racial [gender] diversity is not an issue in the U.S." and "The U.S. has made significant strides towards racial [gender] equality."

Company Social Progress. A seven-item scale modified from Kaiser et al. (2009) assessed the extent to which participants viewed race or gender diversity as "addressed" or no longer a problem at the particular company in the experimental brochure. Example items include "Racial [gender] diversity is not an issue at this company" and "This company has made significant strides towards racial [gender] equality."

<p align="center">**Results**</p>

Data Screening

The same data screening processes described in Studies 1a and 1b were employed upon completion of data entry. Prior to data collection, the decision rules for excluding participants from analysis included individuals who fell below the legal age of consent (18), who did not indicate current or prior experience working in an organization, or who did not accurately categorize the diversity of the company (e.g., as either race diverse or as not diverse). Based on these criteria, no participants were excluded from analyses.

Descriptive Statistics

The overall means and standard deviations, as well as the Cronbach's alpha, for all dependent measures are presented in Table 4 (all $\alpha > .94$), and the correlations between all dependent measures are presented in Table 5.

Company Descriptives

Participants described the company as predominantly profitable (86.3%), employing between 101 - 500 individuals (48.0%), located in the Northeast (65.3%), and in business for either $1 - 5$ (26.4%), $6 - 10$ (41.6%) or $11 - 15$ (25.8%) years. Additionally, individual 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) x 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) ANOVAs on company profitability, size, or length of time in business revealed no main effects or interactions (all Fs < 1.78, ps $> .19$). A chi-square test of independence did not find any significant relationship between diversity condition, participant gender, and expectations concerning of company location, χ^2 (3, 124) = 2.03, $p = .57$.

Preliminary Analyses

A 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) x 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on the perceived

professionalism of the brochures (see Manipulation Check). Target race was not added as a between subjects factor into the models for these analyses, because participants completed these measures before they viewed the candidate resumes. The two items ("The materials had a "professional" quality to them" and "The look and feel of the materials was high-quality") correlated significantly, $r = .82$, $p < .001$. No main effects or interactions were found (all Fs < .57, ps > .45).

Because the sample consisted of White men and women, preliminary data analyses examined participant gender effects. Specifically, 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) x 2 (applicant race: White vs. Black) x 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) analysis of variance (ANOVA) were conducted on all dependent measures. Contrary to predictions, two significant main effects of participant gender, as well as two significant three-way interactions between diversity condition, applicant race, and participant gender, were found on the creativity and capability variables. Therefore, participant gender was included in all preliminary and main experimental analyses, and these effects are described in detail below.

Main Experimental Condition Analysis

To explore the hypothesis that Whites would be less likely to hire and value racial minorities for positions in companies that are described as at race- diverse (vs. race homogenous) organizations, individual 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) x 2 (applicant race: White vs. Black) x 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) ANOVAs were conducted on each of the study dependent measures (i.e., candidate job worthiness, value, creativity, and capability). The experimental prediction was an interaction between company diversity profile (race diverse vs. no diversity) and candidate race (Black vs.

White) on all target dependent variables. Specifically, I expected that the Black (but not

White) candidate would be evaluated as less worthy, valuable, creative, and capable

when he was applying for a job at a diverse (vs. not diverse) company. The means and

standard deviations for all Variables by diversity condition, candidate race, and

participant gender are presented in Table 6.

Candidate Job Worthiness and Candidate Value. Contrary to expectations,

there were no main or interactive effects[6] on either candidate job worthiness or candidate

value, Fs < 3.42, ps > .07.

Candidate Capability. Two main effects of target race, $F(1,119) = 6.51$, $p =$

0.01, and participant gender, $F(1,119) = 8.51$, $p < 0.01$, emerged on capability.

Specifically, the Black target ($M = 5.10$, $SD = .98$) was viewed as more capable than the

White target ($M = 4.65$, $SD = 1.18$). Additionally, women ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 1.05$) viewed

the candidate as more capable than men ($M = 4.62$, $SD = 1.08$). However, these main

effects were qualified by three-way interactions between diversity condition, applicant

race, and participant gender, $F (1,119) = 6.34$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2_p = 0.05$. To decompose the

three-way interactions, I split the file by participant gender and examined the interactions

between condition and target race. A marginally significant interaction between condition

and target race emerged for women, $F (1,51) = 3.08$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .09$, but not men, F

$(1,65) = 1.74$, $p = .19$. Further inspection of the pairwise differences using the Bonferroni

procedure revealed that women evaluated the Black candidate as more capable than the

White candidate in the race-diverse condition, $p = .01$, $d = .92$, but that women did not

view the candidate differently in the control condition, $p = .56$. For men, a significant

main effect of target race suggests that men viewed the Black target ($M = 4.81$, $SD =$

1.06) as more capable than the White target ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 1.26$) regardless of diversity condition, $F(1,65) = 5.87$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .08$. No other significant three-way or two-way interactions were found (all Fs < 1.31, ps > .26).

Candidate Creativity. A marginal main effect of target race, $F(1,119) = 3.33$, $p = 0.07$, and a significant main effect of participant gender, $F(1,119) = 6.41$, $p = 0.01$, emerged on creativity. Specifically, the Black target ($M = 5.15$, $SD = 1.02$) was viewed as more creative than the White target ($M = 4.82$, $SD = 1.02$). Additionally, women ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.06$) viewed the candidate as more creative than men ($M = 4.79$, $SD = .97$), $F(1,119) = 5.27$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. However, these main effects were qualified by a three-way interaction between diversity condition x applicant race x participant gender, $F(1,119) = 5.00$, $p = .03$, $\eta^2_p = .04$. To decompose the three-way interactions, I split the file by participant gender and examined the interactions between condition and target race. A marginally significant interaction between condition and target race emerged for women, $F(1,51) = 3.08$, $p = .09$, $\eta^2_p = .06$, but not men, $F(1,65) = 2.09$, $p = .15$. Further inspection of the pairwise differences using the Bonferroni procedure revealed that women in the race-diverse condition evaluated the Black candidate as more creative than the White candidate, $p = .01$, $d = .97$, but that women did not view the candidate differently in the control condition, $p = .89$. No other significant three-way or two-way interactions were found (all Fs < .77, ps > .31).

U.S. and Company Social Progress

U.S. Social Progress. A three-way interaction between diversity condition x applicant race x participant gender was also found on the U.S. social progress variable, $F(1,116) = 4.03$, $p = .02$, $\eta^2_p = .03$. Decomposing the interaction, a significant interaction

between target race and participant gender emerged in the race-diverse, F (1,65) = 6.18, p

= .02, η^2_p = .09, but not the control, F (1,51) = .13, p = .72, condition. Further inspection

of the pairwise differences using the Bonferroni procedure revealed that women

perceived greater social progress after exposure to the Black versus the White candidate,

p = .046, d = 3.06, but the effect was not found for men, p = .16. No other significant

three-way or two-way interactions were found on U.S. social progress (all Fs < 2.27, ps >

.13).

Company Progress. A main effect of company diversity condition emerged on

perception of the company's social progress. Whites viewed the company as having made

more social progress after viewing the race-diverse (M = 4.86, SD = 1.47) versus the

control (M = 4.28, SD = 1.21) brochure, F(1,116) = 3.78, p = .054, η^2_p = .03. However,

this main effect was qualified by a three-way interaction between diversity condition,

applicant race, and participant gender, F (1,116) = 12.35, p = .001, η^2_p = .10.

Decomposing this interaction, a significant interaction between target race and participant

gender emerged in the race-diverse, F (1,65) = 6.98, p = .01, η^2_p = .10, and the control, F

(1,51) = 5.92, p = .02, η^2_p = .10, conditions. Further inspection of the pairwise differences

using the Bonferroni procedure revealed that, in the race diverse condition, women

perceived marginally greater company progress after viewing the Black versus the White

candidate's resume, p = .06, d = 3.27, whereas men perceived marginally greater

company progress after viewing the White versus the Black candidate's resume, p = .09,

d = 2.48. In contrast, in the control condition, women perceived marginally greater

company progress after viewing the White versus the Black candidate's resume, p = .07,

$d = 2.22$ whereas men do not perceived any difference in the company's social progress after viewing the White versus the Black candidate's resume, $p = .12$.

Mediation Analysis

The final hypothesis stated that the negative effect of racial diversity on minority candidate hiring and valuation may be explained by Whites' perceptions that racial diversity is no longer an important issue. However, since there were no significant interaction between company diversity condition, candidate race, and participant gender on either candidate job worthiness or value, I could not complete this analysis.

As an exploratory analysis, I did test whether perceptions of progress mediated the effect of racial diversity on women's perceptions of job candidates. This analysis would address the question of whether women view racial and ethnic minorities as either being more capable or having more creativity in safe, progressive, diverse companies. To do so, I conducted a series of moderated mediation analyses to determine if either the U.S. Social Progress or Company Progress variables mediated the effect of company diversity condition on either perceived candidate capability or creativity. I used the PROCESS program to compute 95% confidence intervals based on a bootstrapped inferred asymmetrical distribution of the mediated effect (i.e., Model 10; Hayes, 2012; Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Specifically, I regressed the outcome measures (DVs; i.e., candidate capability, candidate creativity) on a company diversity variable coded as 0 = no diversity, 1 = race diversity (IV) in the PROCESS program, with either perceived U.S. social progress or perceived company progress entered as the mediators and candidate race entered as a moderator. Thus, because there were two dependent variables and two mediator variables, I conducted four separate analyses. I hypothesized that the

direct effect of race diversity on candidate evaluations (either capability or creativity) could be reduced to non-significance when accounting for social progress (either U.S. or company specific). I also expect the bootstrapped confidence intervals for the full mediated effect (i.e., race-diversity $\rightarrow$ perceived social progress $\rightarrow$ outcome) will not include zero, supporting full mediation. None of these moderated mediations received support (see Table 7 for the confidence intervals).

V. Study 2b

Study 2b exactly replicated the procedure and materials outlined in Study 2a's

protocol, except diversity of gender, and not diversity of race, was of experimental

interest. Additionally, only White men were included in the study sample to control for

the status effects of both race and gender.

Participants

One hundred thirty seven White men ($M_{age} = 37.30$, $SD_{age} = 11.74$) were recruited

from MTurk to participate in the study in exchange for twenty six cents. Participants

self-identified predominantly as heterosexual = 93.4% (homosexual = 4.4%; bisexual =

2.2%) and politically as either Independent = 37.2%, Republican = 29.2%, or Democrat =

29.2% (other = 3.6%). The educational background of participants was as follows: high

school graduate = 19.7%; associates degree = 10.3%; bachelor's degree = 49.3%;

Master's degree = 16.9%; professional degree = 3.7%). The sample size was determined

by an a priori power analysis conducted to ascertain the appropriate sample size required

to capture a desired statistical power level of .80 and medium effect size for a two-way

analysis of variance ($d = .25$).

<div align="center">

Results

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Data Screening

The same data screening processes described in Studies 1a and 1b were employed

upon completion of data entry. Prior to data collection, the decision rules for excluding

participants from analysis included individuals who fell below the legal age of consent

(18), who did not indicate current or prior experience working in an organization, or who

did not accurately categorize the diversity of the company (e.g., as either race diverse or as not diverse). Based on these criteria, no participants were excluded from analyses.

Descriptive Statistics

The overall means and standard deviations, as well as the Cronbach's alpha, for all dependent measures are presented in Table 4 (all $\alpha > .91$), and the correlations between all dependent measures are presented in Table 5. Means and standard deviations for all variables by diversity condition and candidate race are presented in Table 8.

Company Descriptives

Participants described the company as predominantly profitable (97.5%), employing between 101 - 500 individuals (56.6%), located in the Northeast (57.7%), and in business for either $1 - 5$ (25.0%), $6 - 10$ (44.1%) or $11 - 15$ (19.1%) years. Additionally, individual 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) x 2 (applicant gender: male vs. female) ANOVAs revealed no main effects or interactions were found (all Fs $< .39$, ps $> .53$). Furthermore, a chi-square test of independence did not find any significant relationship between diversity condition, applicant gender, and expectations concerning of company location, χ^2 (3, 137) $= .76$, $p = .86$.

Preliminary Analyses

A 2 (diversity condition: homogenous vs. diverse) x 2 (applicant gender) analysis of variance (ANOVA) independent sample t-test was conducted on the perceived professionalism of the brochures (see Manipulation Check). The two items ("The materials had a "professional" quality to them" and "The look and feel of the materials was high-quality") correlated significantly, $r = .83$, $p < .001$. No main effects or interactions were found (all Fs $< .91$, ps $> .34$).

Main Experimental Analysis

To explore the hypothesis that Whites would be less likely to hire and value racial minorities for positions in companies that are described as at race- diverse (vs. race homogenous) organizations, individual ANOVAs were conducted on each of the study dependent measures (i.e., candidate job worthiness, value, creativity, and capability). The experimental prediction was an interaction between company diversity profile (race diverse vs. no diversity) and candidate gender. Specifically, I expected that the female (but not male) candidate would be evaluated as less worthy and valuable when she was applying for a job at a diverse (vs. not diverse) company. I further expected that the female (but not male) candidate would be evaluated as more creative and capable when she is applying for a job at a homogenous (vs. diverse) company. Contrary to expectations, the only significant effects found were a main effect of condition on perceived candidate job worthiness, $F(1,133) = 4.04$, $p = 0.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.03$, capability, $F(1,133) = 8.72$, $p = .004$, $\eta^2_p = 0.06$, and creativity, $F(1,133) = 5.37$, $p = 0.02$, $\eta^2_p = 0.04$, and they were in the opposite direction than what was predicted. All candidates regardless of gender were viewed as more worthy of the job, capable, and creative in the gender versus control condition. No other main effects of interactions were found (all Fs $< .93$, ps $> .34$).

Social Progress

Individual ANOVAs were also conducted on each of the social progress variables. A single main effect of diversity condition emerged on perceptions of company progress, such that participants viewed the company as more socially progressive after exposure to the gender-diverse versus the gender-homogenous brochure, $F(1,133) = 4.11$, $p = 0.045$,

$\eta^2{}_p = 0.03$. No other main effects of interactions were found on either the company or U.S. social progress variables (all Fs < 1.44, ps > .23).

Mediation Analysis

The final hypothesis stated that the negative effect of racial diversity on minority candidate hiring and valuation may be explained by Whites' perceptions that racial diversity is no longer an important issue. However, since there were no significant interactions between company diversity condition and candidate race, I could not complete this analysis.

Discussion

Studies 2a and 2b examined whether the presence of either race or gender diversity specifically, in the absence of information regarding social policies designed to facilitate these diversities, would negatively influence perception and hiring of racial minority and female candidates, respectively. This research also explored a specific psychological mechanism, perception of social progress, to explain the why racial minority and female candidates may experience these negative downstream consequences. Contrary to predictions, the data suggest the more socially-positive outcome, which is that racial minority and female candidates may receive a boost from racial and gender diversity, though perhaps only under specific social contexts. The benefits of exposure to gender diversity were shown to be fairly global. White men evaluated both (White) male and (White) female candidates as more worthy of a job, capable, and creative, as well as evaluated the particular company as more progressive, after viewing a company espousing gender diversity (versus gender homogeneity). Whilst these data do not support the original study predictions, they are consistent with those

observed in Study 1b, in which gender-diverse organizations experienced diversity credits. These organizational credits appeared to transfer to job applicants to make them appear more desirable in a hiring paradigm. However, this finding is also broadly consistent with the idea that stigma transfers from organizations to applicant. That is, the organizational penalties bestowed upon gender-homogenous (versus gender-diverse) organizations in Study 1b were also found to transfer to job applicants in Study 2b to make them appear less desirable.

Compared to the benefits of gender diversity, the benefits of racial diversity may be circumscribed, as they were demonstrated predominantly by White female (but not White male) perceivers evaluating Black (male) targets. More specifically, women were shown to evaluate the Black (male) candidate as more creative and more capable than the White (male) candidate, but only when evaluating those candidates in the context of a job at a company that was advertised as racially diverse. Notably, these data are inconsistent with the general pattern of effects observed in Study 1a, in which race-diverse organizations suffered diversity stigma. Together, these data suggest that separate processes may be involved in the perception and downstream consequences of race versus gender diversity.

VI. General Discussion

In a series of four studies, this dissertation tested the overall hypothesis that, in the context of organizational perception and hiring, both race and gender diversity would be associated with both "diversity credits" and "diversity stigmas." Studies 1a and 1b examined whether promoting organizational race or gender diversity lowered participants' views of an organization and the racial minorities or women who work there, relative to an organization that was described as homogenous. Together, the results from these studies suggest that gender-diverse organizations may be associated with perceptual benefits (but no decrements), while race-diverse organizations may be associated with perceptual decrements (but no benefits). Specifically, compared to a non-diverse company, the gender-diverse company was described as more exclusive, more broadminded, and marginally more prestigious, whereas the race-diverse company was described as less prestigious, less exclusive, and having less capable employees. Thus, in the present study, the gender-diverse organization realized "diversity credits" without incurring "diversity stigma," while the race-diverse organization experienced "diversity stigma" without realizing any "diversity benefits."

Studies 2a and 2b further examined whether promoting organizational race or gender diversity negatively impacted the hiring and valuing of racial minorities and women, by reducing the perceived need for further diversity at the institution. Together, the results from these studies suggest that both race- and gender-diverse organizations may generate downstream "diversity credits" that advantage both racial minorities and women, respectively, in hiring decisions. This may be the case even for race-diverse organizations, which were shown to suffer perceptual penalties to their organizational

attributes, though the effect may be more global in the case of gender diversity. Specifically, White men evaluated all candidates, regardless of their gender, as more worthy of the job, more capable, and more creative when they were applying for a job a gender-diverse (versus homogenous) company. White men also evaluated the gender-diverse companies as more progressive than the gender-homogenous company. However, White women, but not White men, evaluated a Black (male) candidate as more creative and more capable than the White (male) candidate, but only when evaluating those candidates in the context of a job at a company that was advertised as racially diverse.

The finding that race diversity was associated primarily with organizational deficits whereas gender diversity was associated wholly with organizational benefits provides partial support for the proposed study hypotheses. That is, both diversity benefits and diversity stigma were found to exist, but high status perceivers do not distribute these benefits and detriments to all diverse groups equally. Rather, the meanings and consequences of diversity may vary by social category, with race diversity being viewed as an organizational liability and gender diversity being viewed as an organizational boon. These data may seem somewhat surprising given that a long literature has found inconsistent (i.e., both positive and negative) effects of both race and gender diversity across a variety of important organizational and interpersonal outcomes (Mannix & Neale, 2005; Williams & O'Reilly, 1998). However, they are consistent with initial correlational data collected that addresses White perceivers' views of race- versus gender-diverse organizations directly. A separate sample of 148 English speaking, US-based M-Turk participants (83 women; 111White, 13 Asian, 11 Black, 9 Latino, 2 multiracial, 2 other) were asked to imagine a company that was diverse in terms of race

and another company that was diverse in terms of gender. The design was within subjects, and the order of race and gender diversity was counterbalanced. The results suggests that White (male and female) perceivers evaluate race-diverse organizations as less prestigious, less successful, more accessible, and having less capable employees, compared with gender-diverse organizations (all ps < .01; Wilton & Sanchez, 2014).

Moreover, the finding that race diversity is viewed negatively but that gender diversity is viewed positively can be understood in the context of the broader literature concerning the perceptual social similarities and differences between race and gender categories. Although both racial minorities and women are low in power and social status, there is more segregation and less intergroup contact between race versus gender groups, and the social distance between men and women is narrower than that between Whites and minorities (Eberhardt & Fiske, 1994; Rudman & Glick, 2008). Therefore, the differences between racial groups may be seen as larger and as more intractable to Whites and White men, compared to the differences between gender groups. As a result, these high status perceivers may feel more comfortable with the concept of gender-diversity than race diversity because they have more cross-gender interactions, so they may have been more willing to perceive positive outcomes of gender (versus race) diversity.

Alternately, or at the same time, Whites may simply view gender diversity differently, or as "not quite diverse," compared to race diversity. This idea is broadly consistent with other research that has shown that individuals view different racial and ethnic groups as contributing to diversity differently, depending on their racial and ethnic background, and that Whiteness is not considered to be "diverse" (Unzueta & Binning, 2010). Indeed, in other research my colleagues and I exposed 69 White participants to

race- or gender-diverse (and race- or gender-homogenous) teams ostensibly engaged in a creative task, and asked them to rate how diverse each team was. The data found that race-diverse groups (regardless of gender composition) cued diversity perceptions more so than gender-diverse groups (regardless of racial composition) which would support this idea (Wilton, Sanchez & Aiello, 2010).

In contrast to the prior literature demonstrating mixed effects of race and gender diversity on organizational outcomes, research has shown a more consistently negative effect of race and gender (diversity) on hiring for racial and ethnic minorities and women (Heilman et al., 1992; 1998; Heilman & Blader, 2001; Heilman & Welle, 2006; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). Therefore, the findings in from Study 2a and 2b, which suggest that both race- and gender-diverse organizations may generate downstream "diversity credits" that advantage both racial minorities and women, respectively, in hiring decisions, is also surprising. However, unlike prior studies that manipulated whether or not companies utilized diversity-enhancing policies (e.g., affirmative action), this research manipulated whether or not companies advertised themselves as race- or gender-diverse. Thus, this research illuminates the importance of disentangling the concepts of race and gender diversity representation specifically, as opposed to race and gender diversity-enhancing policies (e.g., affirmative action). Indeed, an important question that emerges for future research to explore is whether individuals believe that race and gender diversity predicts company use of race and gender diversity-enhancing policies. This would suggest that participants would also view the company as more broadminded, which was found to be the case for gender-diverse, but not race-diverse, companies. Thus, a prediction could be that participants would expect gender (but not race) diversity predicts company use of

gender- (but not race-) diversity-enhancing policies. Still, future research is needed to specifically explore this question. The present research also broadened the literature to include both (1) more comprehensive or less superficial company evaluations (e.g., prestige) and (2) a non-undergraduate population.

This research will help to reduce the institutional obstacles experienced by racial minorities and women and facilitate larger efforts to capitalize on the benefits of diversity in organizations and society. For example, the finding that all candidates experience a perceptual boost in gender-diverse contexts, and that Black candidates can benefit from racial diversity in some circumstances, is positive and provides some potentially fruitful avenues to explore how race and gender diversity can be communicated to improve hiring (e.g., as representation as opposed to policy). Contrary to hypotheses, demonstrating race and gender diversity did not reduce the perceived need for further hiring or mentoring for racial minorities and women due to the belief that the organization is already diverse enough and that race or gender bias has been redressed (e.g., Kaiser et al., 2009; 2013). In fact, White men evaluated the gender-diverse company as more socially progressive (in addition to viewing all candidates applying for the job at the gender-diverse company as more job-worthy, capable, and creative), and women viewed the race-diverse company as well as the U.S. overall, as more socially progressive (in addition to evaluating the Black applying for the job at the race-diverse company as more creative and more capable). Thus, perception of social progress was not found to be a psychological mechanism that can explain the biased hiring and valuing of racial minorities and women.

This project also advanced current understandings of diversity to examine how White identity is construed in a diverse environment. While previous research suggests that Whiteness is not considered to be "diverse" (Unzueta & Binning, 2010), this research provided a direct test of whether and how Whites (and White men), like racial minorities (and White women), are affected by messages about diversity. Evaluations of White and White male targets generally followed the same pattern as those observed for racial minorities and women. That is, in Study 1a all employees (both the racial minorities and Whites) who worked at the racially-diverse company were evaluated as less competent, but in Study 1b, all employees (both the women and men) who worked at the gender-diverse company were evaluated as more competent. Men also benefited in interpersonal evaluations in the context of job hiring in Study 2b, but Whites did not have the same effect in Study 2a. Future research should continue to evaluate the perception and experiences of Whites in the context of diversity (Apfelbaum, Phillips, & Richeson, 2014).

Limitations and Future Directions

This dissertation represents a first step at identifying the impact that advertising race and gender diversity may have on perceptions of companies, and additional questions remain for further research. In particular, future studies should explore ways to mitigate, diminish or even reverse the "diversity stigma" demonstrated for race-diverse companies in Study 1a. Specifically, this work could examine whether affirming the company's prestige or competence, or non-reliance on preferential hiring practices (e.g., quotas, affirmative action), would negate the negative effects for race-diverse companies and their employees found in this research. Consistent with this perspective, prior

research has found that when the competence of racial/ethnic minorities is affirmed or when the use of preferential selection based on race or gender is explicitly denied by companies, the disadvantage that racial/ethnic minorities experience is alleviated (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Sauer et al., 2010).

Future research should also seek to replicate the positive benefits of diversity using other methods (e.g., field research, longitudinal studies), and among other populations (e.g., non-White males, women). It should also seek to identify the consequences of, and the psychological mechanisms that may underlie, the belief that gender diversity can benefit organizations and individuals. For example, individuals may expect that they may personally benefit from gender diversity. Specifically, they may believe that gender-diverse organizations may improve their quality of life, providing benefits such as the ability to work from home or better allowances for family care. They could also believe that gender-diverse organizations would decrease risky decision making at the organization, or even improve their overall health and romantic possibilities (mitigate divorce and depression; c.f., Sandberg & Grant, 2015). Alternately, individuals may believe that gender-diverse organizations are simply normative in a modern workplace, and therefore subject gender-homogenous organizations to penalty for being counter-normative.

Additionally, in the present research, the concepts of racial diversity and race-based bias in workplace judgments were operationalized using only Black referents. The differences and power disparity between Blacks and Whites are seen as the greatest, so the present research could be considered the most lenient test of the study hypotheses (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Future research should examine the meanings and

consequences of racial diversity for non-Black racial/ethnic minority groups, both within and across specific racial/ethnic groups. That is, research should examine the diversity meanings individuals attribute to companies that advertise race diversity as defined by other specific racial/ethnic group (e.g., Latinos or Asians) as well as across racial/ethnic minority groups (e.g., perceptions of Blacks, Latinos and Asians together). In particular, Asians have different historical experiences with discrimination and bias, and they are also less disadvantaged in the modern workplace, compared to Latinos and Blacks (e.g., Lin, Kwan, Cheung, & Fiske, 2005; Maddux, Galinsky, Cuddy, & Polifroni, 2008). Moreover, Asian identity is associated with high competence, which is a desirable skill in the context of workplace, but they are also perceived as low in warmth, social skills and less well liked, which are not (c.f., Stereotype Content Model; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999; for a review, see Lin et al., 2005). Therefore, research should examine whether White perceivers would (1) be more accepting of racial diversity that includes Asians, (2) devalue racial diversity and penalize Asians in workplace evaluations as a result of the negative stereotypes associated with Asian identity, or (3) be even more threatened by the potentially for Asians to usurp the status and power that Whites have traditionally hold in the workplace, and thus devalue diversity when Asians are the primary referent group even more than diversity when Blacks are the primary referent group.

Furthermore, the current research examined the perspectives of high status group members (i.e., Whites and White males) because they are neither underrepresented nor disadvantaged in the workplace (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011a, 2011b), they hold most positions of power in the workplace, and they do not view themselves as included

among a diverse population (Unzueta & Binning, 2010). However, future research should examine whether individual differences in White and male perceivers' egalitarian beliefs, or beliefs about one's own identity, would moderate the diversity stigma effects proposed in this research. Specifically, prior work has found that social dominance orientation (SDO; Unzueta et al., 2012) and racial identification (Wilton, Sanchez & Giamo, 2014) moderate White perceivers' views of racial/ethnic minorities and intergroup relations as they relate to racial diversity, whereas gender identity centrality (consciously viewing oneself as a members of one's gender group) and attitudes towards affirmative action for women have been found to be related to the perceived attractiveness gender-diverse organizations (Martins & Parsons, 2007). Studies could also assess whether individuals' beliefs about their own contributions to diversity, or the value that individuals attach to diversity, would affect their perceptions of diversity. Future research should also examine the diversity-related perceptions of racial/ethnic minorities. This research could explore how race and gender diversity advertising may be particularly harmful to racial and ethnic minorities and women if it is perceived by them to be, over time, misleading.

In the present research, an MTurk sample of individuals who were affiliated with U.S. organizations was used in order to improve the ecological validity of the research. MTurk populations provide both quality data and representative sampling (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011; Weinberg, Freese, & McElhattan, 2014). However future research should explore whether there are additional characteristics of the MTurk sample used in the present research that may have influenced participants' diversity views. For example, the type of position (e.g., high versus low status) participants hold, the amount of race or gender diversity, or the quality of participants' interactions with diverse others

at their organizations, are all factors that could shape their reactions to race and gender diversity. Another limitation to the present research is that, because the dependent variables were always presented in the same order as described in the research, the hypothesized mediating variables (progress) were always measured after the dependent variables. Future research seeking to establish mediation should ensure that the mediators are presented before the dependent variables in the survey order.

Finally, the present research examined the effect of race diversity independent of gender, and of gender diversity independent of gender, but future research should examine the combined effects of race and gender diversity in such contexts. Individuals concomitantly belong to multiple social groups, and research pointing to the strong interrelationship between race and gender is mounting, and suggests that these two concepts should be examined in unison (Galinsky, Hall, & Cuddy, 2013; Goff, Di Leone, & Kahn, 2012; Johnson, Freeman & Pauker, 2011; Settles, 2006; for exceptions see Sidanius & Pratto 1999). Other research also suggests that there are particularly negative and damaging *double jeopardy* (i.e., Beale, 1970) effects of race and gender for women of color in workplace contexts (e.g., Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Rosette & Livingston, 2013; Wilton, Sanchez, & Quiros, 2014). For example, research should examine how race and gender diversity combine to inform perceptions and expectations of companies and employees, or whether women of color are particularly disadvantaged in workplace-related judgments. Research could also examine whether the context of the job (e.g., as more masculine-typed versus feminine-typed; as higher versus lower in status) would affect how individuals construe diversity.

Conclusion

This dissertation addressed the value that individuals, especially those high in status and thus in positions of power, attach to organizational diversity. In doing so, it examined for the first time whether and how organizations may be devalued – or improved – in the eyes of high-status perceivers. This research will aid in developing measures to promote diversity that do not hinder perceptions of diverse organizations and minorities.

Table 1

Cronbach's Alphas and Overall Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables

(Studies 1a & 1b)

	Study 1a – Race (n = 106)			Study 1b – Gender (n = 105)		
	α	*M*	*SD*	α	*M*	*SD*
Prestige	.94	4.92	1.10	.94	4.99	1.07
Employee Capability	.93	5.21	0.96	.93	5.07	1.04
Accessibility	.89	4.69	1.00	.84	4.63	0.87
Conflict	.90	2.40	1.11	.90	2.50	1.05
Creativity	.91	5.36	0.85	.94	5.11	0.99
Broadmindedness	.94	5.29	0.93	.94	5.10	1.10
Personal Success	.89	4.69	1.09	.92	4.80	1.07

Note. The sample size used to compute the reliability and descriptive statistics for the creativity and conflict variables was n = 104 for both Studies 1a and 1b.

Table 2

Correlations Among Study Variables (Studies 1a & 1b)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Condition (0 = control; 1 = race)	--	-.21[*]	-.19	-.21[*]	.11	-.16
2. Prestige	.18	--	.77[**]	.49[**]	.37[**]	.46[**]
3. Employee Capability	.22[*]	.85[**]	--	.63[**]	.56[**]	.43[**]
4. Accessibility	.10	.61[**]	.62[**]	--	.32[**]	.28[**]
5. Broadmindedness	.33[**]	.68[**]	.75[**]	.46[**]	--	.36[**]
6. Personal Success	.03	.50[**]	.53[**]	.34[**]	.56[**]	--

Note. Correlations for Study 1a and Study 1b, respectively, are above and below the median line. ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables by Company Diversity Condition

(Studies 1a & 1b)

Study 1a	Control (n = 55)		Race (n = 51)			
	M	SD	M	SD	df	t
Prestige	5.13	1.08	4.68	1.09	104	2.15*
Employee Capability	5.39	0.88	5.02	1.01	104	1.96*
Accessibility	4.89	0.96	4.47	1.00	104	2.17*
Conflict	2.23	1.06	2.56	1.15	102	-1.51
Creativity	5.42	0.77	5.30	0.93	102	0.77
Broadmindedness	5.19	0.91	5.39	0.96	104	-1.10
Personal Success	4.85	1.05	4.52	1.12	104	1.60
Study 1b	Control (n = 53)		Gender (n = 52)			
	M	SD	M	SD	df	t
Prestige	4.80	1.00	5.18	1.10	103	-1.83[+]
Employee Capability	4.84	1.00	5.30	1.04	103	-2.32*
Accessibility	4.55	0.92	4.72	0.82	103	-1.00
Conflict	2.51	1.06	2.49	1.06	101	0.11
Creativity	5.11	1.05	5.10	0.92	101	0.07
Broadmindedness	4.74	1.01	5.46	1.09	103	-3.55*
Personal Success	4.77	1.00	4.83	1.15	103	-0.31

Note. $* p < .05,$ $^{+} p < .10.$

Table 4

Cronbach's Alphas and Overall Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables

(Studies 2a & 2b)

	Study 2a – Race (*n* = 124)			Study 2b – Gender (*n* = 137)		
	α	*M*	*SD*	α	*M*	*SD*
Job Worthiness	.95	4.60	1.13	.91	4.40	0.98
Value	--	39,894	15,307	--	39,124	14,263
Capability	.96	4.77	1.21	.92	4.67	1.06
Creativity	.96	4.88	1.16	.95	4.70	1.18
U.S. Social Progress	.96	3.11	1.63	.97	3.74	1.67
Company Social Progress	.94	4.60	1.38	.95	4.76	1.40

Table 5

Correlations Among Study Variables (Studies 2a & 2b)

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Job Worthiness	--	.45**	.84**	.77**	.29**	.32**
2. Value	.43***	--	.46**	.40**	.11	.14
3. Capability	.73***	.44***	--	.84**	.26**	.45**
4. Creativity	.68***	.37***	.77***	--	.20*	.40**
5. U.S. Social Progress	.09	.10	.04	.03	--	.52**
6. Company Social Progress	.29**	.15^{+}	.25**	.25**	.58***	--

Note. Correlations for Study 2a and Study 2b, respectively, are above and below the

median line *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, $^{+}$ $p < .10$.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables by Diversity Condition, Candidate

Race, and Participant Gender (Study 2a)

	Control		Race-Diverse	
	White Men	White Women	White Men	White Women
White Applicant	(*n* = 31)	(*n* = 22)	(*n* = 22)	(*n* = 14)
Job Worthiness	4.44 (0.97)	4.62 (0.99)	4.59 (0.98)	4.41 (1.08)
Value	38.62 (12.31)	45.44 (15.64)	45.55 (14.56)	37.14 (7.75)
Capability	3.91 (1.27)	5.56 (1.32)	4.69 (0.89)	4.69^{c*} (1.06)
Creativity	4.43 (0.96)	5.27 (1.43)	4.84 (0.82)	4.80^{d*} (1.02)
U.S. Progress	3.17 (0.43)	3.07 (0.51)	3.53 (0.34)	2.11^{e*} (0.42)
Company Progress	3.79 (0.35)	4.91^{a+} (0.42)	5.29^{b+} (0.27)	4.12^{f+} (0.34)
Black Applicant	(*n* = 29)	(*n* = 20)	(*n* = 20)	(*n* = 23)
Job Worthiness	4.62 (0.98)	4.62 (1.03)	4.59 (0.99)	5.22 (1.14)
Candidate Value	42.28 (12.65)	36.46 (10.58)	44.46 (20.06)	38.88 (12.90)
Capability	4.76 (0.96)	4.92 (0.64)	5.05 (1.10)	5.62^{c*} (0.98)
Creativity	4.93 (0.86)	4.97 (0.75)	4.88 (1.33)	5.74^{d*} (0.93)
U.S. Progress	3.51 (0.38)	3.11 (0.45)	2.66 (0.43)	3.34^{e*} (0.39)
Company Progress	4.49 (0.31)	4.04^{a+} (0.36)	4.52^{b+} (0.35)	5.19^{f+} (0.32)

Note. Means are represented above with standard deviations in parentheses. The value

variable is in thousands. Within each column, means with the same superscripts differ

based on Bonferroni post hoc comparisons; * $p < .05$, $^+ p < .10$.

Table 7

Alternate Mediation Analyses (Study 2a)

	Lower CI	Upper CI
Race-diverse → Company progress → Capability	-.62	.13
Race-diverse → U.S. progress → Capability	-.32	.22
Race-diverse → Company progress → Creativity	-.57	.14
Race-diverse → U.S. progress → Creativity	-.25	.16.

Note. The upper and lower CIs represent 95% confidence intervals based on a bootstrapped inferred asymmetrical distribution of the mediated effect.

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for all Variables by Diversity Condition and Candidate

Race (Study 2b)

	Control		Gender-Diverse		Total	
	($n = 42$)		($n = 27$)		($n = 69$)	
Male Applicant	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Job Worthiness	4.25	0.91	4.47	0.86	4.33	0.89
Value	38.95	12.38	38.74	16.73	38.87	14.12
Capability	4.36	1.27	4.81	0.85	4.54	1.14
Creativity	4.41	1.38	4.82	0.97	4.57	1.25
U.S. Progress	3.92	1.57	3.87	1.85	3.90	1.67
Company Progress	4.59	1.21	5.27	1.03	4.85	1.19
Female Applicant	($n = 28$)		($n = 40$)		($n = 68$)	
Job Worthiness	4.20	0.90	4.66	1.13	4.47	1.06
Value	37.86	13.42	40.45	15.29	39.38	14.50
Capability	4.45	0.85	5.07	0.98	4.81	0.97
Creativity	4.51	0.95	5.04	1.17	4.82	1.11
U.S. Progress	3.90	1.68	3.37	1.64	3.59	1.66
Company Progress	4.49	1.52	4.79	1.65	4.66	1.59
Total	($n = 70$)		($n = 67$)		($n = 137$)	
Job Worthiness	4.23[a]	0.90	4.58[a]	1.03	4.40	0.98
Value	38.51	12.72	39.76	15.78	39.12	14.26
Capability	4.40[b]	1.11	4.96[b]	0.93	4.67	1.06
Creativity	4.45[c]	1.22	4.95[c]	1.09	4.70	1.18
U.S. Progress	3.91	1.61	3.57	1.73	3.74	1.67
Company Progress	4.55[d]	1.33	4.98[d]	1.44	4.76	1.40

Note. Within each row, means with the same superscripts differ at $p < .05$. The value

variable is in thousands.

Appendix A1

Company Profile – Control (No Diversity) Condition

Appendix A2
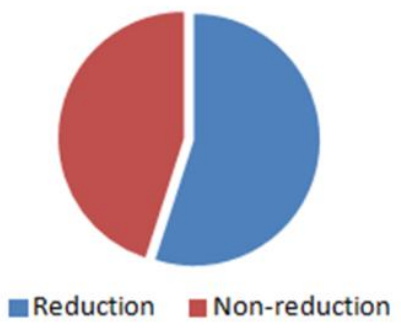
Company Profile – Race Diversity Condition

TOP NEWS
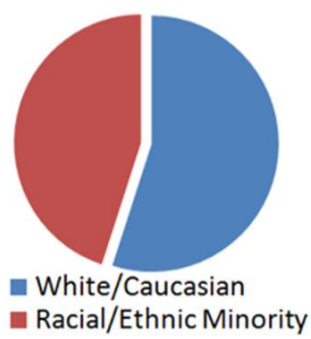
InvoCorp named top company for racial minorities in 2012

New York, NY – InvoCorp, the corporation specializing in business management, was recognized as one of the top companies in the U.S. for racial minorities. The rating was bestowed by renown workplace trends analysis company HRAnalysis. InvoCorp was noted for having a large percentage of minorities (45% overall), including 20% minority partners. Read more.

InvoCorp Partners present at Industry Conference

New York, NY – Four partners from InvoCorp, Greg Nolen, Jake Moore, Malik Jackson, and Tyrone Williams, presented at an industry conference in July. Read more.

% Employees (all)

■ White/Caucasian
■ Racial/Ethnic Minority

Appendix A3

Company Profile – Gender Diversity Condition

TOP NEWS

InvoCorp named top company for women in 2012

New York, NY – InvoCorp, the corporation specializing in business management, was recognized as one of the top companies in the U.S. for women. The rating was bestowed by renown workplace trends analysis company HRAnalysis. InvoCorp was noted for having a large percentage of women (45% overall), including 20% female partners. Read more.

InvoCorp Partners present at Industry Conference

New York, NY – Four partners from InvoCorp, Greg Nolen, Emily Adams, Jake Moore, and Molly Clarke, presented at an industry conference in July. Read more.

% Employees (all)

■ Men ■ Women
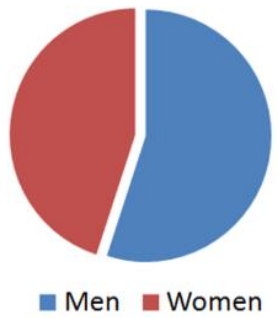
Appendix B

Survey – Studies 1a & 1b

1. Prestige

Please respond to the following items:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
The company described in the brochure is likely prestigious.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company described in the brochure is likely well-established.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company described in the brochure is likely highly reputable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company described in the brochure is likely a high-quality organization.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company described in the brochure is likely successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Employee capabilities

Please respond to the following items:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
The individuals who work at the company are highly qualified.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The individuals who work at the company are very capable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The individuals who work at the company are extremely competent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The individuals who work at the company are "best in class."	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

3. Accessibility

Please respond to the following items.

	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
The company would have a rigorous hiring process.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Getting hired at this company would be uncomplicated.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It would be easy to become a part of this company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It would be difficult to become a part of this company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company is highly selective.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company has extremely high standards when selecting employees.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Conflict

The company described in the brochure is likely characterized by:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Difficulty working together	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Difficulty driving consensus	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Arguing over ideas or perspectives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Tension or disagreement in decision making	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Misunderstandings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Cooperation and respect	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Creativity

This company is likely characterized by:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Creativity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Innovation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A wide pool of ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
New ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Originality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Fresh viewpoints	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Broadmindedness

This company is likely:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Promotes understanding among individuals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Enables individuals to get to know about others	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Enables individuals to broaden their horizons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Enables individuals to access a variety of ideas and perspectives in decision making	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Encourages acceptance and lack of bias	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Willingness to accept a broader range of ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Personal Success

Please envision yourself working at a company of this kind, and respond to the following questions.							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
I would be very successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would be promoted very quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would be able to advance very quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I would be able to live up to my full potential.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The bar for my personal performance would be set very high.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C

Company Descriptive Questions for Study 2a & 2b

Company Size

In your opinion, what is the company size (in employees)?				
1	2	3	4	5
1 – 25	26 – 50	51 – 100	101 – 500	500+

Company Location

In your opinion, where is the company located (in US)?			
1	2	3	4
Northeast	Northwest	West	South

Company Duration

In your opinion, how long had the company been in business (at the time of the brochure being printed)					
1	2	3	4	5	6
less than one year	1 – 5 years	6 – 10 years	11 – 15 years	16 – 20 years	21 or more years

Company Success

In your opinion, how successful is the company?				
1	2	3	4	5
Not at all profitable	Not very	Neither profitable nor unprofitable	Profitable	Extremely profitable

Appendix D

Sample Applicant Resume for Studies 2a & 2b

Greg Nolen
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Springfield, PA XXXXX
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Greg.NolenXXX@gmail.com

WORK EXPERIENCE

Law Elements – Legal software and solutions company serving small and midsize law firms
Marketing Intern, Boston, MA   September 2012– Present
- Conducted market research
- Contributed to technology blog
- Maintained client prospect database

ACTIVITIES

Golden Key International Honor Society, Member   Elected Spring 2012

Street Team, Member   Spring 2010 - 2011
Publicized events in coordination with the undergraduate student government

United Volunteers, Service Trip Volunteer   Spring 2011

EDUCATION

University of Florida   September 2009 - May 2012
Bachelor of Arts in Politics
GPA: 3.4
Dean's List

Appendix E

Survey for Study 2a & 2b

1. **Candidate Job Worthiness**

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following statements.							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
I believe this candidate is the superior applicant.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This candidate is my first choice for the position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I believe this candidate is the weakest applicant for this position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I believe this candidate is the strongest applicant for this position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I believe this candidate is the perfect person for this position.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This candidate is very capable.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This candidate is "best in class"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I believe this candidate is extremely competent.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This person is qualified to work at the company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. **Candidate Value**

What salary should the candidate receive? (Please enter only numbers; no commas).

3. Candidate Capability

If hired to work at the company, to what extent do you believe the candidate would:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Be very successful.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Be promoted very quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Be able to advance very quickly.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Be able to live up to his/her full potential.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Have a very high bar set for his/her performance.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4. Candidate Creativity

If hired to work at the company, to what extent do you believe the candidate would add to the company's:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
ability to innovate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
creativity	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ability to cultivate a wide pool of ideas	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
originality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
fresh viewpoints	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. Social Progress

Please provide your honest opinions:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Racism [sexism] may have been a problem in the past, but it is not a problem in the U.S today	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Today, race [gender] is not very important in determining who is successful and who is not in the U.S.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Today, racial [gender] discrimination in the U.S is a rare, isolated event	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Today, American society is very close to racial [gender] equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The United States has achieved racial [gender] equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There is little need for further efforts to achieve racial [gender] equality in the U.S	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
When I think about racial [gender] progress, I think about how much improvement the U.S has already made.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Company Social Progress

Please provide your honest opinions:							
	Strongly Disagree						Strongly Agree
Racism [sexism] may have been a problem in the past, but it is not likely a problem in the company	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Today, race [gender] is not very important in determining who is successful and who is not in the company.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Today, racial [gender] discrimination in the company is likely a rare, isolated event	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Today, the company is likely very close to racial [gender] equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The company has likely achieved racial [gender] equality.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
There is likely little need for further efforts to achieve racial [gender] equality in the company	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Endnotes

[1] Protected social classes include race, sex, national origin, religion, age, sexual orientation, veteran status, pregnancy, and disability status, as defined by the Civil Rights Act. These social identities are legally recognized as diverse and entitled to protections from discrimination.

[2] Women and racial minorities still experience discrimination and bias across many social contexts, including the workplace (e.g., Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Deitch, et al., 2003; Moss-Racusin, Dovido, Brescoll, Graham, & Handelsman, 2012; Pager & Shepard, 2008). In the workplace specifically, there is significant evidence to document the existence of both racial and gender prejudice and discrimination (e.g. Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Deitch et al., 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Pager & Shepard, 2008; U.S. Department of Labor, 2011a, 2011b; Catalyst, 2012). In 2010, Blacks had the lowest participation in the labor market compared to all other racial groups, and Black workers were less likely than White workers to be in the highest paying job categories (i.e., management, professional, and related occupations; U.S. Department of Labor, 2011a). In 2011, only 58% of women 16 or older participated in the labor force, compared to 70% of men in the same age bracket (Catalyst, 2012). Of those women, few held leadership positions (e.g., 14% of executive officers and 16% of board seats in Fortune 500 companies; Catalyst, 2012), and they earned only 81% of that of their male counterparts (U.S. Department of Labor, 2011b). Moreover, in 2010, there were separately 35,890 race- and 29,077 gender-related discrimination charges filed with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), representing 36% and 29% of all filed charges (Greenwald, 2011). Furthermore, several researchers have found evidence of discriminatory hiring practices or decisions, though evidence may be more conclusive for race versus gender bias, which has prompted some Black job seekers to "whiten" their resumes by removing and positions held or degrees earned at predominantly Black institutions (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2003; Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000; Luo, 2009; Moss-Racusin et al., 2012). Moreover, of all Fortune 500 companies, only 22 (4.4%) are led by racial minorities and 24 (4.8%) are led by women (Catalyst Organization, 2013; Diversity Inc., 2013); these numbers double count Ursula M. Burns (Xerox Corporation) and Indra K. Nooya (PepsiCo).

[3] The specific wording of the questions assessing individuals' perceptions of the benefits and disadvantages of diversity was, "In your opinion, what are the potential benefits [disadvantages] of having diversity at an organization such as a workplace? There are no right or wrong answers!" The order of the questions was counterbalanced.

[4] Due to a survey construction error, the creativity and conflict variables were not included in the initial survey. Therefore a second sample of 104 White MTurk participants (M_{age} = 35.50, SD_{age} = 10.04; 57.7% male) evaluated the company in terms of its creativity and conflict. Additional demographic data was not collected for this sample.

[5] Due to a survey construction error, the creativity and conflict variables were not included in the initial survey. Therefore a second sample of 104 White male MTurk

participants ($M_{\text{age}} = 34.41$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 10.80$) evaluated the company in terms of its creativity and conflict.

[6] There was one marginal effect of a three-way interaction between diversity condition, applicant race, and participant gender on job worthiness, $F(1,119) = 3.42$, $p = 0.07$. However, this interaction did not break down. Aside from this one marginally significant effect, all other main effects and interactions on job worthiness and value (Fs < 2.25, ps $> .14$).

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